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ACTA PUTEANAEA

Proceedings of the International Colloquium

**Erycius Puteanus
(1574-1646)**

Leuven-Antwerp, 7-9 November 1996

M^a Elena CURBELO TAVÍO

TEORÍA Y PRÁCTICA EPISTOLAR DE NICCOLÒ PEROTTI*

Se puede afirmar que el siglo XV representa el período final de la epistolografía medieval. En él aparecen los primeros manuales de composición epistolar escritos por humanistas en los que se refleja una concepción de la carta — caracterizada por la familiaridad — distinta a la que habían tenido los autores medievales. Esta nueva manera de entender la carta recoge la influencia clásica y la convierte en un medio para la transmisión de noticias personales y para la expresión literaria de ideas filosóficas e intelectuales, mientras que la carta oficial continuará manteniendo la preceptiva del *ars dictaminis*.¹ Uno de los primeros manuales humanistas de esta época es el *De componendis epistolis* de Niccolò Perotti, apartado que el gramático y lexicógrafo italiano dedica a la epistolografía en su obra los *Rudimenta grammatices*.²

* Deseo expresar mi agradecimiento al Prof. Dr. Gilbert Tournoy de la Universidad de Lovaina por sus valiosos comentarios y sugerencias así como por las acertadas correcciones hechas a este artículo.

¹ Giles Constable, *Letters and Letter-Collections* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1976), pp. 39-41; Ronald G. Witt, 'Civic Humanism and the Rebirth of the Ciceronian Oration', *Modern Language Quarterly*, 51 (1990), 167-184 (pp. 172-174). Sobre la importancia de la epistolografía en la cultura renacentista, cf. también Cecil H. Clough, 'The Cult of Antiquity: Letters and Letter Collections', in *Cultural Aspects of the Italian Renaissance. Essays in Honour of P. O. Kristeller*, ed. by C. H. Clough (Manchester-New York, 1976), pp. 33-67; A. Gerlo, 'The *Opus de Conscribendis Epistolis* of Erasmus and the Tradition of the *Ars Epistolica*', in *Classical Influences on European Culture A.D. 500-1500*, ed. by R. R. Bolgar (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 103-114.

² Para una información más precisa sobre el paso del *ars dictaminis* a la teoría epistolar del Renacimiento, cf. James R. Banker, 'Giovanni di Bonandrea and Civic Values in the Context of the Italian Rhetorical Tradition', *Manuscripta*, 18 (1975), 3-20; Ronald G. Witt, 'Medieval 'Ars Dictaminis' and the Beginning of Humanism: a New Construction of the Problem', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 35 (1982), 1-35; James J. Murphy, *La retórica en la Edad Media: Historia de la teoría retórica desde San Agustín hasta el Renacimiento* (México, D. F.: Fondo de cultura económica, 1986), pp. 202-274; Judith R. Henderson, 'On Reading the Rhetoric of the Renaissance Letter', in *Renaissance Rhetoric*, ed. by H. F. Plett (Berlin, 1993), pp. 143-162; Paul O. Kristeller, *El pensamiento renacentista y sus fuentes* (Madrid: Fondo de cultura económica, 1993), pp. 115-149.

Los *Rudimenta grammatices* de Niccolò Perotti es una de las gramáticas más importantes y completas del primer humanismo, en la que, junto a la teoría gramatical tradicional, están presentes las innovaciones difundidas por el movimiento humanista en la preceptiva epistolar.³ Se divide en tres capítulos, cada uno de los cuales se centra en un área determinada:

a) El primero es un manual elemental de morfología en el que Perotti ofrece la definición de cada una de las partes de la oración y desarrolla la teoría sobre los paradigmas nominales y verbales.

b) El segundo capítulo es un tratado de sintaxis presentado bajo el título de *De constructione orationis*. En él Perotti se centra en el estudio de la sintaxis verbal, pero omite toda referencia al empleo y al significado de los casos en la oración. Contiene también una parte dedicada a las figuras.

c) El último capítulo, llamado *De componendis epistolis*, es la mayor novedad de los *Rudimenta*, pues incorpora a una obra de gramática una preceptiva epistolar y un tratado de composición en prosa. El *De componendis* es un manual sobre la composición de cartas y sobre las *elegantiae* de la lengua latina. Con la unión de ambas, este tratado se convierte en la primera preceptiva que abarca los aspectos más importantes de la composición en prosa.⁴

El *De componendis epistolis* tiene la importancia de ser la primera preceptiva humanística que estudia la carta como género independiente del discurso, lo que supone un paso importante en la evolución de la preceptiva epistolar desde las teorías y modelos de la Edad Media hasta las teorías y modelos epistolares del humanismo. Las innovaciones que

³ Sobre los *Rudimenta Grammatices*, cf. también: Revilo Pendleton Oliver, *Niccolò Perotti's Version of The Enchiridion of Epictetus* (Illinois: University of Illinois Press: Urbana, 1954); W. Keith Percival, 'The Place of the *Rudimenta* in the History of Latin Grammar', *Res Publica Litterarum*, 4 (1981), 233-264; Jean-Louis Charlet, 'Préoccupations pédagogiques dans les *Rudimenta grammatices* de Niccolò Perotti', en *L'educazione e la formazione intellettuale nell'età dell'umanesimo*, ed. Luisa Rotondi Secchi Tarugi (Milano, 1992), pp. 205-215; sobre la vida de Perotti, cf. Giovanni Mercati, *Per la cronologia della vita e degli scritti di Niccolò Perotti, arcivescovo di Siponto* (Roma: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1925); Aulo Greco, 'Vecchi e nuovi elementi nella biografia di Niccolò Perotti', *Res Publica Litterarum*, 4 (1981), 77-91; Paul O. Kristeller, 'Niccolò Perotti ed i suoi contributi alla storia dell'umanesimo', *Res Publica Litterarum*, 4 (1981), 7-25; Jean-Louis Charlet, 'Un humaniste trop peu connu, Niccolò Perotti: Prologomènes à une nouvelle édition du *Cornu Copiae*', *Revue des Etudes Latines*, 65 (1987), 210-227; Sandro Boldrini, *Fedro e Perotti, ricerche di storia della tradizione* (Urbino, 1988), pp. 119-152.

⁴ Percival, 'The Place of the *Rudimenta*', 233.

presenta el *De componendis*, fruto de las nuevas teorías humanistas, así como el formar parte de una gramática de tanta importancia en ese momento, como son los *Rudimenta*, hicieron que el tratado de Perotti se convirtiera en una de las fuentes más influyentes en la creación de la nueva preceptiva epistolar.

Son significativas las novedades que con respecto a la teoría anterior introduce el arzobispo italiano en su obra. La primera de ellas se refiere a la concepción de la carta como medio de comunicación de asuntos cotidianos entre ausentes, completamente distinta a la concepción medieval en la que la carta tiene, ante todo, un carácter oficial. Por otro lado y frente a muchos manuales medievales y renacentistas, no ofrece cartas modelo que ejemplifiquen la larga lista de tipos epistolares, sino que solo presenta una carta, la que incluye al final del *De componendis*, dirigida a su sobrino Pirro Perotti y que corresponde al tipo familiar. Pero sin duda, la mayor aportación del tratado radica en ser una de las primeras preceptivas epistolares que ya no trata las partes de la carta y que omite toda referencia a esta división así como toda alusión a los nombres de las mismas. La acomodación de los estilos de la carta al género y a la materia que se esté tratando y no a la posición jerárquica del destinatario, la utilización de un lenguaje sencillo, familiar y cotidiano y la preocupación por el perfecto uso de la lengua latina son las otras innovaciones importantes que se deben a Perotti.⁵

Además de los *Rudimenta grammatices* y de otras muchas traducciones, ediciones y tratados, como la *Cornucopia seu Latinae linguae commentarii* — que parece haber sido una de las obras de referencia obligada y fundamentales para el desarrollo de la lexicografía posterior —, Perotti es autor de un amplio *corpus* de cartas de tema variado, tanto privadas como públicas. Él mismo recoge estas últimas en dos volúmenes: *Epistulae Romanae* y *Epistulae Perusinae*, en las que Perotti reúne gran parte de las cartas que escribió durante el desempeño

⁵ Para un estudio más detallado del *De componendis*, cf. Gian Carlo Alessio, 'Il *De componendis epistolis* di Niccolò Perotti e l'epistolografia umanistica', *Res Publica Litterarum*, 11 (1988), 9-18; M^a Elena Curbelo Tavío, 'Niccolò Perotti y la preceptiva epistolar del Renacimiento: el *De componendis epistolis*' (Memoria de licenciatura inédita, Universidad de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, 1999). Las citas del *De componendis* que aparecerán a lo largo de este artículo se corresponden con la edición que se incluye en la memoria. Para facilitar la consulta se ha añadido también la referencia a los folios de la edición de los *Rudimenta grammatices*, Neapoli, 1475, per Mathiam Morauum (I-1286 de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid).

de sus cargos.⁶ Además, un buen número de ellas son cartas de dedicatoria, a cuyos destinatarios se dirige Perotti al comienzo de sus obras. Sin embargo, no se tiene constancia de que el humanista italiano hiciera una recopilación similar de las que dirigió a sus familiares y amigos y que circularon de manera independiente ya que nunca se agruparon en una sola obra. Por ello son pocas las cartas de este tipo que han llegado hasta nosotros.

Puesto que contamos con cartas escritas por Perotti y con una preceptiva epistolar del propio humanista, parece interesante comprobar si el arzobispo italiano sigue, en la composición de sus cartas, los preceptos que recoge en el *De componendis epistolis*. Para ello he elegido un *corpus* de seis cartas que el autor italiano compuso entre 1453 y 1468 y que son de temática, características y destinatarios diferentes. Los correspondientes son Lorenzo Valla, Giacomo Schioppo de Verona, Antonio de Medici y Giovanni Tortelli Arretino. Valla y Schioppo — compañero de estudios de Perotti y a quien el arzobispo italiano dedica su obra *De metris* — están vinculados a Perotti por amistad. Por tanto, las cartas dirigidas a ellos son epístolas familiares. En cambio, Giovanni Tortelli y Antonio de Medici ocupan cargos en la administración pontificia y por esta razón las cartas dirigidas a ellos, aunque no son oficiales, tienen rasgos más próximos a las cartas públicas que a las familiares. A Giovanni Tortelli Arretino — camarlengo del papa Nicolás V — Perotti envía dos obras suyas y pide recomendación para ellas: la traducción del libro III de Polibio y la composición del *De metris*. La finalidad de la carta a Antonio de Medici es pedir que interceda a su favor para conseguir la ratificación de su cargo y agradecer su benevolencia hacia su cuñado Giovanni Perotti, pretor de Florencia.

Perotti enumera y describe en el *De componendis* ideas y rasgos epistolares que remiten, en su mayoría, a la preceptiva epistolar clásica ciceroniana.⁷

Aunque hay aspectos teóricos que Perotti no trata, sin embargo, en la obra se analizan los elementos más importantes de una carta, esto es, la

⁶ Para una enumeración exhaustiva de todas las obras, manuscritos y ediciones de Perotti, cf. Revilo Pendleton Oliver, *Niccolò Perotti*, pp. 137-166.

⁷ Para un estudio específico de los rasgos y características de la carta clásica, cf. Klaus Thraede, *Grundzüge griechisch-römischer Brieftopik* (München, 1970); Abraham J. Malherbe, 'Ancient Epistolary Theorists', *Ohio Journal of Religious Studies*, 5 (1977), 3-77; Paolo Cugusi, *Evoluzione e forme dell'epistolografia latina nella tarda repubblica e nei primi due secoli dell'Impero con cenni sull'epistolografia preciceroniana* (Roma: Herder, 1983).

tipología en la que se agrupan las diferentes clases de cartas, la estructura que estas mantienen y el estilo y composición de las mismas.

1. Tipología de la carta

La tipología general que clasifica la correspondencia en cartas públicas y privadas se ha mantenido, con más o menos diferencias, a lo largo de todas las épocas. Sin embargo, el humanismo vuelve a retomar el gusto por las largas listas de tipos de cartas que tienen su origen en la tradición griega.⁸ También Perotti ofrece en el *De componendis* un gran número de tipos epistolares en los que las cartas se agrupan según su temática. Así encontramos que para el arzobispo italiano hay cartas que tratan sobre asuntos divinos (*de rebus diuinis*) y cartas que hablan de moral (*de moribus*); cartas que tratan los asuntos que pasan diariamente (*de rebus quae quotidie accidunt*) o que informan sobre un suceso reciente (*de rebus nouis*). Igualmente, hay cartas de consuelo (*consolatoriae*), de recomendación (*commendatitiae*), de exhortación (*hortatoriae*) y de amor (*amatoriae*) y, finalmente, cartas que tratan asuntos familiares (*de rebus familiaribus*) o cartas simplemente jocosas (*iocosae*).⁹

⁸ En la preceptiva griega había un gusto especial por la clasificación pormenorizada de las cartas, como podemos observar en los manuales de modelos de cartas llegados hasta nosotros: los *Typoi epistolikoi* (c. II a.C. — III d.C.), el *Papyrus Boloniensis* (c. III o IV d.C.) y los *Epistolimaioi characteres* (c. IV — VI d.C.), que se atribuyen a Libanio y a Proclo respectivamente. Cf. Thraede, *Grundzüge*, pp. 17-27; Malherbe, 'Ancient Epistolary', pp. 4-12.

⁹ Quot sunt genera epistolarum? Multa sunt. Aliae enim sunt duntaxat de rebus diuinis ut sunt Platonis epistolae ad Dionisium et in religione nostra Petri et Pauli, Iacobi et Iohannis epistolae. Aliae sunt de moribus ut epistolae Senecae, Aurelii Augustini, Hieronimi, Ambrosii, Cypriani et aliorum quae multa etiam de rebus diuinis continent. Aliae sunt de rebus quae quotidie accidunt tamen seueris et grauibz ut pote quae uel belli uel pacis tempore aut ex castris ad urbem aut ex urbe in exercitum scribuntur, fere similes historiae. Aliae quae de rebus nouis qualescunque acciderint certiores faciunt absentes. Aliae consolatoriae ut si uel propinqui alicuius uel amici mors aut calamitas interuenerint. Aliae commendatitiae ut cum amicum aliquem aut familiarem aut alioquin notum siue ignotum litteris commendamus. Aliae hortatoriae ut cum filios, affines, familiares, discipulos, principes aut quosuis alios ad mores, ad studia, ad laudem, ad decus, ad gloriam cohortamur. Aliae amatoriae quae magis poetarum sunt ut sunt epistolae Nasonis, Tibulli, Propertii ceterorumque huiusmodi. Aliae de rebus familiaribus atque domesticis ut de praediis, pecore, uino, frumento, seruus et reliquis id genus. Aliae postremo iocosae, quae duntaxat animi gratia scribuntur ut cum deficiente etiam materia scribitur quicquid in buccam uenit. Ad haec cetera fere omnia, si qua sunt, epistolarum genera reduci possent (Perotti, *De componendis* 2,1-9 <fol. 77^v>).

La temática sobre la que versan las cartas que aquí se presentan es variada. Las escritas a Schioppo y a Valla pueden clasificarse según el tipo clásico de cartas familiares o de amistad. En cambio, no podemos incluir en este tipo las cartas a Giovanni Tortelli y a Antonio de Medici porque, como ya hemos señalado, muestran características que son más propias de la carta oficial.

Más difícil, y casi imposible, es, sin embargo, realizar una clasificación de su correspondencia atendiendo a la tipología que él mismo ofrece en el *De componendis*, pues la distinción entre los diferentes tipos es, ante todo, teórica, de ahí la dificultad de aplicarla a las cartas reales. Hay que tener en cuenta que la mayoría de las cartas no son monotemáticas y que los temas tratados son muy diversos. Por tanto, las clases de cartas no se dan de una forma pura y aislada. No cabe hablar de carta exclusivamente moral, de carta cuyo único propósito es la exhortación o de carta de amor, puesto que en una única carta Perotti es capaz de hablar de varios de estos temas.

Solo tres de sus cartas admitirían, en un sentido muy amplio, la clasificación de Perotti. Por un lado la epístola que dirige a Valla en septiembre de 1453 se puede definir como carta *de moribus*. En esta epístola Perotti muestra su situación económica para, a partir de ella, poder ofrecer a Valla una lección moral sobre aquellos valores que para él son los más importantes. Por otro lado, la que le remite posteriormente en 1454 puede clasificarse como carta *de rebus quae quotidie accidunt*. Igualmente cabría denominar carta *iocosa* la que en diciembre de 1453 dirige al mismo amigo y en la que el propio Perotti hace alusión al carácter festivo de la misiva cuando dice: ‘Sed satis est iocorum, nunc serio loquar’ (IV, lín. 36).

2. Estructura de la carta

Perotti no menciona en su tratado las partes de la carta, como ya he dicho antes, pero sí dedica algunos párrafos a las fórmulas de comienzo y despedida — que ni siquiera denomina con los términos clásicos de *inscriptio* y de *subscriptio* — y a la fecha de la carta. La eliminación por parte de los epistológrafos humanistas de la segmentación de la carta está relacionada con el nuevo estilo de escritura que promueven para su composición.

En la *salutatio* se manifiesta abiertamente la ruptura entre la preceptiva medieval y la humanista, cuyo propósito más claro es la vuelta al mundo clásico. En el caso de Perotti, y frente a otros autores anteriores

como Faba o Bonandrea, el largo tratamiento que a esta parte de la carta dedica el autor italiano pretende, ante todo, corregir los errores de la preceptiva medieval que obligaba a adaptar la *salutatio*, en particular, y la carta, en general, al *status* social del emisor y del receptor. Por ello las fórmulas de saludo y despedida medievales son sustituidas en el *De componendis* por las fórmulas clásicas. Igualmente se omiten otros títulos con propósito adulador y desaparecen las largas listas de epítetos y los amplios capítulos dedicados a la *salutatio* que encontrábamos en las preceptivas de Faba o de Bonandrea.¹⁰

De las variantes que ofrece la preceptiva clásica para la expresión del saludo, Perotti adopta solo la fórmula más breve: el nombre del remitente en nominativo y el del destinatario en dativo, seguidos de la expresión *salutem plurimam dicit*.¹¹ Recomendada, además, la eliminación de los epítetos del encabezamiento de las cartas y se refiere especialmente al término *dominus*, que nunca debe utilizarse en las cartas con la intención de honrar al destinatario. Lo único que puede añadirse junto al nombre es el cargo que se desempeña y que se colocará detrás.¹²

¹⁰ Quia non debet salutatio a qualitate uel statu personarum discedere uel discrepare, sed earum merita distinguere et dignitatem, condicionem, subiectionem, ordinem, parentelam, dilectionem, professionem, gentem uel patriam designare: et sic adiectiua circumscribere quod singula suum locum teneant sortita decenter (G. Faba, *Summa dictaminis*, VI, ed. by A. Gaudenzi, *Il Propugnatore*, 23 (1890), 298). Cum autem personarum alie spirituali dignitate, alie temporali, alie genere, alie habitu, alie natura precellant, alie sint pares, alie inferiores, adiectiuationis dignitatis et salutis diuersimoda scriptione utendum [*sic pro utendum*] est (G. Bonandrea, *Breuis introductio*, III, in *Giovanni di Bonandrea's Ars Dictaminis Treatise and the Doctrine of Invention in the Italian Rhetorical Tradition of the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Century*, ed. by J. R. Banker (Rochester — Nueva York: University of Rochester, 1971), pp. 329-360 (p. 330).

¹¹ Litteras in contione recitasti quas tibi a C. Caesare missas diceret 'Caesar Pulchro', cum etiam es argumentatus amoris esse hoc signum, quod cognominibus tantum uteretur neque adscriberet 'pro consule' aut 'tribuno plebi' (Cic., *domo*, 22). Cicero Appio imp. s. d. (Cic., *fam.*, 52, 3, 1).

Quomodo exordiendae sunt epistolae? In primis tam scribentis quam eius ad quem scribitur praeponendum est nomen et is ad quem scribitur salutandus est hoc modo: Pirrhus Perottus Nicolao Perotto salutem plurimam dicit uel si Graece scribas: Πύρρος Περόττος Νικολέο Περόττο ἐδπράττειν. Hic est enim Graecorum mos ut bene agere dicant ubi Latini salutem dicunt (Perotti, *De componendis* 6, 1 <fol. 78^v>).

¹² M. Cicero s. d. p. Lentulo pro cos. (Cic., *fam.*, 1, 1, 1). Cauendum praeterea est ne unquam dominum honoris causa nominibus propriis praeponamus ut 'domino Pirrho' et 'domino Nicolao'. Barbara est enim ea locutio et nuper inuenta. Non hoc Latini nec Graeci ueteres fecerunt. Potest tamen addi nomen dignitatis siue magistratus post proprium nomen ut si ita scripseris Paulo Pontifici Maximo, Frederico imperatori, Bessarioni cardinali, Ferdinando regi, Nicolao Perotto, Thusciae propapae (Perotti, *De componendis* 6, 4-5 <fol. 78^v>).

Perotti aplica su teoría únicamente cuando la carta va dirigida a un amigo o familiar, y no siempre es así. En este caso coinciden con su preceptiva los encabezamientos de las cartas remitidas a Schioppo y a Valla:

Nicolaus Perottus Iacopo Schioppo Veronensi salutem p.d. (I, lín.1)
 Nicolaus Perottus Laurentio Vallensi s.p.d. (II, IV, lín. 1)

En cambio, las cartas que dirige a Antonio de Medici y a Giovanni Tortelli, mantienen el tipo de saludo propio de las cartas medievales, en el que el nombre del destinatario se acompaña de la enumeración de todos los cargos seguidos de epítetos del tipo de *reuerendus*, *insignis* y, por supuesto, del término *dominus* que tanto critica Perotti:¹³

Reuerendo in Christo Patri, et domino Domino Ioanni Arretino Subdiacono, et Cubiculario Apostolico Domino meo colendissimo (III, lín. 1)
 Reuerende pater minister (VI, lín. 1)

Igualmente, como en la preceptiva medieval, el nombre del remitente no aparece hasta el final de la carta:

Reuerendissimae Dominationis uestrae Seruitor Nicolaus Perottus (III, lín. 29-30)
 N. Archiepiscopus Sypontinus manu propria (VI, lín. 20)

Este tipo de *inscriptio*, en la que no aparece el nombre del remitente hasta el final de la carta y en la que, en cambio, se hace una relación de todos los cargos del destinatario seguidos de esta serie de epítetos, es empleada por Perotti con una intención: granjearse el beneplácito de sus interlocutores ante sus peticiones. Podemos pensar que la razón se debe a que, aunque la preceptiva humanística consiguió imponerse en la correspondencia familiar, en las cartas oficiales se mantuvo la teoría medieval durante mucho más tiempo.

¹³ Generalis salutatio ad parentes et ad alias personas: Reuerendis dominis A. presbitero, B. auo et C. auie, et peramabili patri D., et dulcissime matri E., carissimis patribus F. et G., metuentis auunculis H. et I., honorabilibus et sapientibus dominibus K. et L. amite et matertere, prouidis et discretis fratibus M. et N., et dilectis sororibus O. et P., et [...] (Faba, *Summa dictaminis*, XXV, 307). De adiectiuatione personarum spirituali precellentium dignitate; primo summo pontifici: Sanctissimo patri domino Nicolao, sacrosante Romane uel uniuersalis ecclesie, dignissimo summo pontifici uel clementissimo uel piissimo uel beatissimo (Bonandrea, *Breuis introductio*, IV, 330).

Perotti dedica apenas unas pocas palabras a la parte final de la carta. Por un lado se observa que la *subscriptio* más común en tiempos de Cicerón, *uale*,¹⁴ es también la elegida por el autor del *De componendis*.¹⁵ En la carta enviada a Schioppo y en la remitida a Valla en diciembre de 1453, la expresión de despedida *uale* va inmediatamente seguida del lugar y de la fecha. En las demás epístolas encontramos variantes de esta fórmula como, por ejemplo:

Valeat Paternitas uestra feliciter (VI, lín. 18);

en ocasiones añade la petición de saludo a un amigo común:

Vale et uiro claro ac perhumano Ioanni Aretino ex me salutem adnuntia (II, lín. 42),

o la petición de recomendación ante otra persona:

Valeat Paternitas uestra, et me commendatum habeat apud Sanctissimum ac clementissimum Dominum nostrum (III, lín. 26-27)

Por otra parte, en lo que a la fecha de la carta se refiere, el humanista recurre nuevamente a las fórmulas clásicas. Por tanto, no resulta extraño que Perotti, a la hora de establecer una preceptiva en este aspecto, vuelva su mirada al calendario romano y que date sus cartas según el cómputo clásico de *Kalendae*, *Nonae* e *Idus*. Es más, la característica clásica de añadir junto a la despedida de la carta, la fecha y localidad de envío, precedidas a menudo de la expresión *datae*, es recomendada por el arzobispo italiano como un precepto para el cierre y conclusión de una carta.¹⁶

En las cartas que aquí se analizan se observan ambas variantes, dependiendo de que tengan o no carácter oficial. De este modo, las cartas dirigidas a Tortelli y a Medici presentan la fórmula medieval que recoge el

¹⁴ Cura, si me diligis, ut ualeas et, cum te bene confirmaris, ad nos uenias. Vale (Cic., *fam.*, 53, 16, 13).

¹⁵ In fine autem epistolarum ponendum est uale in quo Graeci cum Latinis conueniunt dicentes ἔπποσο (Perotti, *De componendis* 7, 2, <fol. 78'>).

¹⁶ Ego et saepius ad te et plura scriberem nisi mihi dolor meus cum omnis partis mentis tum maxime huius generis facultatem ademisset. Videre te cupio. Cura ut ualeas. D. prid. Kal. Mai. Brundusio proficiscens (Cic., *fam.*, 58, 3, 7).

Quomodo Latine dicemus 'Data in Viterbo a di vintenove de ottobre, mille quadrociento sessanto octo'? Viterbii quarto Kalendas Nouembris, anno salutis MCCCCLXVIII [...] Et praepositur aliquando hoc uerbum datae subintelligiturque litterae, quod si datae non ponatur nihilominus intelligitur id uerbum. Itaque 'litterae traduntur tabellario in urbe Brundusii, in castris, in littore, apud Ephesum, in Thusculano' et sicut dicere possumus 'accepi litteras quas Rome siue in urbe liberto meo dedisti' (Perotti, *De componendis*, 125-126 <fol. 109'>).

día y el mes según el cómputo moderno, y el año según el calendario cristiano. En cambio, la carta que envía a Schioppo está fechada de acuerdo con el calendario romano. No se conserva la *subscriptio* en las cartas a Valla, o bien carecen de ella.¹⁷

El lugar se expresa en locativo antes de la fecha, precedido de *datum* tan solo en la carta a Antonio de Medici:

Bononiae tertio Nonas Martias (I, lín. 9)
 Bononiae die decima tertia Nouembris MCCCCLIII (III, lín. 28)
 Bononiae... (IV, lín. 72)
 Datum Montiflasconi die XX Iulii LXVIII (VI, lín. 19)

3. Estilo y composición

Niccolò Perotti define la carta como medio para la transmisión de noticias a aquellos con los que, por estar ausentes, no nos es posible hablar, concepción que ya encontramos en las *Epistulae ad familiares* de Cicerón.¹⁸ Sin embargo, los autores humanistas no limitan la función de

¹⁷ Es probable que Perotti empleara también en las cartas compuestas en italiano la misma preceptiva para el saludo, la despedida y la datación de las epístolas latinas. Un ejemplo de ello lo podemos observar en la misiva enviada a su cuñado Giovanni Perotti en 1476. En esta carta la *inscriptio*, el saludo inicial, la *subscriptio* y la fecha de la carta están escritas en latín pero sin seguir estrictamente las fórmulas que él recomienda para las cartas familiares:

Insigni equiti domino Iohanni Perotto Comiti Insulae: fratri suauissimo.

Saluus sis. Ho receuto le ostreghe le quale tu me hai mandato, e sonnome piaciute. Ma molto piu m'è piaciuta la tua lettera, per la quale ho inteso del figlolo maschio Dio ne sia regratiato. Madonna Lysa merita el tabarro et qualche cosa apresso. Sforzaromme quanto piu presto porrò fare venire el drappo da Fiorenze: qui non se ne trova: et mandarovelo: et tu farai ch el suo et quelli delle mamole siano fatti, et stiano bene: perche se piace a Dio che siamo qui questa state, voglo che per omne modo vengano qui al perdono de Ascese, et stiano qualche dì im Perosia. Ser Piero te ha mandato 40 ducati d oro: sforzaromme havere un altra lettera dal Thesauriero: et como ser Piero sera sano el mandarimo per piu. Dello andare a visitare el Duca, sera bono, come tu habbie hauuto denari et si te messo bene im ponto: sforzate quilli pochi che tu hai a tenere hauerli politi et da bene et mitilli bene in ordine: ma non te carcane de troppo persone, perche tu non sei obligato a tenere se non chi tu vole. Desideraria se fosse possibile che tu te mettesti in ordine per fare la casa a la nostra possessione et feste portare la robba per farla fare a furia como fosse tempo novo. Fa che tisti mamolecti non perdano tempo et che imparano qualche cosa. Vale. Perusia die 22 Jan. 1476.

¹⁸ Epistularum genera multa esse non ignoras sed unum illud certissimum, cuius causa inuenta res ipsa est, ut certiores faceremus absentis si quid esset quos eos scire aut nostra aut ipsorum interesset (Cic., *fam.*, 2, 4, 1).

Quare inuentae sunt epistolae? Vt eos cum quibus siue propter absentiam siue propter ruborem seu ob aliam quavis causam loqui non licet, certiores facere possumus, si quid

la carta a la de un mero vehículo para establecer el contacto entre ausentes y satisfacer la necesidad de comunicación, sino que, además, se sirven de ella como medio para la expresión literaria de materias escolares y filosóficas. Perotti no trata este tipo de cartas a lo largo de su obra pues su preceptiva, y su *corpus* epistolar en general, se centra únicamente en la carta como diálogo entre ausentes.

La concepción de la carta como conversación se evidencia en el tipo de lenguaje que recomienda y en el uso de determinadas expresiones y de ciertos rasgos y fórmulas que recuerdan al diálogo, tales como el uso de giros propios de las conversaciones orales, o el empleo de conectores y expresiones que facilitan y favorecen el mantenimiento de la atención por parte del destinatario de la misma forma que se haría en una conversación real:

Vides quam subito e paupere factus sum diues (II, lín. 19)
 Sed dic, quaeso, quando te abaco et pulvisculo dedisti? (II, lín. 35-36)
 Quid si ego te tuis artibus repellam? (IV, lín. 4-5)
 Quid, inquam, si ego quoque tuis, hoc est preceptoris mei, artibus te premam? (IV, lín. 20-21)
 Sed satis est iocorum, nunc serio loquar (IV, lín. 36)

La presencia o ausencia de formalismo, el carácter más o menos familiar de la carta y la expresión de sentimientos personales están en relación directa con el tipo de carta y, sobre todo, con el destinatario de las mismas. De esta forma, en las cartas dirigidas a Giacomo Schioppo y a Lorenzo Valla encontramos un lenguaje directo y muestras de cariño que no aparecen en las otras:

qui huiusmodi rerum peritissimus es (I, lín. 6-7)
 magnopere laetatus sum et ingenio tuo gratulor (II, lín. 34-35)
 si putas esse humanitatis tuae (II, lín. 40)
 Ego te, mi Laurenti, ut habui semper, ita parentis habeo loco, nec quicquam auidius expecto quam dari mihi facultatem ut ostendere ualeam te non solum rebus omnibus, uerum et me ipso uti posse arbitratu tuo (IV, lín. 36-39)
 nam et amorem tuum erga me singularem iam diu expertus sum, qui mihi semper et in honoribus meis suffragator et testis, et in studiis adiutor et comes, et in omni uita dux et rector extitisti (V, lín. 1-4)

Una característica del lenguaje íntimo se refleja en el empleo del singular. Perotti critica el empleo del plural mayestático cuando se escribe

sit quod eos scire oporteat siue nostra siue illorum siue aliorum causa. (Perotti, *De componendis*, 1, 1 <fol. 77<sup>>).

a una sola persona, uso frecuente en la redacción de las cartas medievales y cuya práctica él no recomienda, como ya había hecho Valla en las *Elegantiae*.¹⁹ En las epístolas que aquí se analizan se contemplan claramente las dos variantes. El uso del plural está limitado a las cartas enviadas a Tortelli y a Medici:

Mittam etiam ad Paternitatem uestram (III, lín. 16)
 Paternitas uestra, et me commendatum habeat apud Sanctissimum ac clementissimum Dominum nostrum (III, lín. 26-27)
 liberalitatem Paternitas uestra ostendit (VI, lín. 1-2)
 Et ago Paternitati uestrae infinitas gratias (VI, lín. 4-5)
 Reuerendissimus Dominus Cardinalis noster (VI, lín. 8)
 rogo Paternitatem uestram (VI, lín. 9)
 Date operam ut in hac re intelligamus prudentiam diligentiam et beniuolentiam uestram. Non dubito, si Paternitas uestra rem istam ex corde aggredietur, nos desyderii compotes futuros (VI, lín. 11-14)

Sin embargo, como estas cartas no son estrictamente oficiales, Perotti se dirige en una ocasión en singular a Tortelli, lo que, como ya hemos dicho, es un rasgo propio de la nueva preceptiva epistolar:

Tertium ante natalem Christi per germanum meum ad te mittam (III, lín. 6-7)

En las cartas a Schioppo y a Valla sólo encontramos singular:

nolui tamen ante amico respondere quam te, qui huiusmodi rerum peritissimus es, consulerem. Peto igitur abs te in maiorem modum, ut tuam de hac quaestione sententiam ad me scribas (I, lín. 6-8)
 ut tu de me (II, lín. 2)

¹⁹ Illud etiam summo studio fugiendum est ne ad unum scribens pluratium numero utaris in quem errorem omnes fere nostrae aetatis homines incurrerunt putantes se magis honorare eum ad quem scribunt si barbaramente loquantur [...] At quasi barbaramente loquimur cum aliquem unum alloquentes plurali numero utimur, cur etiam non dicamus barbaramente loqui cum de nobis ipsis loquentes pro singulari pluratium numerum usurpamus dicentes nos pro ego? Et quod mirabilius est in eodem loco modo singulare modo pluralem numerum adhibentes ut Virgilius: "O Meliboeae, deus nobis haec oia fecit [...]". Hic enim Tytirus de se loquens nunc nos nunc me ait (Perotti, *De componendis*, 7 1-5 <fol. 78^v>).

Ex his quae dixi colligi potest non uerum esse quod aliqui uolunt quotiens auctor in numero plurali loquitur declarari dignitatem quandam et (ut sic dicam) magisterium. [...] Sed ne in re aperta dicam pluribus huic opinioni repugnat cum ipsa rhetorica ars quae iubet nos uti modo plurali pro singulari numero modo singulari pro plurali tum plurima exempla adeo ut uno atque eodem loco de se orator in utroque numero loquatur: Vergilius: O Meliboeae [...]. Hic de se loquens Tytirus nunc nos, nunc me ait (L. Valla, *Elegantiae Linguae Latinae*, 3, 11 in Laurentius Valla, *Opera Omnia*, ed. by E. Garin (Torino: Bottega d'Erasmus, 1962), I, 88).

Vides quam subito e paupere factus sum diues (II, lín. 19)
 Sed dic, quaeso, quando te abaco et puluisculo dedisti? (II, lín. 35-36)
 fac me, si putas esse humanitatis tuae, istius lucubrationis participem
 (II, lín. 40-41)
 Tu potius stoicaris, Laurenti (IV, lín. 2)
 “At quomodo id facere poteris”, inquires, “qui hanc a me artem didi-
 cisti?” (IV, lín. 5-6)
 Quid ais, Laurenti? (IV, lín. 33)
 Tibi uero qui me ita amice admones gratias ago; quod rogas, queror
 (V, lín. 10)

En cuanto al *modus epistolaris*, los requisitos que exigían la correspon-
 dencia clásica y medieval parecen haber sido dos, la restricción de la
 carta a un solo argumento, característica que encontramos sobre todo en
 Plinio, y la *breuitas*.²⁰ Ya hemos mencionado antes que Perotti no se
 limita a un solo tema en las cartas y ni siquiera se refiere a ello en su
 tratado. En cambio, del segundo rasgo se ocupa expresamente en el *De*
componendis. El humanista italiano une los preceptos de la brevedad y
 de la claridad con el empleo del *sermo cotidianus*. Las cartas han de
 ser, según él, lo más breve posible, sin que por ello la redacción resulte
 descuidada, fría, concisa o demasiado árida.²¹ Ciertamente, salvo la
 carta dirigida a Valla en diciembre de 1453, el resto son misivas breves
 donde la intención fundamental es la de responder a una carta anterior.
 Incluso encontramos alguna referencia a la longitud en la epístola a
 Tortelli:

Sed excedo modum epistolae (III, lín. 25-26)

Sobre los rasgos epistolares clásicos, Perotti no hace ninguna recomen-
 dación expresa en el *De componendis*; sin embargo algunos están total-
 mente integrados en sus cartas. Estos rasgos epistolares se observan de
 una manera muy clara en las cartas a Valla. Entre ellos cabe destacar que
 se debe contestar siguiendo el orden en el que vienen remitidas las noti-
 cias en la carta a la que se contesta. Esto origina expresiones como:

Sed haec ad primam particulam litterarum tuarum satis (II, lín. 31-32)
 Quod uero in calce litterarum (IV, lín. 50)

²⁰ Constable, *Letters and Letter Collections*, pp. 19-20; Cugusi, *Evoluzione e forme*, pp. 74-75; 218.

²¹ Quid amplius obseruandum? Vt quoad eius fieri potest breues sint, propria enim et quasi peculiaris epistolarum est breuitas. Cauendum tamen ne nimio breuitatis studio squallens et ieiuna et concisa ac plane sicca oratio fiat, qualis est Annei Senecae (Perotti, *De componendis*, 4, 1-2 <fol. 77v>).

En la carta que Perotti dirige a Valla en diciembre de 1453, las continuas apelaciones al destinatario, las preguntas de Perotti y las supuestas respuestas de Valla hacen muy evidente la concepción clásica ciceroniana — que también comparte el autor italiano — de la carta como *amicorum colloquia absentium*.²²

Quid si ego te tuis artibus repellam? “At quomodo id facere poteris”, inquires, “qui hanc a me artem didicisti?”. Nempe quomodo Tisias cum Corace, a quo dicendi artem didicerat, fecit. Meministin exempli? (IV, lín. 4-7)

Quid, inquam, si ego quoque tuis, hoc est preceptoris mei, artibus te premam? (IV, lín. 20-21)

“At ego pecunias abs te peto”, inquires, “non libros, pecuniosior namque es quam librior”. “Egone”, inquam, “pecuniosior quam librior sum?” (IV, lín. 26-28)

En esta misma epístola Perotti hace uso del griego, a la manera clásica, en los dos refranes insertados en el discurso:

κακοῦ κόρακος κακὸν φόν (IV, lín. 34-35)

ἀμάθεια μὲν θράσος, λογισμὸς δὲ ὄκνον φέρει (IV, lín. 69)

A partir del estudio realizado se observa que Perotti utiliza una preceptiva diferente cuando compone cartas familiares o cartas más cercanas a la correspondencia oficial. Las epístolas del primer tipo, las dirigidas a Schioppo y a Valla, reflejan, de manera general, los preceptos que el propio Perotti recomienda en el *De componendis*. En cambio, en las cartas que escribe a Tortelli y a Medici encontramos una serie de características que las hacen estar más próximas a la carta oficial, que todavía mantiene la preceptiva medieval. Ponen de manifiesto esta situación las fórmulas empleadas para la apertura y cierre de la carta, así como el uso del plural por el singular. En la carta a Giovanni Tortelli, el estilo de redacción empleado por el humanista italiano puede justificarse porque fue escrita en su juventud, casi 15 años antes de la composición de los *Rudimenta grammatices*, en una época en la que la correspondencia oficial seguía ligada a las normas impuestas para ella por el *ars dictaminis*.²³ Sin embargo, no cabe la misma justificación para la carta dirigida a Antonio de Medici que, pese a estar redactada en el mismo año de composición de su tratado, no guarda la preceptiva ofrecida en el *De componendis epistolis*.

²² Cic., *Phil.*, 2, 7.

²³ Witt, ‘Medieval ‘*Ars Dictaminis*’, 26; pp. 32-33.

Es evidente, pues, que, aunque Niccolò Perotti es uno de los primeros renovadores de la epistolografía humanista, él mismo aplica sus preceptos sólo a la correspondencia familiar y privada. Por el contrario, las cartas con rasgos próximos a las cartas públicas, como son las dirigidas a miembros de la administración pontificia situados, probablemente, en un puesto superior de la escala social, mantienen aún características propias de la epistolografía medieval. Esto no es más que un reflejo de la situación en la que se encuentra la epistolografía durante su época. Los humanistas, en su intento de innovar, recuperaron la preceptiva clásica para la carta familiar; sin embargo la carta oficial permaneció durante más tiempo bajo las reglas del *dictamen*. Por ello no es de extrañar que Perotti, en su correspondencia, refleje claramente esta dicotomía.

APÉNDICE

El *corpus* de cartas que aquí se ofrece se ha extraído de dos fuentes diferentes. Las cartas que Perotti envía a Valla corresponden a la edición realizada por M. C. Davies en su artículo 'Niccolò Perotti and Lorenzo Valla: Four New Letters'.²⁴ En cambio, el resto de las cartas han sido tomadas de la obra de G. Mercati.²⁵ En nota se señalan las enmiendas que he realizado en algunos pasajes del texto.

I

Perotti a Schioppo
(5 de marzo de 1453)

Nicolaus Perottus Iacopo Schioppo Veronensi salutem p.d.

Petiit a me nuper quidam utriusque nostrum familiaris, differretne quicquam serpentem alere atque in hominem improbum ingratumque beneficum esse. Ego uero et si haec nihil differre sed idem esse plane
5 existimem, quod aequè apud utrumque merita nostra nullam parare amicitiam possint, nolui tamen ante amico respondere quam te, qui huiusmodi rerum peritissimus es, consulerem. Peto igitur abs te in maiorem modum, ut tuam de hac quaestione sententiam ad me scribas.
Vale. Bononiae tertio Nonas Martias.

II

Perotti a Valla
(Septiembre-octubre 1453)

Nicolaus Perottus Laurentio Vallensi s.p.d.

Nescio unde nata sit istaec opinio lucri qua, ut tu de me, ita alii plerique falluntur. Credo quia uos cumulandis opibus semper studetis,

²⁴ M. C. Davies, 'Niccolò Perotti and Lorenzo Valla: Four New Letters', *Rinascimento*, 24 (1984), 125-147 (pp. 140-146).

²⁵ Mercati, *Per la cronologia*, pp. 20; 23; 61.

I

Perotti a Schioppo
(5 de marzo de 1453)

Saludos de Niccolò Perotti a Giacomo Schioppo de Verona

Hace poco cierto amigo nuestro me preguntó si había alguna diferencia entre alimentar a una serpiente y favorecer a un hombre impío y desagradecido. Pero yo, aunque creo que no hay diferencia alguna sino que es, claramente, la misma cosa, porque de la misma manera nuestros méritos no pueden granjearnos ninguna amistad con ninguno de ellos, sin embargo no he querido responder a mi amigo antes de consultarte a ti, que eres el que más sabe de este tipo de cosas. Por tanto te pido, con la mayor insistencia, que me escribas tu parecer sobre esta cuestión.

Adiós. En Bolonia, a 5 de marzo.

II

Perotti a Valla
(Septiembre-octubre 1453)

Saludos de Niccolò Perotti a Lorenzo Valla

No sé de dónde ha surgido esa idea sobre mis riquezas en la que, respecto a mí, como tú otros muchos se equivocan. Porque vosotros siempre ponéis empeño en acumular bienes, porque adquirís montes de

quia montes aureos lucrifacitis, quia Cresi diuitias comparatis, ex affluentia uestra aliorum quoque copias metimini. Nobis uero neque annua salaria constituta sunt neque Pontificis Maximi liberalitatem experimur nec quotidianos quaestus habemus. Vix tantum munere nostro consequimur quantum satis sit impensis necessariis. Itaque ego aes alienum quod istic olim conflaueram adhuc dissoluere non potui: utinam non etiam grauius contraxissem! Nec tamen uillas urbium aemulas eminenterque ornatas familias, neque preciosam supellectilem nec uero arca thesauros filiis seruo, qui nec duxi uxorem et a ducenda sic abhorreo ut nihil mihi uideatur libero lectulo iocundius.

Desine itaque posthac hominem nihil habentem diuitem appellare, quamquam si animum meum, non facultates, respexeris, nemo me ditior erit, abundantior, copiosior.

Minimum est quod habeo, fateor, sed minimum est quod uolo. Habet autem quantum uult qui uult minimum; qui quantum uult habet ditissimus est. Vides quam subito e paupere factus sum diues. Atqui ego non tam in fundo et foenere quam in ipso hominis animo diuitias existimandas puto. An Platonem dicemus pauperem qui in ortulo qui academiae iunctus fuit et in duobus ministris et in patera qua diis supplicabat patrimonium habuit, praeterea auri tantum <quantum> puer nobilitatis insigne in auricula gestabat? Ceterum ego Platonis inopiam malim quam eorum diuitias qui tanti sunt quantum habent.

Sed ne te diutius opinione tua fraudem, fateor me et lucrifecisse hic aliquid et lucrari, ac interim parca frugalitate seponere; uerum id non agris, non aedibus, non seruis, sed libris doctissimorum hominum emundis erogo. Hoc mihi patrimonium, hoc subsidium senectuti meae paro. Quod si assequor, aperte tum profiteri ausim superare me Crassum diuitiis et omnium aedes, prata, uicos contemnere. Sed haec ad primam particulam litterarum tuarum satis.

Comperisse te quadratum circuli, rem totiens a maioribus nostris tentatam et nunquam inuentam, magnopere laetatus sum et ingenio tuo gratulator, qui ut in aliis plurimis, ita in hoc quoque ueteres uiceris. Sed dic, quaeso, quando te abaco et puluisculo dedisti? Vellem equidem istic esse, non ut opem quam petis praestarem, id est noctuam Athenas mitterem, sed ut abs te docerer, erudirer, instruerer. Nunc quando id mihi

oro, porque reunís las fortunas de Crespo, medís también, creo, las riquezas de otros según vuestra propia abundancia. Sin embargo, para nosotros no se ha establecido un salario anual, ni disfrutamos de la generosidad del Sumo Pontífice, ni obtenemos rentas todos los días. Apenas conseguimos con nuestro cargo cuanto es suficiente para los gastos necesarios. Por eso yo no he podido solventar aún las deudas que en otro tiempo he contraído ahí. ¡Ojalá no las hubiera contraído tan grandes! Y, sin embargo, no tengo villas que rivalicen con ciudades, ni un servicio bien equipado, ni una vajilla preciosa, ni tampoco guardo en un cofre tesoros para mis hijos, yo que no me he casado y siento tal aversión a casarme que nada me parece más agradable que un lecho libre.

Deja pues, en lo sucesivo, de llamar rico a un hombre que no tiene nada aunque, si consideras mi alma y no mis riquezas, no habrá nadie más rico que yo, ni más acaudalado ni más pudiente.

Lo que tengo es lo mínimo, lo confieso, pero lo mínimo es lo que quiero. Tiene cuanto quiere el que quiere lo mínimo; el que quiere cuanto tiene es el más rico. Ves cuán de repente de pobre me he vuelto rico. Pero yo no creo que haya que considerar la riqueza tanto en la propiedad y las ganancias como en el alma misma del hombre. ¿Acaso llamaremos pobre a Platón, quien tuvo como patrimonio un huertecillo que estaba junto a la academia, dos criados y una copa con la que hacía sacrificios a los dioses y que, además, llevaba encima tanto oro como un niño lleva en las orejas como distintivo de nobleza? Yo preferiría la pobreza de Platón a la riqueza de estos que valen tanto cuanto tienen.

Pero, para no ir en contra de tu opinión por más tiempo, confieso que, en esta ocasión, he ganado algo y que adquiero y me alejo, entretanto, de la parca frugalidad, pero no me lo gasto en tierras, ni en mansiones, ni en sirvientes sino en los refinados libros de los hombres más sabios. Para mí dispongo este patrimonio, para mi vejez esta ayuda. Y si lo consigo entonces abiertamente me atrevería a confesar que supero a Craso en riquezas y que menosprecio las mansiones, los jardines y las haciendas de todos. Pero esto es suficiente para contestar a la primera parte de tu carta.

Me alegro enormemente de que hayas descubierto la cuadratura del círculo, una cosa que había sido intentada tantas veces por nuestros antepasados pero que nunca había sido encontrada, y te felicito por tu ingenio a ti que, como en otras muchas cosas, también en esto has vencido a los antiguos. Pero dime, por favor, ¿cuándo te has dedicado al ábaco y a la tiza? Sin duda quisiera estar ahí, no para prestarte la ayuda que me pides, esto es, “enviar lechuzas a Atenas”, sino para que tú me

fata prohibent, quae instar uiolentissimi torrentis neque retineri possunt
 40 neque impelli, fac me, si putas esse humanitatis tuae, istius lucubrationis
 participem, ne Tantali more inter tot delicias fame uel potius siti peream.
 Vale et uiro claro ac perhumano Ioanni Aretino ex me salutem adnuntia.

III

Perotti a Tortelli

(13 de noviembre 1453)

Reuerendo in Christo Patri, et domino Domino Ioanni Arretino Subdi-
 acono, et Cubiculario Apostolico Domino meo colendissimo.

Reuerende in Christo Pater, et Domine mi praecipue. Tertium librum
 Polybii iam usque a mense Septembris absolui: librarius eum in manibus
 5 habet, satis lentus est. Partem etiam quarti traduxi, ita ut paulo plus uno
 libro supersit. Tertium ante natalem Christi per germanum meum ad te
 mittam; erit, ut spero, Sanctissimo Domino nostro gratissimus. Scribit
 primo bellum Illyricum, dignum certe lectione omnium; ualde delectabit
 S. D. N. Scribit etiam in eodem libro secundum bellum Punicum usque
 10 ad pugnam Cannensem, quod et si scribatur a Tito Liuius nostro, tamen,
 mihi crede, non paenitebit etiam hunc legisse, nam et grauius fortasse
 scribit, et lectione eius intelliguntur apertissime multa, quae apud
 Liuium aut nullo modo aut uix intelligebantur. Placebit, ni me animus
 fallit, incredibiliter et Domino nostro et Paternitati uestrae. Quarto libro
 15 scribit de bello Graecorum, ubique sui similis.

Mittam etiam ad Paternitatem uestram per eundem germanum meum
 opusculum quoddam, quod nuper composui de metris, ubi fere omnia
 metrorum genera complexus sum, et rem antea ignotam facillimam red-
 didi; quod certe erat in lingua nostra pernecessarium, in qua nihil tale
 20 habebamus alicuius pretii. Feci hoc ut parumper quiescerem a labore
 traductionis, qua non parum fatigatus eram: quippe qui plus quam tres
 menses nunquam cessaueram, neque unquam ultra quinque horas inter

enseñes, me eduques y me instruyas. Ahora, ya que me lo impiden los hados que, a la manera de un violentísimo torrente no se pueden retener ni rechazar, hazme, si lo consideras propio de tu bondad, partícipe del fruto de tus vigiliass para que, a la manera de Tántalo, entre tantas delicias no perezca de hambre o mejor, de sed.

Adiós y saluda en mi nombre al ilustre y muy amable Giovanni Arretino.

III

Perotti a Tortelli

(13 de noviembre 1453)

A mi apreciadísimo señor don Giovanni Arretino, Reverendo Padre en Cristo, Subdiácono y Camarlengo apostólico.

Reverendo Padre en Cristo y, sobre todo, señor mío. Ya acabé, desde el mes de septiembre, el tercer libro de Polibio. Lo tiene el copista en sus manos, es bastante lento. También he traducido una parte del cuarto, de modo que me queda poco más de un libro. El tercero te lo enviaré por medio de mi hermano antes de Navidad; será, así lo espero, muy grato a nuestro Santísimo Señor. En el primero relata la guerra ilírica, digno, ciertamente, de la lectura de todos. Agradará mucho a nuestro Santísimo Señor. Relata también, en el mismo libro, la segunda guerra púnica hasta la batalla de Cannas, que, aunque nuestro apreciado Tito Livio la narra, sin embargo, créeme, no te causará pesar leer también a este, pues no solo lo narra de forma más rigurosa sino que con su lectura se comprenden claramente muchas cosas que en Livio no se entendían de ningún modo o se hacía con dificultad. Le agradará enormemente, si mi razón no me engaña, a nuestro Señor y a vuestra Paternidad. En el cuarto libro escribe sobre la guerra de los griegos, en todo semejante a sí mismo.

Enviaré también a vuestra Paternidad, por medio de mi hermano, una obrita que hace poco compuse sobre los metros, donde he recopilado casi todas las clases de metros y he conseguido hacer muy fácil un tema antes desconocido. Esto era, ciertamente, muy necesario en nuestra lengua, en la que no teníamos nada de un valor semejante. He hecho esto para descansar, momentáneamente, de la labor de la traducción de la cual estaba no poco fatigado, pues en ningún momento había parado en más de tres meses y no había dormido más de cinco horas entre la noche

noctem ac diem dormiueram, et tamen caelesti fauore sanus fui, qui
superioribus annis autumnus solitus sum aegrotare. Animus faciendi rem
25 gratam Sanctissimo Domino nostro tuetur me ab omnibus malis. Sed
excedo modum epistolae. Valeat Paternitas uestra, et me commendatum
habeat apud Sanctissimum ac clementissimum Dominum nostrum.

Bononiae, die decima tertia Nouembris MCCCCLIII.

Reuerendissimae Dominationis uestrae Seruitor

30

Nicolaus Perottus.

IV

Perotti a Valla

(Diciembre de 1453)

Nicolaus Perottus Laurentio Vallensi s. p. d.

Tu potius stoicaris, Laurenti, qui minutulis quibusdam interrogatiunculis mecum agis, quasi dissimulate et furtim a me uelis extorquere quod ego simpliciter et libere professus sum. Quid si ego te tuis artibus repellam? “At quomodo id facere poteris”, inquires, “qui hanc a me artem didicisti?”. Nempe quomodo Tisias cum Corace, a quo dicendi artem didicerat, fecit. Meministin exempli?

Corax grandem nimis mercedem cum Tisia discipulo pepigit ut sibi tum demum id pecuniae daret cum ab eo dicendi artem edoctus primam causam apud iudices uicisset. Tisias postquam quae cupierat perdidicit, coepit dare nolle quod pepigerat. Corax discipulum ad iudices prouocat et exposita conditione, “Siue ego uicero”, inquit, “soluere mercedem debes ut a iudicibus condemnatus; siue tu uiceris, nihilominus soluere debes ut pactus, qui primam hanc causam apud iudices uiceris”. Conclusa ratio uidebatur. Tum Tisias dignus tali magistro discipulus, “Immo uero, si ita est”, inquit, “nullo modo tibi pecuniam debeo. Nam si uincam iudicio dimittar, si uincam conditione pactionis absoluar, ex qua non debeo tibi mercedem soluere si in prima causa penes iudices succumbam”.

20 Quid, inquam, si ego quoque tuis, hoc est preceptoris mei, artibus te premam? Dicis me diuitem esse et bene libratum intelligis, ideoque a me libros petis. At ego id nego. Pecunias enim malui cumulare quam libros, unde pecuniosus non libratus sum. Contradicis? Atqui tua confessione te

y el día. Y, sin embargo, gracias a Dios he estado bien de salud yo que, en los años anteriores, acostumbraba a ponerme enfermo en otoño. La intención de hacer una cosa agradable a nuestro Santísimo Señor me protege de todo mal. Pero ya sobrepaso la longitud de la carta. Que vuestra Paternidad goce de buena salud y que me tenga en consideración ante nuestro Santísimo y Clementísimo Señor.

En Bolonia, a 13 de noviembre de 1453.

El Servidor de Vuestra Reverendísima Señoría,

Niccolò Perotti

IV

Perotti a Valla

(Diciembre de 1453)

Saludos de Niccolò Perotti a Lorenzo Valla

Tú más bien eres un estoico, Lorenzo, pues hablas conmigo con ciertas minúsculas preguntillas, como si quisieras sacarme con disimulo y a escondidas lo que yo he reconocido simplemente y con libertad. ¿Y si yo te replicara con tus mismas armas? “¿De qué modo podrás hacer esto tú que aprendiste este arte de mí?”, preguntarás. Naturalmente del mismo modo que lo hizo Tisias con Córax, de quien había aprendido la habilidad de discutir. ¿Recuerdas el episodio?

Córax estipuló con su discípulo Tisias un pago excesivamente grande de modo que le pagara finalmente cuando él, instruido por aquel en el arte de la discusión, ganara su primera causa ante los jueces. Tisias, después que hubo aprendido perfectamente lo que deseaba, comenzó a no querer dar lo que se había estipulado. Córax reta a su discípulo ante los jueces con esta condición: “Si yo venzo”, dijo, “debes pagar la multa de ser condenado por los jueces; si tú vences, debes pagar lo mismo, como se pactó, puesto que ganaste esta primera causa ante los jueces”. El razonamiento parecía concluido. Entonces Tisias, alumno digno de tal maestro, dijo: “Si esto es así de ningún modo te debo dinero. Pues, si venzo seré absuelto en el juicio, si soy vencido seré liberado de la condición del pacto según el cual no debo abonar el pago si sucumbo en mi primera causa ante los jueces”.

¿Y si también yo — te pregunto — te venzo con tus artes, es decir, con las de mi maestro? Dices que soy rico y crees que tengo muchos libros y, por ello, me pides libros. Pero yo lo niego. En efecto he

teneo, siquidem superioribus litteris me pecuniosum uocas et satis a me
25 comparatum esse nummorum scribis.

“At ego pecunias abs te peto”, inquires, “non libros, pecuniosior
namque es quam libratior”. “Egone”, inquam, “pecuniosior quam
libratior sum? At tu me novissime bene libratum sed parum pecu-
niosum dicis. Video te adducto supercilio iam utrunque a me peten-
30 tem, libros atque pecunias. Ego uero ita respondeo: nec libratum
esse me ut superioribus litteris confessus es — cur a me non libros
sed pecunias flagitasti? — nec pecuniosum ut proximis confiteris”.
Quid ais, Laurenti? Num iudices censes si haec audirent idem no-
bis quod Coraci et Tisiae responsuros: “κακοῦ κόρακος κακὸν
35 φόν”?

Sed satis est iocorum, nunc serio loquar. Ego te, mi Laurenti, ut
habui semper, ita parentis habeo loco, nec quicquam audius expecto
quam dari mihi facultatem ut ostendere ualeam te non solum rebus
omnibus, uerum et me ipso uti posse arbitrato tuo. Nec iratus ad te
40 superioribus diebus sed iocans scripsi, nec iudicium huius *modi*²⁶ de
operibus tuis ad Baptistam potius quam ad te idcirco misi quod aduer-
sus te uel umbram aliquam indignationis cepissem; sed partim ob eam
quam auguratus es rationem, partim ne uiderer indulgere amoris et beni-
uolentiae nostrae, superque quam res pateretur et te libros tuos efferre,
45 cum tamen iuratus affirmare possim te longe ampliora quam <quae> a
me scripta fuerint reperturum. Diligo quidem te ut hominem gratum
debet nec laudibus tuis secus glorior quam meis. Sed ut Veronensis
noster dicere solet, hoc ipsum amantis est non onerare amicum
laudibus.

50 Quod uero in calce litterarum ita humaniter et honorifice de me
loqueris, agerem tibi gratias nisi scirem te, quae est humanitas tua, id
aegre laturum. Equidem tibi ita uelim persuadeas mihi non minus curae
futurum continuae honorem tuum quam parentis. Sed ita arbitror
uiuente te fortassis necessarium, defuncto uero superuacuum omnino
55 fore defensorem preclarissimorum operum tuorum. Est enim ita com-
paratum ut obsit doctissimorum uirorum operibus quod uiuant, quippe
honor praesentium et gratia quasi satietate quadam languescere uidetur.

²⁶ Cun.tis *cod.*: huius generis *seu* huiusce modi *Davies*.

preferido acumular más dinero que libros por lo que soy adinerado y no tengo libros. ¿Lo contradices? Y sin embargo te tengo cogido por tu propia declaración puesto que en la carta anterior me llamas rico y escribes que yo he reunido bastantes monedas.

“Pero yo te pido dinero”, dirás, “no libros, pues tienes más dinero que libros”. “¿Qué yo tengo más dinero que libros?”, te responderé, “pero tú, hace muy poco, me has dicho que yo tengo muchos libros y poco dinero. Te veo pidiendo con el ceño fruncido ya tanto una cosa como otra, libros y dinero. Pues yo te respondo que yo no tengo libros como has declarado en la carta anterior — ¿por qué no me has reclamado libros sino dinero? — ni estoy bien de dinero, como confiesas en la siguiente”. Pero, ¿qué dices, Lorenzo? ¿Acaso consideras que si los jueces oyeran esto nos responderían lo mismo que a Córax y a Tisias: “κακοῦ κόρακος κακὸν φόν”?²⁷

Pero ya basta de bromas, ahora hablaré en serio. Yo a ti, mi querido Lorenzo, te considero como un padre, como siempre te he considerado, y no espero nada con más ansia que el que me sea dada la posibilidad de poder mostrar que tú no solo puedes hacer uso de todas las cosas a tu capricho sino también de mí mismo. Y no te he escrito enfadado en los días anteriores sino en broma ni he enviado a Baptista una opinión tal sobre tus obras antes que a ti porque tenga contra ti alguna sombra de indignación, sino, en parte, por la razón que has aducido, en parte para no parecer que me dejo llevar por nuestro cariño y benevolencia y, además el asunto permitiría que tú te llevaras tus libros, puesto que bajo juramento podría afirmar que tú encontrarías más cosas que las que fueron escritas por mí. Es verdad que te admiro como conviene a un hombre amable y no me vanaglorio de tus alabanzas de otro modo a como lo hago de las mías. Pero, como suele decir nuestro querido veronés, esto mismo es propio del que ama, el no sobrecargar al amigo con alabanzas.

Por otro lado, al final de la carta hablas muy humana y honrosamente de mí, y te daría las gracias si no supiera que tú, lo cual es propio de tu naturaleza, llevas mal esto. En efecto querría convencerte de que tu honor será objeto de mi continua preocupación no menos que de la de mi padre. Pero yo pienso así, que, mientras tú vivas quizás esto sea necesario, pero en cambio, una vez muerto tú, seré un defensor absolutamente inútil de tus importantísimas obras. En verdad es cosa establecida que dañe a las obras de los hombres más sabios el hecho de que ellos estén vivos, pues el honor y el favor de los presentes parecen languide-

²⁷ Huevo malo de un cuervo malo.

Verum iurare ausim futurum ut posteri te, postquam debitam caelestibus animam reddideris, sicuti unum ex priscis illis summisque auctoribus uenerentur, ac non solum libros tuos uerum etiam imagines conquirant.

Quod superest, abs te peto ut quod de quadratura circuli actum sit ad me scribas; neque enim mirari non possum te non solum ad nos librum non misisse, sed ne uerbum quidem de ea re fecisse.

Seuerus germanus meus ostendet tibi tertium Polybii librum quem ad Summum Pontificem misi, item opuscula quaedam a me superioribus diebus cum otiosus essem composita. Tuum erit quid de iis sentias ad me scribere. Vereor enim ne id mihi obiici possit quod dici solet, ἀμάθεια μὲν θράσος, λογισμὸς δὲ ὄκνον φέρει. Ego iudicium tuum ita demum uerissimum esse arbitrabor si uel omnia uel aliqua tibi displicuisse intelligam.

Vale, Bononiae etc.

V

Perotti a Valla

(1454?)

Nihil mihi noui attulerunt litterae tuae, nam et amorem tuum erga me singularem iam diu expertus sum, qui mihi semper et in honoribus meis suffragator et testis, et in studiis adiutor et comes, et in omni uita dux et rector extitisti; et Turpinum improbum et sceleratissimum uirum sciebam plura etiam fingere quam tu scripseris. Nam qui fieri potest ut qui semper male agit, ceteros quoque idem facere non commentetur et fingat? Est enim improborum solacium bonos carpere dum nocentium multitudinem errorum suorum culpam existimant minui. Verum ego hominis nugas paruifacio.

Tibi uero qui me ita amice admones gratias ago; quod rogas, queror. Admoneri enim abs te merito debeo. Vt saluti meae consulam, rogari non debeo ut faciam, quod nisi fecero et stultissimum erit, quia res mea agitur, et turpissimum, quia tibi non parebo.

cer, podríamos decir, por hartazgo. Sin embargo me atrevería a jurar que, en el futuro, los que vengan después, una vez hayas entregado tu alma debida a los celestiales, te honrarán lo mismo que si fueras uno de los antiguos y de los más importantes autores, y no solo buscarán tus libros sino incluso tus retratos.

Me queda esto, pedirte que me escribas lo que se ha avanzado sobre la cuadratura del círculo, pues no me admiro solamente de que no me hayas enviado tu libro sino de que ni siquiera hayas pronunciado palabra sobre este hecho.

Mi hermano Severo te enseñará el tercer libro de Polibio que he enviado al Sumo Pontífice así como unas obrillas que compuse en los días anteriores cuando estuve desocupado. Será cosa tuya escribirme tu parecer sobre ellas. Temo que esto me pueda causar lo que se suele decir: ἀμάθεια μὲν θράσος, λογισμὸς δὲ ὄκνον φέρει.²⁸ Yo consideraré tu juicio muy certero, aunque comprenda que te hayan desagradado todas o algunas cosas.

Que te vaya bien. Bolonia...

V

Perotti a Valla
(1454?)

Tu carta no me trajo nada nuevo, pues ya desde hace tiempo soy consciente de tu singular cariño hacia mí, tú que siempre te has mostrado partidario y testigo en mis cargos, colaborador y compañero en mis estudios y guía y rector en toda mi vida. También sabía que Turpino, hombre malvado y muy infame, inventaba más de lo que tú habías escrito. Pues, ¿qué puede hacerse para que, el que siempre actúa mal no piense e imagine que los demás también hacen lo mismo? En verdad es consuelo de los malvados difamar a los buenos mientras consideran que disminuyen la culpa de sus errores según la cantidad de los perjudicados. Pero yo no doy importancia a las tonterías de ese hombre.

En cambio a ti, que me adviertes tan amablemente, te doy las gracias. De lo que pides, me quejo. Pues con razón tú me debes advertir. Que cuide de mi salud, no me debes pedir que lo haga porque, si no lo hago será una cosa muy estúpida, pues se trata de un asunto mío, y también será una cosa muy infame, porque no te obedezco.

²⁸ La ignorancia es atrevida, mientras que la reflexión trae la duda.

Sed res longe aliter est quam tibi persuasum fuit. Quam enim ita mini-
 15 tari scribis, mihi amicissima est, ad me cottidie mittit, ad me scribit et
 (quod fortassis mireris) abbatis negotium commendat. Itaque Turpinus
 uir flagitiosus et ubique sui similis mentitur, et uno tempore prudentissi-
 mum uirum fallere, me uero perterrefacere se putat. Ego uero eo animo
 20 sum quo semper fui: non solum eiusmodi hominum nugas paruifa-
 ciendi, sed quando res ferat maxima quaeque pericula adeundi, ut prin-
 cipis nostri honori consulam, quem mea uita cariorem habeo.

VI

Perotti a Antonio de Medici
 (20 de julio de 1468)

Reuerende Pater Minister. Intellexi quantam humanitatem et liberali-
 tatem Paternitas uestra ostendit erga dominum Iohannem Perottum
 fratrem meum; quae res mihi certe gratissima fuit, et longe acceptior
 quam si id collatum fuisset in personam meam propriam. Et ago Pater-
 5 nitati uestrae infinitas gratias.

Animal autem illud omnino uolo pro me: cum miram ex huiusmodi
 rebus uoluptatem capiam. Ceterum quia cupimus habere refirmam officii
 pro alio semestri, et Reuerendissimus dominus Cardinalis noster scripsit
 Dominio et magnifico Petro pro ea re, rogo Paternitatem uestram ut
 10 laboret nunc cum ipso magnifico Petro et aliis affinibus et amicis suis ita
 ut desyderium nostrum consequamur. Date operam ut in hac re intelliga-
 mus prudentiam diligentiam et beniuolentiam uestram. Non dubito, si
 Paternitas uestra rem istam ex corde aggredietur, nos desyderii compotes
 futuros.

15 Postremo magister Zanettus est in urbe: et, ut audio, iturus est in
 Lombardiam ad faciendos... Bonum esset quod Paternitas uestra staret
 uigilans et intelligeret progressos suos: et si quid necessarium factu
 intelligeret significaret mihi. Valeat Paternitas uestra feliciter.

Datum Montiflasconi die XX Iulii LXVIII.

20

N. Archiepiscopus Sypontinus manu propria.

Pero la situación es muy diferente de lo que tú crees. La que me cuentas que te amenaza así es muy amiga mía, me visita cada día, me escribe y (lo que quizás te asombre) me confía el asunto del abad. Así pues, Turpino es un hombre desvergonzado y además miente igual que siempre y, al mismo tiempo, cree que él engaña a un hombre muy prudente y que a mí me llena de espanto. Pero yo tengo el parecer que siempre he tenido: no solo no dar importancia a las tonterías de hombres así sino el de exponerme, cuando la situación lo requiera, a los mayores peligros para velar por el honor de nuestro príncipe, al que aprecio más que a mi propia vida.

VI

Perotti a Antonio de Medici
(20 de julio de 1468)

Reverendo Padre y Ministro. He conocido cuánta humanidad y bondad ha mostrado vuestra Paternidad hacia mi hermano el señor Giovanni Perotti. Este hecho ha sido para mí, ciertamente, muy agradable y mucho más grato que si se lo hubiera dispensado a mi propia persona. Y doy infinitas gracias a vuestra Paternidad.

Por otro lado, quiero completamente, por mi parte, a aquel animal, pues encuentro una gran satisfacción en este tipo de cosas. Por lo demás, ya que deseamos tener la ratificación del cargo durante otro semestre y, además, el Reverendísimo Cardenal nuestro señor escribió al Señor y Magnífico Pedro en favor de esta cuestión, pido a vuestra Paternidad que colabore ahora con el Magnífico Pedro y con los otros familiares y amigos suyos para que consigamos nuestro deseo. Ocupaos de que, en este hecho, conozcamos vuestra prudencia, diligencia y benevolencia. No dudo de que, si vuestra Paternidad emprende esta acción de buen grado, nosotros alcanzaremos nuestro propósito.

Por último el maestro Zaneto está en la ciudad y, según he oído, va a ir a Lombardía para hacer... Sería bueno que vuestra Paternidad estuviera atento y conociera sus progresos y que, si se diera cuenta de que es necesario hacer algo, me lo indicara. Que vuestra Paternidad goce de una muy buena salud.

Dada en Montefiascone en el día 20 de julio del 68.

N. Arzobispo de Siponte de su propia mano.

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Thomas HAYE

EIN GEDICHT DES HUMANISTEN PETRUS LAZARONUS ÜBER DIE VERFASSUNG VENEDIGS

Die Stadt Venedig gehörte vom hohen Mittelalter bis in die frühe Neuzeit hinein zu den gestaltenden Kräften nicht nur Italiens, sondern des gesamten östlichen Mittelmeerraumes. Ihre politische und militärische Stärke gründete in einer prosperierenden Handelstätigkeit, die der patrizischen Oberschicht Reichtum und Ansehen bescherte. Die weitgehend in sich abgeschlossene politische Klasse konnte ihre Stabilität über einen so langen Zeitraum hinweg nicht zuletzt dadurch wahren, daß sie ein kollektives Identitätsgefühl entwickelte und dieses kontinuierlich pflegte; es gehörte zu ihren wichtigsten Aufgaben, die nachwachsenden Generationen immer wieder neu auf das politische Kollektiv einzuschwören.¹

Daß eine solche Stärkung der kommunalen Identität auch mit den Mitteln der Literatur unternommen wurde, dokumentiert ein bisher ungedrucktes Gedicht des italienischen Humanisten Petrus Lazonus (Pietro Lazzaroni / Pietro da Brescia) über die Verfassung Venedigs. Die Person des Autors ist nur schattenhaft erkennbar:² Geboren in der Valtellina vor der Mitte des Jahrhunderts, arbeitet Lazonus seit 1464 als Lehrer in Chiari (bei Brescia), welches damals zu Venedigs Terra ferma gehörte. Nach einem Aufenthalt in Mailand ernennt ihn Ludovico Sforza im Jahre 1480 zum Professor für Rhetorik an der Universität Pavia. Das

¹ Zum politischen Leben vgl. Dieter Girgensohn, *Kirche, Politik und adelige Regierung in der Republik Venedig zu Beginn des 15. Jahrhunderts*, 1. Teilband, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, 118 (Göttingen, 1996), S. 31-59.

² Zur Person vgl. Luisa Pesavento, *L'umanista e il principe. La "Vita ducum" di Pietro Lazzaroni*, Piccola Biblioteca Giesem, 8 (Pisa, 1996), S. 27-59; dies., 'La "pulcherrima urbs Mediolani" di Pietro Lazzaroni e la storiografia milanese di età sforzesca, in *La Memoria e la Città: Scritture storiche tra Medioevo ed Età Moderna*, ed. C. Bastia — M. Bolognani (Bologna, 1995), S. 361-372 (S. 368-369); Giovanni Battista Giovio, *Gli Uomini della Comasca diocesi nelle arti, e nelle lettere illustri* (Modena, 1784) (Nachdr.: *Italica Gens: Repertorio di bio-bibliografia italiana*, N. 74, Arnaldo Forni Editore, s.l., s.a.), S. 135-136.

umfangreiche, lediglich zum kleinen Teil gedruckte literarische Œuvre des Lazaronus ist bisher nur unzureichend erschlossen.³

Näher betrachtet sei im folgenden das bereits erwähnte Gedicht über die Verfassung Venedigs (*De magistratibus uenetis*).⁴ Da sich der Autor im Widmungsbrief als ein Rhetorikprofessor vorstellt, der von dem Mailänder Herzog Ludovico Sforza ernannt worden sei,⁵ muß die Abfassungszeit des Textes in die Jahre 1480/1494 bis 1500 fallen.⁶ Der Brief richtet sich an den Dogen, den Senat und das Gemeinwesen (*dominium*) von Venedig. Das aus 274 daktylischen Hexametern bestehende Gedicht ist in einem relativ gepflegten, doch keineswegs poetisch überragenden

³ Zum Werk vgl. Pesavento, *L'umanista e il principe*, S. 221-223 (Überblick); *Indice generale degli incunaboli delle biblioteche d'Italia: A cura del Centro Nazionale d'Informazioni Bibliografiche*, vol. III. Compilato da T.M. Guarnaschelli e E. Valenziani (Rom, 1954), S. 225 (hier drei gedruckte Schriften verzeichnet); *Short-Title Catalogue of Books in Italy and of Italian Books Printed in Other Countries from 1465 to 1600 now in the British Museum* (London, 1958), S. 373 (hier zwei gedruckte Schriften verzeichnet); vgl. Mario Emilio Cosenza, *Biographical and Bibliographical Dictionary of the Italian Humanists and of the World of Classical Scholarship in Italy, 1300-1800*, vol. 3 (Boston — Massachusetts, 1962), S. 1957; Vincenzo Peroni, *Biblioteca Bresciana*, vol. II (Bologna, 1818), S. 222; Luigi Gandola, *Albo storico biografico degli uomini illustri valtellinesi* (Sondrio, 1879), S. 50-51; Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, vol. I u. II (London — Leiden 1965 u. 1967) (Indices); Christian Gottlieb Jöcher, *Allgemeines Gelehrten Lexikon*, Bd. 2 (Leipzig 1750 / Ndr. Hildesheim 1961), Sp. 2324-2325.

⁴ Das Gedicht wird in einer Sammelhandschrift des späten 15. Jahrhunderts — Venedig, Marc. Lat. X 240 (3370), fol. 24^r (40^r) bis 32^r (48^r) — überliefert. Es handelt sich bei dem betreffenden Faszikel offenkundig um ein Widmungsexemplar, das vom Autor selbst geschrieben oder zumindest korrigiert worden ist (Vgl. auch die abschließende Prosa-Glosse [fol. 32^r]: 'Hic pedem sisto et concludo civitatem Venetiarum merito reginam maris appellandam esse...'). Zum Codex vgl. *Bibliotheca manuscripta ad S. Marci Venetiarum*, digessit et commentarium addidit Joseph Valentinelli, Codices Mss. Latini. Tom. VI, (Venedig, 1872), S. 276-278; Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, II, S. 233; Pesavento, *L'umanista e il principe*, S. 40, Anm. 38; Antonio Medin, *La Storia della Repubblica di Venezia nella poesia* (Mailand, 1904), S. 488, Nr. 43; Ludwig Bertalot, *Initia Humanistica Latina: Initienverzeichnis lateinischer Prosa und Poesie aus der Zeit des 14. bis 16. Jahrhunderts, Bd. I: Poesie*. Im Auftrag des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom bearbeitet von Ursula Jaitner-Hahner. Mit einer Vorrede von Paul Oskar Kristeller (Tübingen, 1985), S. 181, Nr. 3968. Der Text ist nicht verzeichnet bei Hans Walther, *Initia carminum ac versuum medii aevi posterioris latinorum*, Carmina medii aevi posterioris latina I/1 (Göttingen, 1969²); eine (im folgenden nicht weiter berücksichtigte) unvollständige und fehlerhafte Abschrift des 18. Jahrhunderts befindet sich in Venedig, Museo Civico Correr, Miscellanea Correr b. 51 (2187-2217), Nr. 2192; vgl. hierzu Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, II, S. 274.

⁵ 'Petrus Lazaronus ab Illustrissimo duce Mediolani ad lecturam artis oratoriaae publice conductus.'

⁶ Ludovico übernimmt die Herrschaft im Jahre 1479, führt den Herzogstitel jedoch erst seit 1494; seine Absetzung und Gefangenschaft fällt in das Jahr 1500. Lazaronus hätte wohl kaum den Herzog erwähnt, wenn dieser bereits abgesetzt gewesen wäre.

Latein geschrieben. Größere Aufmerksamkeit verdient hingegen der Inhalt. Denn der Autor wendet sich mit diesem Text an die Söhne der venezianischen Patrizier, und er versucht deren Identitätsgefühl durch den Einsatz von politischen Argumenten zu intensivieren; die Jugend wird darauf verpflichtet, den Spuren ihrer Väter zu folgen.⁷ Für eine solche Zielsetzung stand dem Dichter umfangreiches und vielfältiges Material zur Verfügung: So konnte er etwa auf Venedigs politische und militärische Stärke, aber auch auf die ökonomische Bedeutung der Stadt verweisen. Tatsächlich werden diese Aspekte im Gedicht des Lazonus angesprochen: Die militärische Stärke (v. 148), welche auf der berühmten Flotte beruht (vv. 220-224), wird ebenso gelobt wie die Handels-tätigkeit (vv. 149-150 u. 231-235) und die kulturelle Ausstrahlung (v. 147) der Lagunenstadt. Insgesamt zeichnet Lazonus Venedig als eine pulsierende Metropole, deren dynamische Entwicklung von innovationshungrigen Bürgern vorangetrieben wird (vv. 241-243).

Dennoch stehen diese Aspekte nicht im Vordergrund des Gedichts. Denn nach Ansicht des Verfassers ist die "Königin des Meeres" (*regina maris*; v. 1) vor allem ein modernes Staatswesen, das der übrigen Welt als politisches Modell dienen kann. Venedigs Verfassung und die in ihr verankerten Staatsorgane sind es, auf die die jungen Patrizier stolz sein und mit denen sie sich identifizieren sollen.⁸ Bereits an den Kapitelüberschriften, durch die das Gedicht gegliedert wird, läßt sich ablesen, daß es sich bei dem Text des Lazonus um einen Panegyricus besonderer Art handelt. Denn im Zentrum der Darstellung stehen nicht Menschen, sondern politische Ämter und Institutionen (*magistratus*).⁹ — Das Lob ist von der personellen Ebene vollkommen abstrahiert.

Worin bestehen die Vorzüge des venezianischen Modells? Venedigs moderne Staatlichkeit — so erläutert der Autor — garantiere politische Berechenbarkeit und Unbestechlichkeit: Der Senat lasse sich ausschließ-

⁷ Vgl. vv. 97-98: '... Surget proles clarissima patrum / Postera, quae ueterum uestigia magna sequetur.'

⁸ Zur damaligen Verfassung Venedigs vgl. einführend Frederic C. Lane, *Venice: A Maritime Republic* (Baltimore — London, 1973), S. 251-273; Manfred Hellmann, *Grundzüge der Geschichte Venedigs* (Darmstadt, 1976), S. 96-109.

⁹ Lazonus gibt keine detaillierte Schilderung des gesamten Staatsapparats, sondern beschränkt sich auf die wichtigsten politischen und gerichtlichen Instanzen. Die 274 Hexameter verteilen sich auf Pro- und Epilog sowie auf 12 Kapitel; hierbei bemüht sich der Autor um eine ausgewogene Strukturierung: Prolog (19 Verse); Kap. 1 (19 Verse); Kap. 2 (23 Verse); Kap. 3 (18 Verse); Kap. 4 (19 Verse); Kap. 5 (21 Verse); Kap. 6 (21 Verse); Kap. 7 (19 Verse); Kap. 8 (15 Verse); Kap. 9 (15 Verse); Kap. 10 (16 Verse); Kap. 11 (42 Verse, bestehend aus 2 Abschnitten); Kap. 12 (24 Verse); Epilog (3 Verse).

lich durch *ratio*, d.h. durch sachliche und planvolle Überlegung, leiten (vv. 10); Drohungen und Bestechungsversuche haben daher keinen Erfolg (vv. 11-12). Das venezianische Gerichtswesen garantiert zudem Gerechtigkeit und Rechtssicherheit, da der Unterschied zwischen Arm und Reich, Groß und Klein nach Ansicht des Autors vor Gericht keine Rolle spielt (vv. 75-76); zwar weist *Fortuna* den Menschen unterschiedliche soziale Positionen zu, doch herrscht vor Gericht ausschließlich die egalitäre *Natura* (vv. 75-79), welche selbst einer adligen Abkunft keine bevorzugte Behandlung zukommen läßt (v. 170). Ebenso wenig wird in der Justiz zwischen Bürger und Ausländer unterschieden (vv. 173-174). Die Richter lassen sich nicht durch rhetorische Tricks der Anwälte beeinflussen, sondern sie zeichnen sich durch Objektivität und Unbestechlichkeit aus (vv. 104-106 u. 197). Wie Lazonus bei der Beschreibung des Zivilgerichts eigens hervorhebt, haften Eltern für ihre Kinder (vv. 185-186). Das Finanzwesen ist dank einer vorbildlich funktionierenden Verwaltung von der in anderen Gemeinwesen üblichen Korruption verschont, da die Finanzbeamten (*quaestores*) gegenüber der Stadt Rechenschaft ablegen müssen (vv. 217-219). Eine eigene Behörde, der *magistratus procuratorum*, wacht zudem darüber, daß — wie Lazonus sich ausdrückt — “das Geld nicht verlorengeht” (*ne pereant nummi*; v. 41). Aufgrund dieser Verwaltung gibt es in ganz ‘Latien’ (sc. Italien) keinen größeren Staatsschatz als den Venedigs (vv. 57-58). Dieser speist sich im wesentlichen aus den Abgaben der von Venedig beherrschten Städte (vv. 158-159). In der finanziellen Potenz der Kommune spiegelt sich eine vorbildliche Finanzverwaltung.

Auch die Tätigkeiten der anderen venezianischen Beamten unterliegen nach Ansicht des Autors einer strengen Kontrolle. So können jene Prätores, welche die Städte des venezianischen Reiches verwalten, vor dem Gerichtshof der *auditores noui* wegen Amtsmißbrauchs verklagt werden (vv. 190-193). Selbst das Problem der inneren Sicherheit scheint Venedig in hervorragender Weise gelöst zu haben. Denn nicht nur bei Tage herrschen Ruhe und Ordnung, sondern auch des Nachts ist durch ein eigens hierzu beauftragtes Gericht, den *magistratus dominorum noctis*, gewährleistet, daß Mord und Diebstahl verhindert werden (vv. 165-166). Lazonus hebt schließlich auch die demokratischen (richtiger: oligarchischen) Elemente der venezianischen Verfassung hervor: Falls die politische Klasse in einzelnen Fragen keinen Konsens findet, führt sie eine Entscheidung durch Abstimmung (*suffragia*; vv. 130-131 u. 263-264) herbei. Wie man aus allen diesen Beispielen ersehen kann, appelliert

Lazaronus nicht so sehr an Emotionen, nicht an ein unreflektiertes Heimatgefühl; er bedient sich vielmehr der argumentativen *ratio*, um seinem literarischen Publikum den Gedanken des Verfassungspatriotismus einzupflanzen. Vor allem die staatliche Organisation — so die Kernthese — erlaubt es den Bürgern Venedigs, auf ihre Stadt stolz zu sein.

In seinem Widmungsbrief stellt der Autor heraus, daß die Stadt Venedig in der gesamten Welt wegen ihrer politischen Ordnung (*sanctissimi ordines*) bewundert werde. Gleichwohl gibt es offenbar zeitgenössische Stimmen, die diese Bewunderung nicht teilen, sondern das alternative Verfassungsmodell der Monarchie favorisieren. Wie man den Andeutungen des Lazaronus entnehmen kann, führen diese Stimmen als Beweis für die Überlegenheit des monarchischen Prinzips das antik-römische Königtum an. Lazaronus lehnt es ab, das gegenwärtige Venedig mit dem antiken Rom der Königszeit im Hinblick auf die politische Macht und Größe zu vergleichen, und verweist lediglich darauf, daß die Königszeit weniger lange gewährt habe als Venedigs Verfassung (tatsächlich war diese in den vergangenen anderthalb Jahrhunderten nicht verändert worden). Er zeigt auf diese Weise, daß sich die venezianische Verfassung zumindest hinsichtlich ihrer Stabilität dem römischen Königtum als überlegen erweist. Der Autor beläßt es bei der Andeutung, daß das antike Rom in der Konsulatszeit überaus erfolgreich gewesen sei. Auf zwei weitere konstitutionelle Konkurrenzmodelle, die Diktatur und das Kaisertum, geht Lazaronus nicht näher ein, sondern erwähnt lediglich, daß auch diese Modelle in der römischen Geschichte auf ihre Tauglichkeit erprobt worden sind. Wer sich hierfür interessiere, möge die Geschichtsbücher zu Rate ziehen ('Quid sub dictatoria imperatoriaque dignitate euenerit, uoluant immensum historiarum pelagus, qui cupidi finis cernendi existunt.').

Lazaronus stellt in seinem Werk keine politologischen Vergleiche an, weil ihm die Überlegenheit des venezianischen Verfassungsmodells als hinreichend erwiesen gilt. Seine Aufgabe sieht er vielmehr darin, dieses Modell mit den Mitteln der Poesie zu preisen. Ein solches Lob ist jedoch kein Selbstzweck und dient keineswegs lediglich als Mittel zur Selbstspiegelung. Vielmehr nimmt Lazaronus den pädagogischen Auftrag der von ihm gewählten literarischen Gattung durchaus ernst: Er verfaßt sein Lehrgedicht für die nachwachsenden Generationen, d.h. vor allem für die Söhne der Patrizier.¹⁰ Diese sollen durch die Lektüre angestachelt

¹⁰ Vgl. Widmungsprolog, Z. 30-33: 'Legent in tenella aetate patricii liberi parentum suorum clarissimos magistratus, pro quibus obseruandis stimulus nascetur, acutum calcar ad imitandos eorum maiores gignetur.'

werden, es ihren Eltern gleichzutun und die bestehende Ordnung zu bewahren. Hierbei zeichnet sich auch ein Wechsel des Mediums ab, da die mündliche Tradition (*memoria labilis*) nunmehr durch einen schriftlichen Text gestützt werden soll. Daß Lazaronus sein Werk dem Dogen und Senat von Venedig widmet, ist somit weit mehr als nur eine literarische Reverenz; vielmehr mußte der Senat der durch die Konzeption prädestinierte Adressat eines solchen Werks sein.

Es fällt auf, daß Lazaronus es vermeidet, das venezianische Modell mit einem politologischen Terminus zu belegen. Während die konstitutionellen Konkurrenten beim Namen genannt werden (*regnum, dictatura, imperatoria dignitas*), bleibt Venedigs Verfassung ohne Begriff. Der primäre Grund dieses terminologischen Defizits besteht wohl darin, daß der Autor die venezianische Verfassung als etwas historisch Gewachsenes, als ein gleichsam induktiv gewonnenes Modell versteht, das eben nicht als theoretische Kopfgeburt am ideologischen Reißbrett entstanden ist. Venedigs Verfassung ist ein Ideal, allerdings ein Ideal sui generis, das sich nicht mit den üblichen Termini der politischen Theorie beschreiben läßt.

Das Gedicht des Lazaronus beruht auf verschiedenen Traditionen lateinischer Literatur. Gemäß Form und Struktur handelt es sich um ein Exemplar der zu allen Zeiten höchst beliebten Gattung des Lehrgedichts.¹¹ Nicht nur die Einteilung des Textes in Kapitel, sondern auch der erklärte Wunsch des Autors, das Thema lediglich summarisch abhandeln zu wollen,¹² entspricht den Konventionen dieses Genres. Der Text verweist daneben auf die umfangreiche Podestà-Literatur, die sich

¹¹ Zum literarischen Genre vgl. Yasmin Haskell (ed.), *Poets and Teachers: Latin didactic poetry and the didactic authority of the Latin poet from the Renaissance to the present. Proceedings of the fifth annual symposium of the Cambridge Society for Neo-Latin Studies, Clare College, Cambridge, 9 – 11 September 1996*, Kleos, 4 (Bari, 1999); Georg Roellenbleck, *Das epische Lehrgedicht Italiens im fünfzehnten und sechzehnten Jahrhundert: Ein Beitrag zur Literaturgeschichte des Humanismus und der Renaissance*, Münchener Romanistische Arbeiten, 43 (München, 1975); Thomas Haye, *Das lateinische Lehrgedicht im Mittelalter: Analyse einer Gattung*, Mittellateinische Studien und Texte, Bd. 22 (Köln — Leiden, 1997); Bernd Effe, *Dichtung und Lehre: Untersuchungen zur Typologie des antiken Lehrgedichts*, Zetemata, 69 (München, 1977); Eger Pöhlmann, 'Charakteristika des römischen Lehrgedichts', in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt. I. Von den Anfängen Roms bis zum Ausgang der Republik*, 3. Bd., hrsg. von Hildegard Temporini (Berlin — New York, 1973), S. 813-901; Manfred Eren, *Untersuchungen zum antiken Lehrgedicht* (Diss. phil. [masch.], Freiburg i. Br., 1956).

¹² Vgl. Widmungsbrief, Z. 27-28: 'rerum summam tantum tetigi; merito compendia libellis, qualis hic, accomodare solemus.' Vgl. vv. 207-209: '... Maiores scribere tantum / Stringens praeterea decreui, Sancte Senatus, / Hoc brevitatis amans libro...'

seit dem 13. Jahrhundert in Italien entwickelt und eine spezielle Ausformung des mittelalterlichen Fürstenspiegels darstellt. Doch während in diesem literarischen Genre stets nur ein *Ideal* entworfen wird, beschreibt Lazaronus in seinem Gedicht eine Realität. — 'Me verum facta tuentur', heißt es am Schluß des Textes (v. 274). Lazaronus stellt ein politisches Modell vor, aber dieses Modell ist — anders als bei Thomas Morus und den übrigen zeitgenössischen Staatsphilosophen — nicht in Utopia angesiedelt, sondern es stellt einen lokalisierbaren Punkt auf der Landkarte dar: In Venedig ist die Utopie Wirklichkeit geworden.

Auch das Genus des Stadtlobs¹³ steuert wichtige Elemente bei: So ist der Verweis auf *Astraea (Iustitia)*¹⁴ für dieses Genre typisch; knappe Beschreibungen von Magistratsbezeichnungen findet man in vielen Stadtlobgedichten.¹⁵ Doch der Text des Lazaronus bietet insofern eine besondere Variante der *laus urbis*, als der Autor auf die Beschreibung visueller Elemente völlig verzichtet; er beschreibt keine Stadtmauern, keine Kirchen, keine Marktplätze. Denn die besonderen Qualitäten Venedigs sind nach Ansicht des Lazaronus nicht an Äußerlichkeiten zu erkennen, sondern sie manifestieren sich in der theoretischen Schau auf die Verfassung.

Nicht nur formal, sondern auch mit der Wahl seines Themas (sc. der Verfassung Venedigs) steht Lazaronus in einer breiten literarischen Tradition. Im Verlaufe des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts war die Republik zum Objekt zahlreicher panegyrischer Werke geworden. Als Autoren seien zumindest Filippo da Rimini, Gianfrancesco Bracciolini, Jacopo

¹³ Zum Genre vgl. Hermann Goldbrunner, 'Laudatio Urbis: Zu neueren Untersuchungen über das humanistische Städtelob', *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, 63 (1983), S. 313-328; Frans P.T. Slits, *Het Latijnse Stededicht: Oorsprong en ontwikkeling tot in de zeventiende eeuw* (Amsterdam, 1990); Walther Ludwig, 'Die Darstellung südwestdeutscher Städte in der lateinischen Literatur des 15. bis 17. Jahrhunderts', in *Stadt und Repräsentation. 31. Arbeitstagung in Pforzheim 1992*, hrsg. von Bernhard Kirchgässner und Hans-Peter Becht, Stadt in der Geschichte. Veröffentlichungen des Südwestdeutschen Arbeitskreises für Stadtgeschichtsforschung, 21 (Sigmaringen, 1995), S. 39-76 (mit reichen Literaturangaben). Paul Gerhard Schmidt, 'Mittelalterliches und humanistisches Städtelob', in *Die Rezeption der Antike: Zum Problem der Kontinuität zwischen Mittelalter und Renaissance*, hrsg. von August Buck, Wolfenbütteler Abhandlungen zur Renaissanceforschung, 1 (Hamburg, 1981), S. 119-128; William Hammer, *Latin and German Encomia of Cities* (Diss. phil., Chicago, 1937); Elisa Occhipinti, *Immagini di città. Le 'Laudes civitatum' e la rappresentazione dei centri urbani nell'Italia settentrionale*, *Società e storia*, 51 (1991), S. 23-52.

¹⁴ Vgl. Lazaronus, vv. 13, 172, 187.

¹⁵ Vgl. Ludwig, 'Die Darstellung südwestdeutscher Städte', S. 69.

di Albizotti Guidi, Filippo Morandi, Giovanantonio Porcello de' Pandoni, Raffaele Zovenzonio, Marco Antonio Sabellico, Francesco Arrigoni und Jacopo Sannazaro genannt.¹⁶ Darüber hinaus ist das Gedicht des Lazaronus nur vor dem Hintergrund der zeitgenössischen Staatsschriften denkbar, die vielfach ebenfalls panegyrische Momente aufweisen.¹⁷ Wenn Lazaronus auf die Römische Geschichte des Livius anspielt¹⁸ und jene Politologen zurückweist, die für die Monarchie plädieren, so erinnert eine solche Haltung unmittelbar an Machiavellis (später entstandene) Werke *Il Principe* und *Discorsi sopra la prima deca di Tito Livio*.¹⁹ Auch Machiavelli betont, daß Venedigs Verfassung einmalig sei (*Discorsi* I, 1 u. 6). Ebenfalls im 16. Jahrhundert verfassen Gasparo Contarini²⁰, Donato Giannotti, Francesco Lucio Durantino, Ugoni Brescani und De Nores panegyrische Traktate über die Verfassung Venedigs. Zu den frühen Vertretern dieser Tradition gehören Jacopo Porcia (*Venetae administrationis domi et foris liber*, 1492) und Lauro Quirini (*De republica*, 1449/1450)²¹. Auch der bei Lazaronus angestellte Vergleich zwischen dem zeitgenössischen Venedig und dem antiken Rom begegnet häufig, so etwa bei Guerinus Piso Soacius (*De Romanorum et Venetorum magistratuum inter se comparatione libellus*, 1563) und bei Cornelius Bellanda (*Gemina vel relativa. De Romanae et Venetae rerum publicarum earumdemque patrum laudibus*, 1577). Bereits in der Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts wird die Auffassung populär, Venedig sei die *Roma secunda*.²²

¹⁶ Eine (unvollständige) Zusammenstellung bei Slits, *Het Latijnse Stededicht*, S. 229 u. 339.

¹⁷ Vgl. Erdmann Blackstein, *Der venezianische Staatsgedanke im 16. Jahrhundert und das zeitgenössische Venedig-Bild in der Staatstheorie des republikanischen Florenz* (Diss. phil., Frankfurt a.M., 1972). Zu Venedigs politischem Mythos vgl. Barbara Marx, 'Il mito di Venezia nel primo Cinquecento', in *Die italienische Stadt der Renaissance im Spannungsfeld von Utopie und Wirklichkeit*, hrsg. von August Buck und Bodo Guthmüller, Centro Tedesco di Studi Veneziani, Quaderni, 27 (Venedig, 1984), S. 137-163, (S. 148-163).

¹⁸ Das Werk des Livius war bereits im Jahre 1469 in Rom gedruckt worden.

¹⁹ Der *Fürst* war im Manuskript nicht vor dem Jahre 1513 abgeschlossen, die *Discorsi* entstanden zwischen 1513 und 1522.

²⁰ Vgl. Hermann Hackert, *Die Staatsschrift Gasparo Contarinis und die politischen Verhältnisse Venedigs im sechzehnten Jahrhundert*, Heidelberger Abhandlungen zur mittlern und neueren Geschichte, Heft 69 (Heidelberg, 1940).

²¹ Es handelt sich hierbei um die Beschreibung eines utopischen Idealstaates, hinter der sich ein Lob auf die Verfassung Venedigs versteckt. Vgl. Goldbrunner, 'Laudatio Urbis', S. 317.

²² Vgl. hierzu Barbara Marx, 'Venedig — Altera Roma: Transformationen eines Mythos', *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, 60 (1980), S. 325-373.

Lazaronus dürfte die reiche Tradition des Stadtlobgedichts und der staats-theoretischen Literatur zur Verfassung Venedigs — zumindest teilweise — gekannt haben;²³ er hat das populäre Thema aufgegriffen und — im Hinblick auf den Widmungsnehmer — konsequent didaktisch orientiert. Hierin liegt die eigentliche Leistung des Autors.

Zur Edition:

Die Sprache des Lazaronus lehnt sich zwar in einzelnen Formulierungen an antike Autoren an, gleichwohl ist die Syntax des Textes vielfach obskur. Da es sich jedoch bei dem genannten Venezianer Überlieferungsträger vermutlich um ein Autograph (oder zumindest um eine vom Autor geprüfte Abschrift) handelt, wurde bei der Edition auf glättende und 'begradigende' Konjekturen — bis auf wenige Ausnahmen (vv. 27, 42, 230) — verzichtet. Die Trennung in die Buchstaben *u* und *v* wurde ebenso beibehalten wie die Vielzahl graphischer Italianismen.²⁴ Lediglich die *e*-caudata ist in *ae* aufgelöst worden.

<De clarissimis magistratibus uenetis>

[fol. 24^r]

²³ Das Lob Venedigs findet man im übrigen auch in zahlreichen Reden dieser Zeit. Vgl. August Buck, "Laus Venetiae" und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 57 (1975), S. 186-194.

²⁴ So z.B. *mondi* (v. 5), *ditaui* (statt *dictaui*; v. 26), *mondo* (v. 187), *fondata* (vv. 6 u. 224). Die Schreibung vieler Wörter mit einfachem statt mit doppeltem Konsonanten (so z.B. *subselia*, v. 20; *medulam*, v. 24; *mile*, v. 111) könnte auf norditalienischen Ursprung hinweisen.

SERENISSIMO PRINCIPI AC EXCELLENTISSIMO DOMINIO ET
INCLYTO SENATVI VENETO Petrus Lazaronus ab Illustrissimo duce
Mediolani ad lecturam artis oratoriae publice conductus.

- 5 Cum animadverterem, Serenissime Princeps, totum terrarum orbem sanctis-
simos in principatu ueneto ordines mirari, decreui tandem, cum et saepius
animo haesitassem, an de tanta re scribenda manum adiungerem, in medium
animo concepta reponere. Decere putavi, ut quae diua minerua, fide, aequi-
tate et animi magnitudine ab eminentissimo senatu fierent laudatissima,
10 eadem et scriptis mandari. Legebam Romanorum imperium, quod pro spec-
taculo illustri terrarum reges ante oculos ponere solent, non eis radicibus
retentum sine ullo interuallo temporum, quibus hic serenissimus ab origine
regnandi sua principatus perseueranter sese tutatus est. Non de regnorum
magnitudine potentiaque nunc disputationem adorior. Sola mihi sententia
15 incumbit, quod horum alterum sceptrum longiore cum perseuerantia consti-
terit. Romae regnum a septena maiestate regia tantummodo rectum fuisse
legimus. Cui regnandi ultimos ille Tarquinius Superbus fines [fol. 24']
ingessit. Consulatus satis felici omine primi duo in ordine consules Valerius
Publicola et Brutus initia dedere. Sub hac consulari potentia, ut historici tra-
20 dunt, Romanos multum incrementi accepisse exploratum est. Quid sub dic-
tatoria imperatoriaque dignitate euenerit, uoluant immensum historiarum
pelagus, qui cupidi finis cernendi existunt. Dicit forsitan quispiam hos diui
senatus clarissimos magistratus tam longa et iugi consuetudine ad unguem
usurpatos nullo sub rerum euentu perituros fore, quapropter uanos scriben-
25 tis labores accedere. Sic arguenti respondere fas esse putabo: non propterea
damnari licere uatis industriam, qui cum nonnulla dignitate carminis rem
tantam adorsus sit; qua posterius ardentiores accedant et maiorum suorum
vestigia secent. Rerum summam tantum tetigi; merito compendia libellis,
qualis hic, accomodare solemus. Quodsi radicitus nulla rei decorandae parte
30 relictis quis scribere uellet, non Uirgiliano operi cederet. Legent in tenella
aetate patricii liberi parentum suorum clarissimos magistratus, pro quibus
obseruandis stimulus nascetur, acutum calcar ad imitandos eorum maiores
gignetur. Inter caeteras litterarum eximias utilitates haec prae cunctis cum
summis praeconiis cantatur ubique, scilicet earum splendore [fol. 25'] labili
35 memoriae praestari praesidium. Eia age, Celsissime Senatus, dignare amici
in excellentissimam amplitudinem tuam propensissimi munusculum laeto
animo ilarique serenissimo uultu tuo accipere. Quod si non pro meritis tanti
culminis editum offenderis, non inclinatae uoluntati, sed tardiusculo inge-
niolo culpam afferas uelim. Vale, iusticiae decus.

Anmerkungen zum Widmungsbrief:

PRINCIPI] Vermutlich der Doge Agostino Barbarigo (1486-1501).

DOMINIO] sc. das venezianische Gemeinwesen.

5 Cum animadverterem] Vgl. Ps. Cato, praef. p. 4: "Cum animadverterem quam plurimas..., existimavi."

8 animo concepta] Vgl. Cic., *Tusc.*, 4, 21: "intimo animo et corde concepta."

10-11 Legebam] Das Folgende beruht auf Livius, Buch I (Darstellung der römischen Königszeit); die Königsherrschaft dauerte (nach Liv., 1, 60) nur 244 Jahre.

10 pro spectaculo illustri terrarum] Vgl. Vulg., I Cor., 4, 9: "quia spectaculum facti sumus mundi."

16 septena maiestate] sc. die sieben Könige Roms.

17 Tarquinius] Zu ihm vgl. Liv., 1, 49-60.

18-19 Valerius Publicola et Brutus] Vgl. Liv., 1, 58-60.

19 historici] Gemeint ist hier offenbar vor allem der Autor Livius.

23 ad unguem] Vgl. z.B. Hor., *ars*, 294; *sat.*, 1, 5, 32.

29 hic] sc. "libellus".

Prologus de clarissimis magistratibus uenetis

- O regina maris terrarum et nobile culmen,
 Salue, pro uoto quae tu telluris amatae
 Nunc pede, nunc sulcas optati cara leonis
 Aequora, quae iubeant uenetas ambire uolantis
 5 Sponte sua classes mundi quoscumque recessus.
 Non simili fondata loco comperta per orbem
 Altera terra manet. Marco contingere planta
 Aequoreos fontes et terris ponere magnum
 Imperium placuit. Sacri nunc ordo senatus
 10 Laude canendus adest, quanta ratione regatur fol. 25^v
 Nec cadat incepto, precibus tum uana daturis
 Munera. Nec prosit formido uoce minaci,
 Quominus Astreae donum mirabile flectat
 Sede sua ciuem; dura constantior una
 15 Hic adamante manet, que solo sanguine frangi
 Hirci sola potest. Euerteret alma potestas
 Astrorum potius cursus et flumina retro
 Ante darent lapsus pelagi quaerentia fontis,
 Ordine quam capto caderet feruente senator.

<1.> De magistratu principis et sex assidentium

- 20 Prima duci merito subselia digna ducatu
 Stare uides patrum sena florente corona.
 Principis in medium maiestas alta senatu
 Tum tractanda refert. Audita mente sedentis
 Consilii grauitate noua legere medulam
 25 Rerum pro sceptro patres et quique sub auras
 Impavidus ducit, quae mens ditauit agendis.
 Hic locus est liber. Stant libera uota senatus,
 Vt leo, qui feruens animalia nulla timeri
 Cogitat, in magnis naturae uiribus astans fol. 26^r
 30 Iusticiae robur solum ditauit ad unguem
 Hos animos. Sceptro consistunt denique patres
 Hoste sub immani latasque minante ruinas,
 Ne ferat occasus. Non hic indicere bella

Marte solet populus; sed si certamina princeps
 35 Mouerit haec alter, non fines cernere belli
 Ante ualet duos, donec uescatur amaro
 Pane diu, diui haec fervetque potentia regni
 Docta quidem Phoebus et diua dictante Minerua.

<2.> De magistratu procuratorum Sancti Marci

Aduenit has sedes procurans munera census
 40 Sacra Marci, quo lex seruetur et ordo,
 Ne pereant nummi; semperque pecunia gesta
 Bellorum et pacis compescit tempora iuncta. -
 Martis opus, si forte paret certamina durus
 Hostis, amara lues, incaute fesus in armis,
 45 Vngues quo ualidus possit praecidere acutos,
 Obtusos potius digitos per prelia mota,
 Hicque pedes referat compressos, Martis ad arma
 Doctior eueniat non hosque lacessere bello,
 Qui maiora ualent componere facta potenti
 50 Imperio; nullos insontes laedere curent.
 Nonque Minerua duci pro sceptro diua regendo
 Sufficit. Ast diues Iuno Craesique potestas
 Conueniunt regno. Quanto sub pondere constet
 Congeries, tanti nummorum denique census
 55 Signat opus clauis, perfulget diua sub ipso
 Curatore Fides aquilae cum lumine summo.
 Non omni Latio surgunt aeraria, Marce,
 Iam maiora tuo, concrescunt mente sub una
 Inque dies merito: non his aliena petuntur,
 60 Ingenio et uirtute noua quaesita laboris
 Per mare, per terras Uenetorum lucra uidemus.

fol. 26^v

<3.> De magistratu aduocatorum

Ordo, sub illustri qui causas aduocat arte,
 Nunc celebrandus adest. Ternos qui dicere lites
 Delegere uiros, concordis foedere reddunt

- 65 Iura uiris, quos acre uocat certamen ad arma.
Aequa corona sedet, concurrunt signa uidenti.
Haec sermone graui sedato pectore causas fol. 27^r
Partibus auditis concludit, cuncta supino
Corde prius sapiens; sententia Apolline digna
70 Haec uenit ardenti, non est explosa maligno
Haec animo, non caeca uides tu denique iuris
Iudicia. Et memores ueniunt de gente uetusta
Patricia laudes, quantas, praeconia, quanta
Attulerat referenda polo pio numine sacrae
75 Iusticiae, paruos oculis quae conspicit aequis
Ut magnos. Natura potens discrimen habendum
Non iubet esse uiris, quamuis Fortuna potentis
Nonnullos dederit rebus dominarier altis
Atque alios humili semper sordescere terra.

<4.> De magistratu capitum decem

- 80 Sede tremenda manet, numero quae dena, potestas,
Que parat aequales pro laese crimine poenas
Maiestatis enim. Praecordia magna mouentur,
Pallescunt uultus concepto nomine tanti
Officii, quo nulla manus scelerata sub ipso
85 Vadere conualuit, lueret quin passa refixae
Poenae. Non precibus comperta est gratia sonti. fol. 27^v
Hos aeterna petunt censores sceptrum regentis.
Orbe chaos magnum toto spectaret uterque,
Qui regit et regitur, si crimina magna merentis
90 Supplicii caperent nullas sub iudice poenas.
Non est auditum, non stant monumenta per ullos
Temporis accessus, quod quis, si forte reatus
Venerit in lucem damnatus, liber ab ipso
Tunc fuerit censore nouo. Non fabula surdo
95 Narratur, celebris citius notissima fama
Historie in nostros semper seruata per ora.
Diua dies: surget proles clarissima patrum
Postera, quae ueterum uestigia magna sequetur.

<5.> De magistratu quarentiae criminalis

- Alter adest numero maior censorius ordo.
 100 Quadraginta uiros poscit sententia diues.
 In populos crimen si quis commiserit atrum,
 Non iactare ualet sceleris sub uoce superba
 Non sensisse suo poenas pro crimine duras.
 Non longae ambages, non fandi copia magna,
 105 Argumenta dolo tandem constructa latenti fol. 28^r
 Non mulcere ualent animos nec flectere possunt,
 Quominus urbe rei subeant tormenta ferenda.
 Nedum uerba notant surgentia pectore falso,
 Sed magni sontis mentem scrutantur abunde.
 110 Fert oculos Argum centum gestasse per annos
 Fabula Iunonis seruum, sed mile uidendo
 Hi gessere duces clarissima lumina rebus.
 Ut lolio granum farris purgatur amaro
 Agricolae cribro, ne infectet caetera fallax
 115 Semen abortiuum, telluri ignobile natum,
 Sic spectata cohors secernit crimina sacro
 Pectore nec sontes intactos desinit esse.
 Hinc noua per terras diffunditur ore sub uno
 Fama ducum merito saeculis peritura nec unquam.

<6.> De magistratu quarentiae ciuilis

- 120 Altera ciuili sequitur de lege uocata
 Et numeros totidem semper complexa decoros
 Post primam, censura rei quae criminis acta
 Percutit. Ast citius praesens haec continet una.
 Haec externa iubet reddi, qui credidit, illis, fol. 28^v
 125 Qui tribuere suas merces tribuereque nummos.
 Terminat haec longas lites, haec aequa reponi
 Mandat iura uiris. Solidum lustrantur ad unguem
 Quaeque sub illustri, quae rerum ex ordine fiunt.
 Dissentire graui si spectent pondera causae
 130 Iudicio, spectanda petunt suffragia uerum
 Porrectura uiris. Stant his contenta relatis

- Ora sub incerto discordia semine litis.
 Non errare sinit tanto discussa recenti
 Res hominum numero; melius legere uidentes.
 135 Non gemmas omnes, quamuis candore sub uno
 Conspendere uides, collegit in arte magister;
 Nunc has, nunc illas digitis conuersat acutis
 Atque oculata facit sapiens discrimina gemmae:
 Sic ea, quae multis censoribus acta probantur,
 140 Non nisi laudata poterunt consistere mente.

<7.> De magistratu sapientum terrae firme

- Quinos iunge duces constantis in ordine terrae,
 Qui sopire nouos ualeant in Marte furores
 Vel certare pari, si bellum mouerit hostis,
 Euentu. Flecti non hic nisi uiribus altis
 145 Orbe potest. Cernunt, qui sceptro dexter agendis
 Sit modus in rebus. Lustrantur numine terno:
 Ingenio Phoebus Uenetos lustrauit ad astra.
 Mars animos decorat certamina nulla timere.
 Flos Iuno dominos nummorum diua potentes
 150 Rite dedit. Qui regna petunt, contenta tulere
 Corda duces. Latio qui uidit in agmine duro
 Cum ducibus uenetis optatam ducere palmam:
 Non sceptro memini quicquam deperdere magno,
 Lucrari multum, non unquam reddere parta
 155 Ense uel ingenio. Stat semper tanta ducatus
 Magnanimi et crescit semper crescentibus annis
 Haec animo uirtus, terris dominatur et amplis;
 Per mare magna tenet, quae stant pulcherrima uisu,
 Oppida prouentus magnos referentia regno.

fol. 29^r

<8.> De magistratu dominorum noctis

- 160 Nomine nocturnos fas est coniungere scriptis
 Ordinibus dominos, quorum custodia fecit
 Nomen ab officio. Non tantum tempora lucis

fol. 29^v

- Obseruare uolunt Ueneti, nocturna sed omni
Arte petunt tutos cultores reddere regno.
165 Si quis furta facit, si quis nudauerit ense,
Ut perimat quenquam, si uim conferre paratus,
Ante uiros duci nullo tardante recessu
Conspicimus miseros, poenas et sumere duras
Coguntur. Tanta est Uenetorum iusta potestas.
170 Stemmata non prosunt, lachryme sparguntur inanes,
Incassum uenere preces, non copia lata
Villa ualet nummi: Astreae sic numen amatae
Lustrat in urbe locum. Sic incola plectitur ipse,
Aduena consimili poena mulctatur eadem.

<9.> De magistratu auditorum ueterum

- 175 Causarum auditor ueneto pro ciue creatus
Ternus adest. Rerum priscarum cognitor unus
Interiora sedens censet ciuilia iura.
Si quis de gesto aedat lamentabile uerbum
Officio, substat censurae iudicis almae.
180 Ponderat affectus urbani praesidis actos.
Voluitur haec animo sententia saepius, anne
Victus amore tulit, steterint quae grata petenti,
Aut odio captus damnauerit aequa sedendo.
Praemia quique legit meritorum, quique sub aequo
185 Iudice censetur, de nati crimine poenas
Sumit in urbe pater, nec natus patris amore
Laederet Astreae numen mirabile mondo.
Hanc ueteres tenuere uiam, non postera lapsus
Villa dabit magnos. Serie sic cuncta reguntur.

fol. 30^r

<10.> De magistratu auditorum nouorum

- 190 Nec te, magna, meo, quae surgis terna potestas,
Praetereo indictam uersu, uisura reatus
Praetorum, externis qui iura dedere sub ipso
Vrbibus officio. Tu sensus colligis altos

- 195 Damnatura reos. Non passio commouet ulla,
 Qua tu iure cadas; Astreae duceris almae
 Muneribus solidis. Uersas tu crimina mentis.
 Non diues precio ualuit te flectere grandi.
 Altera tu rupes monti confixa repellens
 Uentorum flatus stabili contemnis et una
 200 Pondere percussus, dederit quos turba reorum fol. 30^v
 Conscia saepe tibi compellans nubila lucem.
 Sed dolus et fraudes nudantur ad aera tectae.
 Sic capiti raso medicinas iungit apertas
 Vlcere pro magno medicus, qui cara salutis
 205 Egris iussa refert uitae curator amatae.

<11.> De magistratibus externis

- Innumeros cantare meo nunc carmine possem
 Laude magistratus. Maiores scribere tantum
 Stringens praeterea decreui, Sancte Senatus,
 Hoc breuitatis amans libro, contingere magnos
 210 Vrbibus imperio magnis seruire paratis.
 Rite tuo positos nunc ponam ex ordine patres.
 Magnanimis urbes dilectis quaeque reguntur
 Praesidibus, quorum praetoria prima potestas
 Stat rectura suos ciues. Praefectus in urbe
 215 Militibus praestat belli. Spectatus uterque
 Ordo sub illustri rectorum sede tenetur.
 Questor et aera legens urbanus tutus in arte
 Prouentus sacro rationes reddere Marco
 Curat enim. Castella suo custode tuentur fol. 31^r
 220 Conseruata fide. Indictam nunc linquere classem,
 Praesidium imperii magni, que magna reuoluit
 Aequora, non fas est, qua forti fidere bello
 Hoc ualet imperium, cui non comperta per orbem
 Altera stat simili nusquam fondata sub arte.
 225 Haec maris immensi reginae nomen amatae
 Sortitur merito. Stupet omnis cernere celsam
 Luce resanatam. Non uerbo quique moueri
 Audito posset, propriis ne cerneret ipse

- Hanc oculis Xersi, qui quondam bella minatus
 230 Neptuno et dura iuncturus compede diuum
 Sufficeret. Merces uenetas nunc linquo potentis,
 Quas solis mercator ouans conducit ab ortu,
 Interdum lato discurrens impiger unus
 Solis ab occasu, Latii sarcire patentis
 235 Mercibus hic partes cupiens notissimus orbe.
 Vnde nouam Mauri nummorum carpere possunt
 Congeriem optatam ueneta quam gente potenti?
 Non maris aspectus fluctus surgentis ad altos
 Hos terret Uenetos, rerum discrimina multa
 240 Non terrere ualent. Tanta est constantia gentis.
 Ocia longa fugit. Nil gratius aduenit illi,
 Quam superesse nouis rebus, quam cernere culti
 Imperii culmen farciri rebus ad unguem.
 Hinc priuata uides intendi munera passim,
 245 Vrbibus hinc septem traxit praeconia uera,
 Quas seruat Latium. Ditissima fertur ab ore
 Vna uirum merito. Non haec sententia fallax.

fol. 31^v

<12.> De magistratu rogatorum

- Iam numerosa uenit sedes cantanda sub omni
 Arte noua, complet quam florens ordo rogatus.
 250 Non hunc calce dedi, meritos quin celsus honores
 Postulet hic ordo, numero quia maximus exit.
 Claudere nam reliquos uolui ratione sub alta.
 Hunc binos intrare duces quis cernere posset,
 Utque putes alios incedere rite Catones,
 255 Incessu grauitas. Grauiori nempe uideres
 Consilio florere uiros florente senatu.
 Imperii rebus maiestas alta supremis
 Hoc tractare loco, accessus si uenerit ullus,
 Sepe solet. Medium adducit tum quique senator.
 260 Non mentita graui surgunt de pectore uerba,
 Quodque sedens animo totum commendat et aurae.
 Dissimili si forte manet sententia rerum
 Iudicio, tandem poscunt suffragia nullos

fol. 32^r

- Fraudatura uiros. His parent denique cuncti.
 265 Consuluere suo postquam sub sede beata
 Patricii imperio, tunc linquere sacra senatus
 Limina tu cernas, ut non mortalia gressu
 Corpora tu dicas sacra cum mente moueri.
 Obstupet hic hominum sceptrum mirata corona
 270 Patriciae gentis. Terrarum nulla potestas
 Ordinibus tantis non fulsit pace petita.

Exitus acta probat: Praeconia fingere falsa
 Non ego suspectus prodibo. Lumina partem
 Concepere suam. Me uerum facta tuentur.

Anmerkungen zum Gedicht:

- 2 telluris amatae] Stat., *Theb.*, 7, 156.
 3 leonis] sc. das Symbol des heiligen Marcus.
 4 uolantis] = "uolantes".
 5 mundi] = "mundi".
 6 fondata] = "fundata".
 7 Marco] sc. der Schutzpatron Venedigs.
 12 uoce minaci] Vgl. Anthol. Lat. (*carm. epigr.*) 727, 6.
 13 Astreae] sc. die Göttin der Gerechtigkeit; vgl. Ov., *met.*, 1, 149-150; vgl. im vorliegenden Text vv. 172-173 u. 187.
 13 donum mirabile] Verg., *Aen.*, 1, 652.
 14-16 dura... adamante... que... sola] Offenbar faßt Lazaronus "adamas" als Femininum auf.
 15-16 sanguine frangi Hirci] Vgl. Plin., *nat.*, 20, 2; Serv., *Aen.*, 6, 552; Isid., *orig.*, 16, 13, 2.
 16-18] Zum Adynaton vgl. Ov., *trist.*, 1, 8, 1-2: "In caput alta suum labentur ab aequore retro / flumina, conuersis Solque recurret equis."
 16 alma potestas] Ven. Fort., *carm.*, 3, 9, 65.
 19 feruente] Vgl. vv. 28 u. 37.
 20-38] In diesem Kapitel 1 behandelt Lazaronus das Amt des Dogen ("princeps") und den sog. Kleinen Rat ("consilium minus"), welcher aus sechs Personen ("sex assidentes"; vgl. v. 24: "consilii") bestand, die jeweils ein Stadtsechstel vertraten. Diese "Staatsspitze" steuerte die Entscheidungen im "Großen Rat" ("consilium maius"), welcher im Jahre 1510 insgesamt 1651 Mitglieder aus ca. 200 Familien zählte und gesetzgebende, exekutive und richterliche Gewalt besaß.
 20-21 duci... Stare] d.h. "bereitstehen für den Dogen".
 23-26] Wohl wie folgt zu verstehen: "Nachdem die Ansicht des tagenden Rates vernommen worden ist, haben die Väter um der Herrschaft willen das

Wesen der Angelegenheit mit außergewöhnlichem Ernst erfaßt, und ein jeder [sc. der Väter] bringt furchtlos hervor, was sein Geist ihm hinsichtlich der zu behandelnden Punkte mitgeteilt hat.”

25 quique] = quisque; vgl. vv. 184, 227, 259.

26 ditauit] = “dictauit”.

27 est] *aede* Hs.

28 leo] Siehe Anmerkung zu v. 3.

29 naturae uiribus] Prosp., *carm. de ingratis*, 358.

30 ad unguem] Vgl. Widmungsbrief, lin. 23, u. vv. 127 u. 243.

36-37 uescatur amaro / Pane] Vgl. Vulg., *gen.*, 3, 19: “in sudore vultus tui uesceris pane.”

39-61] In Kapitel 2 stellt Lazaronus die Prokuratoren von S. Marco vor, welche als höchste Verwaltungsbeamte Mitglieder des Senats waren. Ihre ursprüngliche Aufgabe bestand darin, die reichen Güter der Kirche zu verwalten und deren Gebäude instandzuhalten. Im 15. Jahrhundert sind sie auch für das staatliche Finanzwesen zuständig.

42 compescit] *composcit* Hs; vgl. Coripp., *Ioh.*, 4/5(4), 49: “compescere bellum”.

43 Martis opus] Greift “Bellorum” in v. 42 auf. Zur Junktur vgl. Verg., *Aen.*, 8, 516.

44 incaute] *incauto* Hs.

48 lacessere bello] Verg., *Aen.*, 11, 842.

55 perfulget] So statt des üblichen “praefulget”.

56 aquilae cum lumine summo] d.h. “mit Adlerraugen”.

56 lumine summo] Prosp., *carm. de ingratis*, 856.

62-79] In Kapitel 3 erörtert Lazaronus das Amt der *avvogadori*. Diese besaßen das Recht, Berufungsverfahren beim Rat der Vierzig (siehe Kapitel 5) einzuleiten.

63 qui dicere lites] Vgl. Verg., *ecl.*, 6, 6: “... qui dicere laudes”.

72-73] “laudes” und “praeconia” sind die Subjekte des Hauptsatzes, allerdings kongruiert nur das erstere Wort mit “memores”. Die Wörter “quantas” und “quanta” bilden das gemeinsame Objekt zu “attulerat”. Die Ungeschicklichkeit der gesamten Formulierung beruht darauf, daß “laudes” und “praeconia” verschiedenen Genera angehören.

72 de gente uetusta] Verg., *Aen.*, 9, 284 u. 10, 388.

74 Attulerat] sc. “gens patricia”.

80-98] Kapitel 4 behandelt den Rat der Zehn. Diese einflußreiche Kommission war allgemein für die Sicherheit von Land und Herrschaftsgebiet, insbesondere für Hochverratsprozesse zuständig.

82 enim] Zur Stellung vgl. v. 219.

94-95 Non fabula surdo / Narratur] Vgl. Verg., *ecl.*, 10, 8; Walther, *Proverbia*, Nr. 27969 u. 31240.

94-96] d.h.: “Es werden hier nicht etwa (einem schwerhörigen Menschen) unüberprüfbare Mythen erzählt, sondern wahre und allseits bekannte historische Fakten, die bis auf den heutigen Tag überliefert werden”.

98 ueterum uestigia] Vgl. Verg., *Aen.*, 4, 23: “... ueteris uestigia flammae.”
Zum Motiv vgl. Guido Billanovich: “Veterum vestigia vatum” nei carmi

- dei preumanisti padovani', *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, 1 (1958), 155-243.
- 99-119] Kapitel 5 behandelt (zusammen mit Kapitel 6) den Rat der Vierzig (ital. "Quarantia"; lat. "Quarentia"). Dieser war als oberster Gerichtshof die Appellationsinstanz in Zivil- und Strafprozessen. Im 15. Jahrhundert bestand die Quarantia aus vier Abteilungen: Eine von ihnen war die "Quarentia criminalis", welche über Berufungen in Strafprozessen entschied; die drei übrigen Abteilungen waren für Zivilprozesse zuständig (siehe Kapitel 6).
- 102 uoce superba] Verg., *Aen.*, 7, 544 u. Stat., *Theb.*, 11, 360.
- 104 fandi copia] Vgl. Verg., *Aen.*, 1, 520 u. 11, 248: "copia fandi".
- 108 nedum] = "non solum".
- 110-112] Vgl. Ov., *met.*, 1, 625: "Centum luminibus cinctum caput Argus habebat."
- 111 mile] = "mille" (auf "lumina" zu beziehen).
- 113-114] Vgl. Verg., *ecl.*, 5, 37; *georg.* 1, 154.
- 117 desinit] = "sinit".
- 120-140] Kapitel 6 behandelt (ergänzend zu Kapitel 5) jene drei Abteilungen des Rats der Vierzig, die für Berufungen in Zivilprozessen zuständig waren ("Quarentia civilis").
- 127 ad unguem] Vgl. Widmungsbrief, lin. 23, u. vv. 30 u. 243.
- 128 sub illustri] sc. "quarentia" (vgl. v. 216); alternativ ist "die" ("Tag") zu ergänzen.
- 130 suffragia] Vgl. v. 263.
- 132 Ora... discordia] Vgl. Verg., *Aen.*, 2, 423: "ora sono discordia".
- 132 semine litis] Vgl. Ven. Fort., *carm.*, 4, 18, 14: "semina litis".
- 133 sinit] sc. "se".
- 141-159] In Kapitel 7 werden die fünf "Savi della Terra ferma" behandelt, die als Beauftragte des Kleinen Rats für das Festland zuständig waren.
- 141 terrae firme] d.h. Venedigs Terra ferma.
- 145-146 agendis / Sit modus in rebus] Vgl. Hor., *sat.*, 1, 1, 106: "Est modus in rebus..."; Sen., *epist.*, 92, 3: "... si servatus est in rebus agendis ordo, modus".
- 146 numine terno] Vgl. Ov., *fast.*, 5, 146: "numina trina".
- 148 decorat certamina nulla timere] "decorare" ist in Verbindung mit einem Infinitiv nicht belegt; dennoch ist eine Konjekture (z.B. "dederat") hier nicht zwingend erforderlich.
- 151 uidit] Hier ist "videre" zu verstehen als "erleben", "die Erfahrung machen".
- 153 deperdere] Das Subjekt des Acl ist der vorhergehende "qui"-Satz.
- 156 crescentibus annis] Ov., *ars*, 1, 61.
- 160-174] In Kapitel 8 erörtert Lazonus die "domini noctis" oder "domini de nocte". Sie waren ein aus der Curia des Dogen ausgegliederter Gerichtshof, der für alle in der Nacht begangenen Untaten, d.h. auch für Sittlichkeitsverbrechen, zuständig war.
- 165 nudaverit ensem] Vgl. Stat., *Theb.*, 3, 81: "nudaverat ensem".

- 169 *iusta potestas*] Hor., *sat.*, 2, 7, 63.
 172 *Astreae*] Vgl. vv. 13 und 187.
 175-189] Kapitel 9 behandelt die "*auditores ueteres*". Diese hatten das Recht, in Zivilprozessen, die von venezianischen Bürgern angestrengt wurden, bei der *Quarantia* Berufung einzulegen.
 178 *lamentabile uerbum*] Vgl. Verg., *Aen.*, 2, 4: "*lamentabile regnum*".
 184 *quique*] Vgl. vv. 25, 227, 259.
 187 *Astreae numen*] Vgl. vv. 13 und 172.
 187 *mondo*] = "*mundo*".
 190-205] Kapitel 10 erklärt die "*auditores noui*", welche als amtliche Anwälte das Recht hatten, in Zivilprozessen, die von Ausländern angestrengt wurden, bei der *Quarantia* Berufung einzulegen.
 198 *rupes*] sc. "*es*".
 198-201] d.h.: "Du bist wie ein Fels, der an einem festen Berg hängt und so die Böen der Winde zurückweist, und als einziger [sc. Fels] verachtest du aufgrund deines Gewichts die Schläge, welche ja die schuldbewußte Schar der Angeklagten oft gegen dich ausgeteilt hat, indem sie, die mit Wolken Umzogene [sc. Schar], das Licht beschimpft hat."
 199 *stabili*] zu "*monti*".
 201 *nubila lucem*] Lucan., 1, 235.
 206-247] Kapitel 11 handelt von den außerhalb des Stadtgebiets tätigen Beamten. Hierzu zählen insbesondere die Statthalter ("*rectores*" oder "*comites*") und Kommandanten ("*capitanei*") in Istrien und Dalmatien.
 207-210] d.h.: "Heiliger Senat! Ferner habe ich beschlossen, aus Liebe zur Kürze in diesem Buch nur die bedeutenderen [sc. Magistrate] zusammenfassend zu beschreiben und [sc. lediglich] die bedeutenden [sc. Magistrate] in den großen Städten zu behandeln, die der Macht [sc. Venedigs] zu dienen bereit sind."
 219 *enim*] Zur Stellung vgl. v. 82.
 220 *linquere classem*] Vgl. Verg., *Aen.*, 1, 517: "*classem quo litore linquant*".
 224 *fondata*] = "*fundata*".
 225 *Haec maris immensi reginae...*] Hier ist — anders als in v. 1 — nicht die Stadt, sondern deren Flotte gemeint.
 227 *quique*] Vgl. vv. 25, 184, 259.
 227-231] d.h.: "Nicht könnte irgend jemand durch Vernehmen eines Wortes dazu bewegt werden, nicht zu meinen, er selbst sähe mit eigenen Augen die Flotte des Xerxes, der es ja einst mit Neptun aufnehmen wollte, indem er ihm [sc. Neptun] mit Krieg drohte und diesen Gott mit harter Fessel binden wollte."
 229 *Xersi*] sc. der Perserkönig Xerxes (486-465 v. Chr.); "*Xersi*" ist hier als Genetiv aufzufassen.
 230 *iuncturus*] *iuncturo* Hs.
 229-231] Vgl. Val. Max., 3, 2, ext. 3.
 231 *potentis*] = "*potentes*".
 240 *Tanta est constantia gentis*] Vgl. Lucan., 10, 490: "*Tanta est constantia mentis*".

- 243 ad unguem] Vgl. Widmungsbrief, lin. 23, u. vv. 30 u. 127.
245 traxit] sc. "gens ueneta".
248-271] Kapitel 12 behandelt den Senat, deren Mitglieder als "rogati" oder "pregati" bezeichnet werden.
253 quis] = "aliquis".
254-255] Zu konstruieren: *Incessu* [sc. ea] *grauitas* [sc. est], *ut...*
257-259] d.h.: "Oft pflegt die hohe Majestät des Reiches an diesem Ort über die wichtigsten Fragen zu verhandeln, wenn diese denn tatsächlich einen Zugang [sc. zu diesem Gremium] gefunden haben."
259 quique] Vgl. vv. 25, 184, 227.
261] d.h.: "Alles, was seinem Herzen innewohnt, bringt er [sc. jeder Senator] auch zur Gänze öffentlich vor."
263 suffragia] Vgl. v. 130.
265 sede beata] Paul. Nol., *carm.*, 32, 234.
271 non] Keine doppelte Verneinung, sondern lediglich Verstärkung des Wortes "nulla" (v. 270).
271 pace petita] Lucan., 3, 370.
272 Exitus acta probat] Vgl. Ov., *epist.*, 2, 85; Walther, *Proverbia*, Nr. 8481.

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DIE *INSTITUTIO SCHOLAE CHRISTIANAE* (1534) VON GERARD GELDENHOUWER. KRITISCHE AUSGABE MIT KOMMENTAR

Der Nimwegener Humanist Gerard Geldenhouwer (1482-1542) hat sich vor allem als Geschichtsschreiber verdienstlich gemacht. Seinem Hauptwerk über die Geschichte der Bataven, der *Historia Batavica* (ed. pr. Straßburg: Egenolff, 1530), verdankte er seine Berufung, im Jahre 1532, als Professor der Geschichte an der 1527 gegründeten lutherischen Universität von Marburg.¹ Obwohl ihm bereits zwei Jahre nachdem, auf Drängen von Martin Bucer und Johann Faber Capito, ein Lehrstuhl für neutestamentliche Theologie zugeteilt wurde, hat sich sein wissenschaftliches Interesse nicht wesentlich geändert. Während des letzten Jahrzehnts seines Lebens hat Geldenhouwer hauptsächlich historische Arbeiten veröffentlicht, nebst zwei Fürstenspiegeln² und einer pädagogischen Verhandlung.

Die letztere Schrift ist der Gegenstand dieses Beitrags. Die *Institutio scholae christianae* (Frankfurt a.M.: Egenolff, 1534) gehört zu den besseren Leistungen des Nimwegener Humanisten.³ Trotz dessen wiederholter Bescheidenheitsformel und der Verweisung auf geeignetere Vorgänger, namentlich Otto Brunfels, kennzeichnet sich Geldenhouwers Text durch eine eigenständige, nicht unfähige Behandlung des Themas.

¹ Zu Geldenhouwers Leben: J. Prinsen, *Gerardus Geldenhauer Noviomagus. Bijdrage tot de kennis van zijn leven en werken* (Den Haag: Nijhoff, 1898); zu seiner Tätigkeit als Geschichtsschreiber: Gerard Geldenhouwer, *Historische werken. Lucubratiuncula de Batavorum insula - Historia Batavica - Germaniae Inferioris historiae - Germanicarum historiarum illustratio*, ed. tr. István P. Bejczy - Saskia Stegeman, adiuv. Michiel Verweij (Hilversum: Verloren, 1998). Man vermeide die deutsche Schreibung von Geldenhouwers Namen, wie sie noch von Prinsen benutzt wurde!

² Ausgabe: István P. Bejczy, 'Gerard Geldenhouwer of Nijmegen: *Epistola de officio christiani principis* (1538), *Enchiridion principis ac magistratus christiani* (1539)', *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 40 (1991), 168-205.

³ Das Urteil von Prinsen, *Gerardus Geldenhauer*, S. 107-112, ist vielmehr negativ: Geldenhouwer habe sich mit seinen Warnungen gegen eine frühzeitige Bekanntschaft mit den Klassikern (cf. fol. B6v-8r) als ein beschränkter Geist erwiesen.

Sehr originelle Ideen entfaltet er zwar nicht: die Verhandlung stellt vielmehr ein typisches Beispiel humanistischer Pädagogik dar. Die wesentliche Auffassung, geprägt von u.a. Erasmus und Vives, daß die literarische und intellektuelle Erziehung nicht nur den Geist ausbilde, sondern auch den Charakter forme, hat Geldenhouwer zum Leitfaden gedient. Seine erzieherische Einstellung ist durchaus moralistisch, christlich und — natürlich im Gegensatz zu den zwei berühmteren Zeitgenossen — protestantisch. Er nimmt Stellung gegen sowohl die *semipagani*, die den Glauben vernachlässigen, als die *veteratores*, die einen *novus monachismus* propagieren (fol. B6r), und nicht zufällig verweist er häufig auf Werke lutherischer Zeitgenossen. Übrigens kommt der *Institutio*, wegen der zahlreichen Erwähnungen von Figuren und Werken aus dem deutschen und niederländischen Humanismus, erheblichen Wert zu als Zeitdokument.

Geldenhouwers *Institutio scholae christianae* ist offensichtlich nicht als eine Reflexion über dessen eigene Lehrtätigkeit an der Marburger Universität entstanden. Die Verhandlung beschränkt sich auf die präakademische Erziehung, sowohl zu Hause als in der Schule. An erster Stelle richtet sich Geldenhouwer weder an die Lehrer, noch an die Schüler, sondern an die Väter. Er hat seine *Institutio* auf Bitte des Augsburger Artztes und Publizisten Christoph Wirsung, anläßlich der Geburt dessen Sohns Philipp, zusammengesetzt und als Richtschnur für Philipps Erziehung gestaltet. Da Christoph Wirsung erst 13.1.1534 heiratete,⁴ muß Geldenhouwer die auf September 1534 datierte *Institutio* innerhalb einiger Tagen nach Philipps Geburt verfaßt und veröffentlicht haben — es sei denn, daß Philipp ein Sprößling einer vorigen, nicht belegten Ehe seines Vaters war. Diese Möglichkeit verdient es, ernst genommen zu werden. Philipp promovierte 1554 zum Doktor der Medizin in Padua;⁵ eine solche Promotion mit 20 Jahren scheint ziemlich früh. Geldenhouwers Worte in der Vorrede (*„Institutionem scholae christianae, quam olim... Christophoro Virsungo delinearam“*) deuten außerdem auf eine frühere Fassung seiner Verhandlung hin. Ich neige dazu, der Meinung von Geldenhouwers Biographen J. Prinsen zuzustimmen, daß der Nimwegener Humanist die *Institutio* während seines Augsburger Aufenthaltes in den Jahren 1531-1532 abgefaßt hat.⁶ Der Augsburger Stadtrat

⁴ *Die Celestina-Übersetzungen von Christof Wirsung*, ed. Kathleen V. Kish - Ursula Ritzenhoff (Hildesheim: Olms, 1984), S. 90 Anm. 30. Seine Frau hieß Anna (von) Furtenbach oder Furtennagel.

⁵ *Ibid.*, S. 8 mit S. 90 Anm. 30.

⁶ Cf. Prinsen, *Gerardus Geldenhauer*, S. 108-110.

hatte Geldenhouwer Ende 1531 zum ersten Rektor der Gelehrtenschule von St. Anna ernannt. In seiner Schrift äußert er seine Unzufriedenheit mit dem Schulwesen der Reichsstadt. Nicht nur nehme der Stadtrat den Unterricht nicht ernst (fol. B1v-2r), aber zudem gebe es nirgends mehr untaugliche Lehrer als in Augsburg. "Haec, mi Christophore, Augustanis nostris imprimis annotata sint", so schließt er seine Tirade ab. "Nusquam enim (quod sciam) in paedagogorum delectu tantum peccatur ut Augustae, quanquam nusquam liberalius numeretur" (fol. A8r). Wie Prinsen betont, kann Geldenhouwers Bezeichnung der Augsburger als 'die Unsrigen' darauf hinweisen, daß er sein Werk in Augsburg zusammengesetzt hat. Geldenhouwers Zitaten setzen uns nunmehr in die Lage, die Datierung der Schrift auf 1532 zu bestimmen: zweimal weist er auf Werke hin, die 1532 zum ersten Mal gedruckt wurden. Die Geburt von Philipp Wirsung fällt folglich im selben Jahr (oder vielleicht noch im Jahre 1531).

Die Ausgabe des 1532 entstandenen Werkes erfolgte zwei Jahre später auf Bitte des Druckers Christian Egenolff. Ihm war ebenfalls kürzlich ein Sohn geboren worden, wie die Vorrede der *Institutio* eröffnet, so daß auch er von Geldenhouwers pädagogischen Erörterungen Vorteil haben konnte. Übrigens darf man annehmen, daß Geldenhouwers Schrift auch der Erziehung von Mädchen galt, da der Nimwegener Humanist zweimal Gelehrte lobt (Johannes Canter, Konrad Peutinger), die sich auch um die literarische Ausbildung der weiblichen Mitgliefern ihrer Familie bemüht haben. Man hat keinen Grund, Geldenhouwer deswegen als pädagogischen Revolutionär zu bezeichnen, denn im Spätmittelalter waren Frauen oft am primären und sekundären Unterricht beteiligt, sogar als Grundschullehrerinnen.⁷ Ein wirklicher Revolutionär wäre Geldenhouwer nur gewesen, wenn er seine Ratschläge gleichermaßen an Väter und Mütter gerichtet hätte.

Der Form nach besteht Geldenhouwers Verhandlung aus Kommentaren zu Abschnitten aus Quintilians *Institutio oratoria*. Oft stimmen die von Geldenhouwer angeführten Stellen nicht wörtlich mit Quintilians Text überein. Moderne, kritische Ausgaben der *Institutio oratoria* wie diejenige von Radermacher oder Winterbottom⁸ erhalten in ihrem Apparat nichts,

⁷ In den spätmittelalterlichen Niederlanden waren alle Grundschulen und ein Teil der Oberschulen für Mädchen zugänglich. In den Städten wurde das Grundschulunterricht meistens Lehrerinnen zuvertraut. Cf. Reinier R. Post, *Scholen en onderwijs in Nederland gedurende de Middeleeuwen* (Utrecht: Spectrum, 1954), S. 90-91.

⁸ *M. Fabii Quintiliani Institutionis oratoriae libri duodecim*, ed. M. Winterbottom, 2 Bde (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970); *M. Fabii Quintiliani Institutionis oratoriae libri XII*, ed. Ludwig Radermacher, 2 Bde (Leipzig: Teubner, 1952²).

das den Lesarten von Geldenhouwer auch nur einigermaßen nahekommt; anzunehmen ist, daß Geldenhouwer Quintilians Text selbst angepaßt hat, meistens in der Form einer Paraphrase. Diese Paraphrasen entsprechen aber ohne Ausnahme dem Geist des Textes: nirgendwo hat Geldenhouwers dichterische Freiheit zu bedeutenden inhaltlichen Verstümmelungen geführt. Der Zweck, zu welchem der Nimwegener Humanist seine Zitate und Paraphrasen angewendet hat, ist Quintilian dagegen völlig fremd. Quintilian hat sein Werk als Bildungsmuster für heranwachsende, heidnisch-römische Staatsmänner gemeint, die sich als Redner im öffentlichen Leben durchzusetzen hatten; Geldenhouwer hat dieses Muster auf die allgemeine, geistige und moralische Erziehung der christlichen Jugend übertragen, ohne Rücksicht auf ihre etwaige führende Rolle in der künftigen Gesellschaft. Geldenhouwer hat Quintilian sozusagen zugleich christianisiert und vulgarisiert: sein *Quintilien moralisé* erstreckt sich auf die ganze jugendliche Christenheit, sei es natürlich nur soweit diese sich eine langfristige Erziehung leisten konnte.

Geldenhouwer befaßt sich in seiner Verhandlung mit der Erziehung von der Geburt an bis zur Zeit, daß die Jugendlichen genugsam ausgebildet sind, um auf eine Universität zu gehen oder einen Beruf auszuüben, also um das 15. Lebensjahr. Ohne den Primär- und Sekundärunterricht grundsätzlich zu trennen, reicht Geldenhouwer seine Ratschläge in etwa chronologischer Reihenfolge an. In Zusammenhang damit sind in seiner Schrift zwei Linien verkennbar. Die Mehrheit seiner Anweisungen zur Erziehung in der Privatatmosphäre findet man in den ersteren Paragraphen, wo von Kindern die Rede ist, die ihre Zeit noch gänzlich zu Hause verbringen. Zumal in diesen Paragraphen spricht Geldenhouwer von der richtigen Haltung des Vaters und der Hausangestellten, vom Hauslehrer und von den jugendlichen Kameraden. Später verschiebt sich die Aufmerksamkeit der *Institutio scholae christianae* auf den öffentlichen Schulunterricht. Dementsprechend fällt der Nachdruck der ersteren Paragraphen auf die Pädagogik im allgemeinem Sinne (das väterliche Vorbild, gute und schlechte Einflüsse, die kindliche Lehrbegierde, die Rolle des Spiels usw.), in den letzteren Paragraphen aber auf das Studienprogramm. Namentlich den freien Künsten schenkt Geldenhouwer große Beachtung, vor allem dem Trivium; mit den Quadriviumfächern hat er auch selbst nie recht etwas anzufangen gewußt.

Die auffallendsten Stellen der *Institutio* sind vielleicht die, wo Geldenhouwer sich gegen eine frühzeitige Beschäftigung mit den meisten

Klassikern ausspricht. Besonders von der Poesie und dem Drama wäre seines Erachtens eine schädliche Wirkung auf junge, empfängliche Naturen zu befürchten. Die Bildung der wahren christlichen Gesinnung erfordere vielmehr die Lektüre unverdächtiger Autoren des christlichen Altertums wie Cyprian, Laktanz, Nonnus, Gregor Nazianzen und Juvenecus; durch ihre Schriften gestärkt sollte der christliche Schüler sich erst später, wenn sich sein Charakter endgültig geformt hatte, den Klassikern zuwenden. Offensichtlich war Geldenhouwer sich der Seltsamkeit seiner literarischen Vorzüge bewußt, aber die Gefahr vor Sittenverderb und Paganismus rechtfertigte in seinen Augen das von ihm vorgeschlagene Programm. In einigen Fällen rät er, harmlose Fragmente der Klassiker statt der vollständigen Werke zu lesen. So sollte man die Lektüre von Terenz in jungem Alter um jeden Preis vermeiden; zum Ersatz empfiehlt Geldenhouwer das Studium einer Sammlung lehrreicher Redewendungen des römischen Dramatikers, die von seinem Freund Cornelius Graphaeus zusammengesetzt und von ihm selbst mit einer Vorrede versehen worden war. Ironischerweise publizierte Christoph Wirsung, dem Geldenhouwer seine Verhandlung widmete, im selben Jahr 1534 seine zweite deutsche Fassung der Tragikomödie *Celestina* von Fernando de Rojas; als Prolog fügte Wirsung einen Dialog hinzu, in welchem er die Nutzbarkeit des Dramas verteidigte, insbesondere der Komödien von Plautus und Terenz!⁹ Übrigens machen Geldenhouwers Ideen über Zensur einen gemäßigten Eindruck, wenn man sie den Auffassungen von Vives gegenüberstellt. In *De disciplinis*, drei Jahre zuvor erschienen, hatte der spanische Humanist auf ein totales Verbot 'obszöner' Stellen in Dichtern wie Ovid und Tibull gedrängt.¹⁰

Von besonderer Bedeutung ist Geldenhouwers vollständige Wiedergabe zweier Texte: eine Auseinandersetzung über den Verdienst des mittelalterlichen Grammatikers Alexander de Villa Dei von Geldenhouwers Freund und Landsmann Petrus Montanus, und ein auf 25.1.1473 datierter Brief Kaisers Friedrich des III. am Groninger Wunderknaben Andreas Canter, dem die Doktorwürde und eine Stelle an der Wiener Universität angeboten wird. Im letzteren Falle handelt es sich wahrscheinlich um eine Fälschung.

⁹ *Aynn recht Liepliches büchlin* (Augsburg: Steiner, 1534), in Faksimile aufgenommen in *Die Celestina-Übersetzungen von Christof Wirsung*. Cf. e.g. fol. A iii v: "Da hatt (meines achtens) dise Tragicomoedi / nit minder nutzparkeit in jr / dann ein Terentianische oder Plautinische Comedi". Wirsungs erste Übersetzung war, ohne den Dialog, 1520 erschienen.

¹⁰ *De tradendis disciplinis* III.5, *Opera omnia*, ed. Gregorio Mayans y Sísar, 8 Bde (Valencia: Montfort, 1782-1790) VI S. 323.

Die von Joseph Chmel herausgegebenen Regesten der Briefe und Urkunden Friedrichs III. erwähnen das Dokument nicht.¹¹ B. Ebels-Hoving geht davon aus, daß es sich um eine persönliche Fälschung von Geldenhouwer handelt; daß Friedrich III. sich in einem Brief aus 1472 (gemeint ist 1473) alt und schwach nennt, kommt ihr verdächtig vor, da Friedrich noch zwanzig Jahre zu leben hatte.¹² Dieses Argument scheint etwas merkwürdig. Wäre es nicht wichtiger zu wissen, wieviele Jahre Friedrich schon gelebt hatte? Anfang 1473 war der Kaiser in seinem 58. Lebensjahr und konnte er sich somit ganz gut als alt bezeichnen. Von größerer Bedeutung ist aber das Alter von Andreas Canter. Laut des Briefes war er fast zehn Jahre alt, so daß sein Geburtsjahr um 1463 anzusetzen wäre. Er hat aber erst 1491 in Köln immatrikuliert.¹³ Es ist nicht unmöglich, daß er spät zu studieren angefangen hat, aber doch unwahrscheinlich, zumal da er wegen seiner besonderen Begabung des Kolleggebührs enthoben wurde.¹⁴ Auch die Brüder von Andreas studierten in Köln: Johannes seit 1484,¹⁵ Jacobus seit 1487 (mit 18 Jahren).¹⁶ Es liegt auf der Hand, daß die Brüder in Folge ihrer

¹¹ Cf. *Regesta chronologico-diplomatica Friderici IV Romanorum regis (imperatoris III)* (Wien: Rohrmann, 1838; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1962); *Aktenstücke und Briefe zur Geschichte des Hauses Habsburg im Zeitalter Maximilians I.*, 3 Bde (Wien: Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1854-1856; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1968).

¹² Jacobus Canter, *Dialogus de solitudine*, ed. Bunna Ebels-Hoving (München: Fink, 1981), S. 21 mit Anm. 18.

¹³ Hermann Keussen, *Die Matrikel der Universität Köln*, 3 Bde (Bonn: Behrendt, 1892-1931) II, S. 300. Keussen nennt tatsächlich 1463 als Geburtsjahr von Andreas.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*: "propt. sue pers. singularem qualitatem et nobilitatem n. ab eo petitem fuit".

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, S. 131. Ein anderer Johannes Canter hat 1494 immatrikuliert (*ibid.*, S. 351); Ebels-Hoving in Canter, *Dialogus*, S. 24 Anm. 34 nimmt an, daß der erstere unser Johannes jr. ist, da dieser schon 1487 zum kaiserlichen Hofastrolog ernannt wurde.

¹⁶ Keussen, *Die Matrikel* II, S. 212. Daß Jacobus 25.2.1469 geboren wurde, hat erst Karl A.E. Enenkel, *Kulturoptimismus und Kulturpessimismus in der Renaissance. Studie zu Jacobus Canter's Dialogus de solitudine mit kritischer Textausgabe und deutscher Übersetzung* (Frankfurt a.M.: Lang, 1995), S. 59, festgesetzt. Möglicherweise hatte Jacobus zuvor eine andere Universität besucht, denn eine erste Immatrikulation mit 18 Jahren ist ziemlich spät (*ibid.*, S. 60); übrigens immatrikulierte er als Jurastudent und hatte er sich folglich schon gründlich (zwar nicht unbedingt an einer Universität) in den *artes liberales* ausbilden müssen. Es sei hier erwähnt, daß Enenkels Arbeit der Ausgabe von Ebels-Hoving weitaus überlegen ist. Seine Bemerkungen zu Canter's Biographie (S. 59-68) korrigieren nicht nur die Darstellung von Ebels-Hoving, sondern auch die von Peter G. Bietenholz in *Contemporaries of Erasmus: A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation*, ed. Peter G. Bietenholz - Thomas B. Deutscher, 3 Bde (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985-1987) I, S. 258-259; Bietenholz hat übrigens die Ausgabe von Ebels-Hoving nicht benützt. Irreführend ist aber Enenkels Ansicht, daß Canter nicht "nur" den Magistergrad, sondern "auch" die Doktorwürde in den *artes liberales* erreicht habe (*Kulturoptimismus und Kulturpessimismus*, S. 60-61); *magister* und *doctor* sind, als akademische Titel, Synonyme!

Geburt und, wie Jacobus, in nicht zu hohem Alter immatrikuliert haben. Folglich wäre Andreas jünger als Jacobus (wie auch Ebels-Hoving annimmt¹⁷); vor 1470 könnte er deshalb nicht geboren sein. Daß ihm 25.1.1473, als fast zehnjährigem Knaben, wegen seiner vielseitigen Gelehrtheit ein kaiserliches Doktorat angeboten wurde, wäre mithin unmöglich. Hätte Andreas in normalem Alter — mit etwa 15, oder sogar, wie sein Bruder Jacobus, mit 18 Jahren — immatrikuliert, dann wäre er zur Zeit der Verfassung des Briefes noch gar nicht geboren! Gegen die Echtheit des Briefes spricht überdies der Umstand, daß Friedrich III. offenbar den ganzen Monat Januar 1473 in der Steiermark verbracht hat — also nicht in Wien, wo der Brief an Canter angeblich geschrieben wurde. Am 23. und am 29. Januar hat er in seiner Residenz zu Graz Urkunden erlassen;¹⁸ ein Wiener Aufenthalt am 25. scheint deshalb unwahrscheinlich. Zum Schluß sei bemerkt, daß Friedrich sich erst ab 1490 ernsthaft darum bemüht hat, die Wiener Universität, mit der er sich nie recht verstanden hat, in humanistischem Sinn zu reformieren.¹⁹ Eine Initiative, wie sie aus den (in durchaus klassischem Latein abgefaßten) Brief an Andreas Canter hervorgeht, wäre von ihm 1473 wohl kaum zu erwarten gewesen.

Von der *Institutio scholae christianae* ist ein einziger Druck vorhanden:

[Kleeblatt] INSTI- / TVTIO SCHOLAE / CHRISTIANAE, / Autore Gerardo Gelden- / haurio Nouiomago. / [Weinblatt] / FRANCOFVRTI, apud / Christianum Aegenolphum.

8°, 36 Seiten. Hefte numeriert. Kopfzeile: SCHOLA CHRISTIANA.

A(8)B(10). Letztes Blatt leer.

¹⁷ Aber ohne Argument und ohne aus diesem Umstand zu schließen, daß er nicht schon 1473 den Brief erhalten haben kann, cf. Canter, *Dialogus*, S. 26. Bietenholz in *Contemporaries of Erasmus* I, S. 258 nennt Jacobus den dritten Sohn der Familie, ebenfalls ohne Argument.

¹⁸ Cf. *Regesta chronologico-diplomatica*, ed. Chmel, S. 644. Auch alle andere Urkunden dieses Monats wurden in Graz erlassen. Paul-Joachim Heinig, *Kaiser Friedrich III. (1440-1493). Hof, Regierung und Politik*, 3 Bde (Köln: Böhlau, 1997), S. 1375, nimmt an, daß der Kaiser von Ende 1472 bis 24.3.1473 ununterbrochen in Graz residiert hat.

¹⁹ Zu Friedrichs Bemühungen ab 1490: Gustav Bauch, *Die Reception des Humanismus in Wien* (Breslau: Marcus, 1903), S. 30-36; Alphons Lhotsky, *Die Wiener Artistenfakultät 1365-1497* (Wien: Böhlau, 1965), S. 178 sq.; James Overfield, *Humanism and Scholasticism in Late Medieval Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), S. 133-134. Zum Verhältnis zwischen Friedrich und der Wiener Universität: Lhotsky, *Die Wiener Artistenfakultät*, S. 181. Cf. Heinig, *Kaiser Friedrich III.*, S. 442, 461-462: im Gegensatz zu ihren Absolventen spielten Wiener Professoren eine geringe Rolle im kaiserlichen Hofrat; nur Kirchenrechtsgelehrte setzte Friedrich gern als Diplomaten ein.

Verwendet wurde das Exemplar Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek (Signatur AB:E oct. 176 dl. 6). Der Text wird im Folgenden vollständig herausgegeben. Angepaßt wurden die Satzzeichen und somit gelegentlich auch der Satzbau; die Klammer sind authentisch. Die Schreibung von u/v, i/j, ß und ë wurde normalisiert, ebenso wie der Gebrauch von Großbuchstaben, Kursiv- und Fettdruck. Die meisten Abkürzungen sind aufgelöst. Die Einteilung in Absätze ist authentisch, der Gebrauch von Weißzeilen wurde angepaßt. Eigentümliche oder inkonsequente Lesarten, die nicht als offenkundige Druckfehler zu deuten waren (amicicia, desyderio, imo/immo), wurden beibehalten. Alle sonstigen Texteingriffe sind im Apparat verzeichnet.

[fol. A1v]

GERARDUS GELDENHAURIUS CHRISTIANO EGENOLFO S.P.D.

Amicicia nostra, quae tot annis coalescens tam alte radices fixit ut posthac loco moveri nequeat, suo iure postulat ut si qua in re tibi consulere queam, id alacri animo nunquam non faciam. Quum autem filiolo optatissimo Deus Optimus Maximus te donarit, eorum quae ad hunc pie instituendum pertinent, te admonere debeo. Hinc est quod *Institutionem scholae christianae*, quam olim incomparabili amico Christophoro Virsungo delinearam, tibi legendam mitto, ea lege ut, si tibi digna videbitur, tuo auspicio aedatur, sin minus, intra privatos parietes delitescat. Adhibito autem communis amici D. Ioannis Fichardi, non tam morum candore quam insigni eruditione ornatissimi viri, iudicio, quae voles mutato, adimito, addito. Hoc ante omnia cura si unquam aediturus es, ut quam emendatissima in luce prodeat. Vale. [fol. A2r]

INSTITUTIO SCHOLAE CHRISTIANAE

GERARDUS GELDENHAURIUS NOVIOMAGUS CHRISTOPHORO VIRSUNGO PATRICIO AUGUSTANO S.P.D.

Ubi parens factus es, optime Virsunge, nihil magis in votis habes, id quod non obscuris indiciis declaras, quam ut Philippus tuus ab ipsis incunabulis christiana pietate simulque bonis literis instituat. Huius rei magna pars in te sita est. Quum enim relictis errorum tenebris ad evangelicam lucem Dei gratia advolaris et studiorum humanitatis ut amantissimus, ita etiam non omnino sis imperitus, non solum pii parentis,

verumetiam incorrupti praeceptoris vices facile subieris. Nihilominus hortaris ut formulam quandam christianae institutionis praescribam, quam sequenti minus aberrare liceret. Quare quum mea omnia tibi debeam, non video qua ratione quod petis honeste negavero. Verum praestare quod exigis in tanta scriptorum turba longe difficillimum. Tota Germania catechismis scatet. Unus Otho Brunfelsius, qui veterum ac neotericorum hac de re sententias collegit, ad cuncta quae desideras suffecerit neque operae praecium videtur ut anser inter tot olores strepam, imo (ut verius dicam) obstrepam. Ne vero hanc meam excusationem nihil aliud quam desidiae patrociniū interpreteris, en selegi [fol. A2v] tibi quasdam M. Fabii Quintiliani viri sanctissimi sententias puerili institutioni maxime necessarias. Has ne nihil de meo illinerem, annotationibus obscurarim an illustrarim aliorum esto iudicium. Si quid peccatum est, in te reiicietur iustissime qui huius temeritatis autor mihi fueris. Hactenus balbutitum satis; iam ipsum Fabium praecipientem audiamus, postquam saltem unum et alterum tanti doctoris preconium praemisero.

Plinius Iunior, grati discipuli fungens officio, Quintilianum praeceptorem continentissimi beatissimique titulis honorat et a verecundiae laude summe depredicat. Marcialis quoque, obscoenis sepositis poeta excellentissimus, Plinianae sententiae eleganti carmine succinit:

Quintiliane, vagae moderator summae iuventae,
Gloria Romanae, Quintiliane, togae.

Nunc ergo tam laudati a laudatis viri praecepta consideremus.

Nato filio pater spem de illo primum quam optimam capiat, ita diligentior a principiis fiet.

In sacris historiis legimus non solum huiusmodi spem de prole nata, sed etiam de nondum concepta sanctos parentes nuncupatis votis coepisse et, priusquam filius nasceretur, quomodo ad verae religionis cultum quamprimum instituendus^a esset, anxie prae- [fol. A3r] cogitasse. Cuius rei praeter alia insigne exemplum Annae matris Samuelis habemus. Quare si viros imitari difficile videtur, saltem vel muliercula ad hanc spem nos excitet. Ingens nostri saeculi nostraeque religionis dedecus, immo scelus est quod natus iam filius, in quo ingenii quoque lumen relucere incipit, neque literis neque moribus instituitur. Verum (ut audio) parentes nomine christiani, animo athei haec perpetuo causantur: sacerdotiorum

^a instituendus] iustituendus

spes periit, monachatus contemptus iacet, opes non adsunt ut literis quae ad pietatem faciant (de his enim solis quicquid hic dicitur intelligi volo) imbuatur. Quanto rectius ethnici nonnulli qui defraudato genio suo curabant ut eruditos filios reipublicae educarent! Hoc Horatius de patre suo gratis versibus ad posteritatis exemplum scribit:

Causa fuit pater his, qui macro pauper agello
 Noluit in Flavii ludum me mittere magni.
 Sed puerum est ausus Romam portare docendum
 Artes quas doceat quivis eques atque senator.
 Laus illi debetur et a me gratia maior.

D. Augustinus eadem fere de patre suo tamen ethnico narrat. "Longioris", inquit, "apud Carthaginem peregrinationis sumptus praeparabantur animositate magis quam opibus patris, municipis Thagastensis admodum tenuis. Quis non extollebat laudibus tunc hominem patrem meum, quod ultra vires rei fa- [fol. A3v] miliaris suae impenderet filio quicquid etiam longe peregrinanti studiorum causa opus esset?" Pudeat christianos haec legentes qui toti a Deo pendere deberent, quibus sollicitudine victus et vestitus interdictum est, quibus regnum Dei quaerentibus omnia se adiecturum ipsa veritas, ipse Rex regum Christus pollicetur. Non deerunt qui gratis doceant, modo parentes de liberis quam optime sperare coeperint.

DE NUTRICIBUS^b

Protinus ut erit parens factus, acrem quam maxime curam impendat ne sit vitiosus sermo nutricibus quas, si fieri posset, sapientes Chrysippus optavit, certe, quantum res pateretur, optimas eligi voluit. Et morum quidem in his haud dubie prior ratio est.

Suae aetatis hominibus Fabius imprimis scripsit. Vulgus enim Romae olim Latine loquebatur, opulentiores quoque nutrices alebant quas habito delectu et valetudinis corporum et multo magis integritatis animi adsciscebant. Quare admonet ne harum sermo vitiosus sit. Inter balbos namque balbutitur quam facillime.

Et morum. Christianus paterfamilias videat quales domi suae famulos et ancillas alat, quam ipse, quam uxor incorruptis moribus sit. Sed exclamare cogor: O mores! O tempora! Quae ethnicorum praecepta! Quae christianorum vita! Illi inculpatos [fol. A4r] mores imo et sapien-

^b DE NUTRICIBUS] *in margine*

tiam in nutricibus requirebant ne tenera aetas vel minima labecula inficeretur. Sciebant quam vere dictum sit: Adeo a teneris assuescere multum est. Hi quum ipsi vivant (paucissimos excipio) perditissime, dignum habent patella operculum et (ut alio proverbio dicitur) qualis est convivator, tales sunt convivae, hoc est, familiam alunt petulantem, responsatricem, contumacem. Et tandem puer inter pus et venenum hominum pestiferorum educatus, vitiis quoque quantus quantus est opertus, in scholas mittitur et postea (si Deo placet)

culpa docentis
Scilicet arguitur quod leva in parte papillae
Nil sapit Arcadico iuveni.

DE PARENTIBUS INDOCTIS^c

In parentibus vero quam plurimum esse eruditionis optaverim, verum nec de parentibus tantum loquor.

Plurimum eruditionis utrique parenti Fabius optat, et quis vir bonus idem non optaverit? Verum ut nunc sunt tempora, fere fit ut qui patres aliqua eruditione claros habent, caeteris indulgentius negligentiusque educentur. Tanta est saeculi nostri perversitas, tanta caecitas. Certe si nulla etiam alia causa vel bonos vel literatos se esse parentes optare atque studere debebant, saltem liberorum suorum causa debebant, quos ipsos qualescunque tandem [fol. A4v] ipsi sint, esse quam laudatissimos desyderant neque ulla ex parte plus ex ipsis voluptatis capiunt quam si eos optimorum opinione vulgo haberi atque commendari vident. Reliqua enim, ut sunt divitiae, affinitates et similia, illis plerumque alicunde accessisse videntur, virtutem et animi praestantiam ex ipsis parentibus haereditaria quadam derivatione desumpsisse existimantur, ut haec una pars sit cuius gloriae laudisque potissima portio ipsis parentibus tribuatur. Vulgare est illud poetae:

Fortes creantur fortibus et bonis;
Est in iuvenis, est in equis patrum
Virtus neque imbellem feroces
Progenerant aquilae columbam.

Ut igitur monui, parentes qui de filiis praeclara et optant et sperant, huc summopere conniti debent ut ipsi quam plurimum fieri potest, habeant eorum quae filiis optant. Fabius hoc loco parentes esse eruditos vult, nimi-

^c DE PARENTIBUS INDOCTIS] *in margine*

rum quia suis ipse libris nihil aliud agit quam ut oratorem instituat et eum quidem ex incunabulis ipsis. Ut igitur docti parentes doctos, ita et boni bonos liberos efficient. Optarim autem et ipse plurimum ut quorumcumque conditio ferret literas addiscere, id studiose facerent; eius enim rei multiplicem fructum percepturi sunt. Primum suo exemplo tanquam vehementissimo quodam stimulo diligentiam^d filiorum excita- [fol. A5r] bunt et ad omnem laboris patientiam instigabunt. Quod factum in incomparabili viro Guilielmo Budaeo videmus, qui solo patris exemplo retractum se ad meliora studia ipse fatetur. Deinde iuditium eorum quod ipsi ex literarum studiis nacti sunt, quantumvis tenue sit, eo tamen proficiet ut melius aliis et in deligendis doctis bonisque praeceptoribus et in observandis iis quae pueris traduntur, rectene id an perperam fiat advigilare possint. Postremo et ipsi ubi aut per negotium licebit aut esse opus putaverint, liberis institutione quoque sua adesse possunt, id quod nunquam non foelicissime solet succedere, quum interim ineruditi parentes ex sola praeceptorum fide dependeant nec ipsi quicquam de liberorum suorum profectu amplius intelligant quam ex aliis audiunt — qui tamen illis (quod adhuc peius est) ut plurimum adulantur — ut ferme nunquam quid vere in liberis suis habeant, satis sciant. Quantum vero parentum eruditio liberis conferat, doctor Ioannes Canter Groningensis Frisius clarissimo omniumque saeculorum memoria dignissimo exemplo docuit. Is enim non modo filios sed etiam filias, imo totam familiam suam mira quadam industria intra paucissimos annos ita moribus et literis instituit ut toti christiano orbi miraculo essent. Qua de re bonae spei ac imitationis causa epistolam D. Friderici Terti imperatoris caesaris augusti non pigebit adscribere: [fol. A5v]

Fridericus Dei gratia Romanorum imperator semper augustus salutem dicit pro sui ingenii excellentia non minus admirando quam insigni puero Andreae Canter Groningensi.

Pervenit ad nostrae maiestatis audientiam ingens de te fama, clarissime infans, inauditumque cunctis saeculis tuae laudis praeconium, quomodo videlicet ante decimum tenerrimae aetatis tuae annum universarum pene liberalium artium peritiam nactus sis ac etiam nostrarum legum sacrorumque canonum cognitionem. Et (quod tanto admirabilius quanto nobis rarius videtur) te ipsum aiunt totam Veteris ac Novi Testamenti seriem non sine divinae clementiae suffragio palam profiteri necnon in publicis

^d diligentiam] diligenciam

disputationibus intrepido pectore ad quodlibet respondere. Nos vero, cupientes tanti miraculi veritatem plenius experiri, nostris te familiaribus his literis visitare non indignum duximus ut ad Viennensem nostrae imperatoriae maiestatis singulariter adamandam universitatem quamprimum venire velis. Ingenti namque desyderio te videre desyderamus tuamque tam foecundi ingenii dignitatem imperialium [fol. A6r] munerum participem facere. Iter igitur Viennam versus ut primum poteris arripe et ad nostrae celsitudinis regale solium teipsum recipe ut, postquam de tam profunda floridissimae iuventutis tuae scientia verax experimentum habuerimus, aureis te doctorum insigniis foeliciter coronemus. Dabimus etenim tibi (nec immerito) primum in regali aula locum erisque quanto aetate iunior, tanto nobis acceptior ac etiam nostrae praedictae caesareae universitatis doctoribus gratior aestimandus.

Vale, charissime fili, et cura ne maturo tandem senio nostra ingravescens maiestas tam admirando incredibilique solatio diutius careat. Datum in alma universitate studii nostri Viennensi^e sub nostrae maiestatis secreto anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo septuagesimo secundo, vicesima quinta die mensis Ianuarii, regni vero nostri tricesimo tercio anno.

Haec exempla quanquam sane rara sint, tamen et nostro saeculo (alioqui corruptissimo et in quo rectissime locum invenit illud Iuvenalis:

Res nulla minoris
Constabit patri quam filius)

nonnulla adferri possunt. Et ne multum per diversa [fol. A6v] vagemur, contenti simus illo domestico et quod ob oculos quotidie nobis versatur, clarissimi viri D. Chunradi Peutingeri utriusque iuris doctoris, patritii et cancellarii vestri, Virsunge, exemplo, cuius eximia virtus et eruditio non filios modo sed et filias ipsius (id quod in eo sexu rarissimum est) quin etiam uxorem, incomparabilis honestatis foeminam, ita instruxit et exornavit ut homo doctissimus summa cum voluptate iam et nepotes et neptes tam omni^f eruditione quam moribus ornatissimos videat. Inter quos Claudius Pius, licet iuvenis adhuc, tamen et ipse utriusque iuris doctor et omni eruditione vel hac aetate parentem referens, miro splendore elucet. In quo uno etiam pater habitorum laborum uberem omnino mercedem percepissee videri potest. Sed iam ad reliqua.

^e Viennensi] Viennensis

^f omni] animi *index errorum in fine operis corrigere iubet*

DE PARENTIBUS INDOCTIS^g

Nec tamen ii quibus discere ipsis non contigit, minorem curam docendi liberos habeant, sed sint propter hoc ipsum ad caetera magis diligentes.

Qui prolem sibi natam donum Dei esse cognoscit, qualitercunque a suis parentibus aut institutus aut neglectus, totis viribus conabitur ut filium in omnibus quae verae religionis sunt Deo et reipublicae quam instructissimum offerat quodque in se omissum est, in filio resarciat. [fol. A7r]

DE DOCENDI TEMPORE^h

Chrysippus nullum tempus cura vacare voluit et a nutricibus quoque iam formandam quam optimis institutis infantiam iudicat. Non ergo perdamus primum statim tempus, atque eo minus quod initia literarum sola memoria constant, quae non modo iam est in parvis sed tum etiam tenacissima est. Nec tamen instandum teneris protinus acerbe nec exigenda plena opera. Lusus hic sit et rogetur et laudetur et praemiis quae capit illa aetas evocetur.

Christianus puer in ipsis cunis supplices manus et oculos in coelum tollere discat, coelestem Patrem priusquam terrenum invocare assuescat, Ihesu Christi Servatoris nomen balbutiens lingula inclamitet, orationem dominicam, symbolum apostolicum, decem praecepta si non verbis, conante saltem gestu cum aliis crebro recitet. Haec enim et huiusmodi sola memoria assequitur.

DE COLLUSORIBUS ET STUDIORUM SODALIBUSⁱ

De pueris inter quos educabitur, idem quod de nutricibus dictum sit. Hic summa cura vigilandum, hic dilectus habendus quos collusores, quos congerrones, quos studiorum sodales et domi et foris puer habiturus sit. Horum nanque mores citius quam aut parentum aut praeceptorum imitari^j solet. Non possum hoc in loco op- [fol. A7v] timi patris mei Gerardi Geldenhaurii Batavi non meminisse, qui summa cura apud D. Hermannum Craneveldium (qui tribus Geldrionum ducibus asecretis

^g DE PARENTIBUS INDOCTIS] *in margine*

^h DE DOCENDI TEMPORE] *in margine*

ⁱ DE COLLUSORIBUS ET STUDIORUM SODALIBUS] *in margine*

^j imitari] imitare *index errorum corrigere iubet*

fuerat, quum ipse totidem cubicularius fuisset) hoc egit, ut illius filius Franciscus Craneveldius, cuius mores nihil aliud quam ipsam innocentiam integritatemque spirabant, primorum studiorum meorum sodalis individuus esset. Huius lateri ego, ipse meo semper haerebat. Nulla alia de re huic sermo erat quam de morum honestate, de studiorum excellentia, de historiarum cognitione. Ita aliquot annis conviximus ut frater cum fratre non posset amantius. Vivit adhuc Franciscus, sodalis meus et dominus meus, augustalibus consiliis valde naecessarius, magno Machlinianorum senatui admodum gratus collega. Gratias ago Deo, gratias ago tam patri meo quam Craneveldio, venerandis dum inter mortales viverent senibus, quod talis mihi sodalis contigerit. Utinam omnes patres hoc exemplum imitarentur.

DE PAEDAGOGIS^k

De paedagogis hoc amplius ut aut sint eruditi plane aut se non esse eruditos sciant. Nihil enim peius iis qui paulum aliquid ultra primas literas progressi falsam sibi scientiae persuasionem induerunt. Nam et cedere praecipendi peritis indignantur et velut iure quodam potestatis quo fere hoc hominum genus intumescit, imperiosi atque interim saevientes stulticiam suam perdocent. [fol. A8r]

Quae de nutricibus, quae de sodalibus dicta sunt, in adsciscendis paedagogis maxime observare oportebit. Verum **hoc amplius** etc. Pedagogi ductores se puerorum, non praeceptores esse meminerint neque doctorum eruditionem auctoritatemve apud herilem puerum elevare ausint. Magistrorum enim auctoritas ubi semel labefactata per contemptum fuerit, vix unquam quae docebuntur grata erunt. Quicquid etiam contemptim ac invito genio discitur, facile diffluere solet. Non praeficiantur paedagogorum muneri comatuli illi et arrogantuli universalium scholarum magistri (modestorum eruditorumque alia ratio est) qui ubi in opulentiorum familias, in lautiorum mensas empty nonnunquam aut emendicata commendatione irrepserunt, statim ut vituli primum e stabulo emissi lascivire incipiunt, et id non tantum pueri — quem ad praeceptorem deducere, quem ad honesta studia et verbis et exemplo sedulo exhortari ipsorum officio est — summo periculo, sed etiam totius nonnunquam familiae dedecore. Sunt et inter paedagogos qui ut pueros diutius in sui admiratione detineant, domi eos docent: quam vero foeliciter, exitus

^k DE PAEDAGOGIS] *in margine*

probat. Postquam enim taliter instituti sub liberum coelum egressi de literis disserere nituntur, statuis taciturnioresprehenduntur. Haec, mi Christophore, Augustanis nostris imprimis annotata sint. Nusquam enim (quod sciam) in paedagogorum delectu tantum peccatur ut Augustae, quanquam nusquam liberalius numeretur. [fol. A8v]

A sermone Graeco puerum incipere malo quia Latinus vel nobis nolentibus se perhibet.

Quum Romani rerum domini essent, omnes non modo per Italiam, sed etiam per Hispanias, Aphricam, bonam Galliarum partem et caeteras provincias Latine utcunque loquebantur, quare pueri a sermone Graeco incipiebant. Mutatis vero rebus, praecipue in Germania, a sermone Latino incipere consultius est, quem tamen Graecus e vestigio subsequi debet.

Sanctae autem Hebraeorum linguae elementa cum quadam venerandae antiquitatis admiratione primae aetati proponenda sunt. Id ex D. Bonifacii Wolfhardi tabula Augustae aedita fiet quam facillime.

DE EXERCITATIONE¹

Illud in primis testandum, nihil praecepta atque artes valere nisi adiuvante natura. Sicut et haec ipsa sine doctore perito, studio pertinaci, scribendi, legendi, dicendi multa et continua exercitatione, per se nihil prosunt.

In rudes quosdam et rerum imperitos parentes haec dicta sunt, qui omnes equaliter ad literas natos iudicant. Rudimenta quaedam bonarum artium a quolibet disci forte potuerint^m, foelix autem in his successus plurima requirit, quae Fabius ordine recenset. Sed et inter haec continua exercitatio primas obtinet. [fol. B1r]

DE MORIBUSⁿ

Si studiis quidem scholas prodesse, moribus autem nocere constaret, potior mihi ratio vivendi honeste quam vel optime dicendi videretur. Si ethnico homini tanta fuit morum cura ut hos vel absolutissimae eloquentiae praetulerit, quid christiani parentes curare debeant, quivis facile dispexerit.

¹ DE EXERCITATIONE] *in margine*

^m potuerint] poterint

ⁿ DE MORIBUS] *in margine*

DE PRAECEPTORIBUS^o

Si bona ipsius indoles, si non caeca ac sopita parentum socordia est, et praeceptorem eligere sanctissimum quenque, cuius rei praecipua prudentibus cura est, et disciplinam, quae maxime severa fuerit, licet.

Magistrorum imprimis inspicere mores oportebit et maior adhibenda cura est ut teneriores annos ab iniuria sanctitatis docentis custodiat et ferociore a licentia gravitas deterreat.

Sumat igitur ante omnia parentis erga discipulos suos animum, non austeritas eius tristis, non dissoluta sit comitas.

Repetere et inculcare diu fuerit utilius et in lectione non prope-
rare. *Repetere et inculcare diu fuerit utilius et in lectione non prope-
rare. Ii versus qui ad imitationem scribendi proponen-* [fol. B1v]
tur, non ociosas sententias habeant, sed honestum aliquid monentes.

Plurimus ei de honesto ac bono sermo sit. Nam quo saepius monuerit, hoc rarius castigabit.

Nec opus erit castigatione si assiduus studiorum exactor extiterit. *Studiorum initia a perfectissimo quoque tractari debent.*

Quae hic ex Fabio excerpimus, ad magistratus et principes maxime pertinent, ut sciant qualis literariis ludis praeficiendus sit qualemque disciplinam sectari potissimum deceat. Verum quoniam hac de re Rodolphi Agricolae Frisii doctissima epistola extat, nos Fabianae sententiae summam colligemus. Vult eligi praeceptorem sanctissimum qui neque plagosus neque cerebrosus sit, cuius gravitas ferociore coerceat^p et eruditionis perfectio nihil dediscendum doceat, qui non suo questui sed discipulorum ingeniis ut animi parens optima fide consulat. Dico queso mihi, mi Virsunge, quotus quisque sit inter senatores, non dico Augustanae urbis tantum, sed omnium fere per Germanias civitatum, qui his de rebus, ex quibus tota reipublicae salus dependet, vel in summo otio cogitet? Affectus ubique regnant, amicitiae privatae dominantur, inanes saepe saepius [fol. B2r] tituli, non solida eruditio magni aestimatur. Hinc fit ut tales ludimagistros, professores, gymnasiarchas, addam quod vero verius est, monstra ac portenta hominum habeamus qui iuventutem morum exemplo perdere possunt, recte instituere non possunt. Huius farinae magistros quibus plumbeum cor est, lignea frons, canina, id est modo adulatrix modo furiosa lingua, adamantina^q cervix, manus plusquam plagosae, suis coloribus depingerem, sed parco vivis, si forte admoniti aliquando desertis

^o DE PRAECEPTORIBUS] *in margine*

^p coerceat] cohorceat

^q adamantina] adamantiva

vitiis secundum Fabiana praecepta vitam instituunt et quam noverunt artem, hanc exerceant, ne quadret in eos quod dicitur: Ne sutor ultra crepidam. Unum addam, nihil magis primae aetatis institutioni officere quam crebram praeceptorum mutationem. Nam ut varia sunt hominum ingenia, ita docendi quoque ratio diversa est. Et quod ab uno puer didicit, apud alium interdum dediscere cogetur. Eligatur ergo praeceptor qualem Fabius describit isque honesto stipendio perpetuo alatur et honoretur.

QUAE DOCENDA

Caetera admonitione magna egent, imprimis ut tenerae mentes tracturaeque altius quicquid rudibus et omnium [fol. B2v] ignaris inderit, non modo quae diserta sed vel magis quae honesta sunt discant. Ideoque optime institutum, ut ab Homero atque Virgilio lectio inciperet, quanquam ad intelligendas eorum virtutes firmiori iudicio opus esset. Sed huic rei superest tempus, nec enim semel legentur.

In tragaedis et lyricis non autores modo sed etiam partes operis elegeris.

Horatium in quibusdam nolim interpretari.

Elegia utique quae amat et huiusmodi amoveantur et ad firmitus aetatis robur reserventur.

Comoedia, cum mores in tuto fuerint, inter precipua legenda erit.

Pueris quae maxime ingenium alant atque animum augeant praelegenda.

Verissimum est quod Fabius noster asserit, ea videlicet quae sequuntur admonitione magna egere. Clari enim nominis praeceptores etiamnum hic impingunt. In eligendorum praelegendorumque autorum comitiis grammaticarum tribuum suffragia mirum in modum variant. Nihilominus et ego bona contribulium venia meum punctum addidero. [fol. B3r] Sed ne tantum negotium temere aggrediar, quae sentio, ordine dicam, primo de artibus quae tenerae illi aetati tradendae sunt, deinde qui autores exemplorum et imitationis causa quamque artem comitari debeant, postremo quem ordinem in schola christiana observari deceat.

De grammatica^r

Inter artes quas liberales dicimus grammaticam primum locum tenere nemo est qui dubitat. Verum cuius de hac arte praecepta puerili institu-

^r *De grammatica*] in margine

tioni maxime convenient, grammatici certant et adhuc sub iudice lis est. Suum cuique pulchrum. Ante triginta sex annos, quum ad Alexandri Galli grammatica nauseare Germania coepisset, unus Perottum, alter Sulpitium, tertius Guarinum pueris inculcabat. Postquam vero Aldus Romanus et Antonius Nebrissensis in campum prodiissent, ingenti omnium tribuum strepitu adplausum est. Verum quum inter ludimagistros essent qui tantos heroas assequerentur, ex variis autoribus passim concerpere coepere quae ad puerilem captum facere ipsi iudicabant. Hinc nobis orta sunt tot grammatica tam speciosis titulis inscripta. Me puero Alexander Hegius, praeceptor meus non minus vitae sanctitate quam omnimoda eruditione clarissimus, Rodolphi Agricolae et Wesseli Friseorum sententiae subscribens Alexandri grammatica non reiecit. Et quia huius grammatici mentionem fecimus, quod doctissimus ille [fol. B3v] Petrus Montanus poeta satyricus de eo senserit, ipsius verbis non pigebit asscribere:

Alexander Gallus licet non sit tam artifex, nemo tamen in grammatica absolutius eo scripsit. Sit hoc saltem dictum de prosodia. Ut malevolorum latratibus satisfaciam, rem sane scitu dignissimam pene patravit Alexander, quam nemo fere ante eum tentare ausus fuit, in qua quidem grammaticae parte, cum videatur aliis tantum materiam et facultatem praeuisse, mihi magis aliis scriptoribus non palmam tantum sed et facultatem praeripuisse videtur scribendi. Quo minus ferendi sunt qui hunc autorem ut minutum, tenuem, ieunum, barbarum, ineptum, insipidum, insulsum et si quid est contumeliosius cavillantur. Qui infantibus puerilis est, pueris apertus et facilis adolescentibus, infantiae et pueritiae dulcis et utilis memoriae. Viris autem quedam iucunda grammaticae allusio. Nihil hic elegans, nihil splendidum, nihil magnificum, nihil generosum, nihil denique divinum, nulla dicendi vis, nullum acumen requiritur, sed contra omnia pressa iacere decet et humi serpere et serpentibus humi puerorum ingeniis invitandis accommodari. Versuum in eo mira enoditas et vix imitabilis, et iussa simplicitas. Nihil in eis scabrum, nihil abruptum, nihil denique fragosum sed omnia nuda, plana et pueris et infantibus. Incurias tamen in eo et [fol. B4r] negligentias et plaeraque erratula depraehendi non negaverim, sed id non auctoris sed saeculi vitium esse quilibet nasutus noverit. Addaturque quod illi literatorum consuetudo et librorum defuerit copia magnum in eo perfectae artis desiderium efficere.

Quomodo enim Alexander omnes omnium poetarum libros habere potuit, quos divinus vir Nicolaus Quintus omnium eruditorum et conti-

nuo labore et continuo sudore et omnium bibliothecarum excussione et immoderatis florenorum impensis vix redemisse potuit? Id unum adhuc dicam, ipsum Alexandrum illo inerudito et ab omni humanitate averso saeculo fecisse, quod non tantum illa aetate sed de nostra quidem, quae vult videri Latinissima, quisquam efficere potuit. Quid Sulpitius? Quid Nestor et alii nonnulli? Non modo non absolutius quicquam Alexandro excogitarunt, sed ne Alexandrum quidem satis exclarare potuerunt. Magnam tamen laudem Nestor adeptus est, nonnihil et Verulana laudanda est voluntas nec contemnendus est Iacobus Gaudanus in sua *Stichologia*. Hic mihi forte quis obviabit: Potuit hactenus Priscianus pro Alexandro pueris praelectus esse. Potuit sane. Sed quo pacto vasculis tam angusti oris et tam stricti ventris, id est pueris et pene infantibus, tam profundi et diffusi amnis opus superinfuderis? [fol. B4v] Nonne videmus infantes parium quibus collidunt nomina citius effingere loquendo quam aut parentum aut aliorum domesticorum possint effari vocabula? Illorum quoque facilius quam horum mores inbibere? Illos enim tanquam similes amant et tanquam parum superiores (quod in se desiderant) emulantur, hos autem tanquam nimio intervallo egregiis virtutibus praecedentes a tergo relinquunt et admirantur emularique posse desperant. Emulatio enim omnium bonarum artium et egregiarum virtutum acerrimum incitabulum inter pares est aut paulo superiores, etiam ipsa natura instigante. Hinc est quod aequiparatio et parilitas virtutum inter sese consimilium, etiam si contentionis studium et voluntas absit, speciem tamen quandam emulationis praeferant ut gemini qui minantur in coelum scopuli, imaginem quandam contentionis emulae pariunt. Ergo incipientibus et adhuc tenellis condiscipulorum quam praeceptorum iucundior, quia faciliior, imitatio est et humilium quam grandium scriptorum suavior et imitabilior accommodatio. Non sunt igitur pueri ab Alexandro penitus abdicandi quin eis praelegatur, sed non permanendum in eo, sed paulatim pueri ad elegantiora et utiliora revocandi neque amplius Alexandro committendi. Utinam in eum autorem digna et breviora commentaria^s excuderentur, qualia Nestor in tertium eius librum utilissima [fol. B5r] excogitavit. Hactenus in tres alios eius libros tantum balbutitum est. Non dubito hodie plerosque esse qui eam provinciam honestissime obire possent, qui eam respuunt, utpote indignam egregio praetore. Si (iterum repeto) digna in eum autorem commentaria, qualia ex Prisciano, quem versibus effinxit strictissime, caeterisque praestanti-

^s commentaria] conmentaria

bus grammaticis colligi possent, excusa essent, tum dicerem dignum qui non tantum a pueris sed ab omnibus magnopere legeretur. At mihi hic aliquis dicat: Itali, apud quos literae et omnes ingenuae artes florent, Alexandrum penitus contemnunt. Itali nimirum Alexandrum utpote Gal- lum respuunt. Id in universum dictum sit Alexandrum pueris sine omni pernicie committi posse, nec esse eum autorem quem iam incipientibus pueris iustius commiseris. Est enim autor admodum simplex et qui pue- ris ea praecipit sine quorum cognitione non datur illis literariae rei suc- cessus. Degustandum igitur ex eo pueris omnimode sentio, non tamen eum ingurgitandum. Dicatur mihi quis contra Alexandrum nominari debeat alius, aequae cum Alexandro simplex et brevis versificator et enodis et accommodabilis pueris, et qui absolutius quid de prosodia invenerit, quique eam rei literariae partem in primordio sui temere per- fecerit ut Alexander. Quum in omnibus (si Apuleio fidem habemus) ferme ante est spei rudimentum quam rei experimentum. Quid igitur est rei experimentum intra [fol. B5v] spei rudimentum conclusisse?

Hactenus acerrimi iudicii viri sententiam audivimus quam olim ad me scripsit, et quia paucissimis lecta est, his annotatiunculis inserere non indignum duxi. Liberum cuique est amplecti quod velit. Si Alexander ex omni theatro explodendus omnino videtur, Philippi Melanchthonis *Grammatica* non sine magna spe foelicioris successus praelegi poterunt. Ego dum Lovanii nobiles aliquot adulescentes privatim docerem, ex Aldo quae ad declinationes et coniugationes pertinebant collegeram, qui- bus Latini sermonis praecepta, quae Murmellius, vir iuventuti^t iuvandae natus, in *Pappa* complexus est, adiunxi Donatique facili enarratione praemissa haec docui quod foelicissime successit.

De dialectica^u

De dialecticis apud cordatos tanta controversia non est. Bona eruditorum pars Philippi sententiam adprobat, qui ita inquit: “Extant Rodolfi Agri- colae libri quos diligentissime legendos esse censeo. Nuper aediti sunt libri Ioannis Caesarei qui totam artem continent et ad captum primae aetatis scripti sunt. Quare optarim eos proponi adolescentibus in omni- bus scholis pro iusta methodo. Certe his qui meos libellos legunt, consulo ut adiungant Caesareum et Rodolfum, quod qui fecerit, mihi

^t iuventuti] iuuetuti

^u *De dialectica*] in margine

quidem absolvisse artem videbitur ac perfectus artifex erit si in scribendo vel disputando usum artis sibi fecerit”.

In rhetoricis a Philippi *Elementis* quare disce- [fol. B6r] dendum sit, non video. Quod si ea quae D. Erasmus Roterodamus *De copia* atque *De conscribendis epistolis* aedidit, his addantur, ad Ciceronis et Quintiliani rhetorica planam admodum ac facilem viam adulescentibus paraveris. Scripsit et doctor Ioannes Caesarius sex rhetoricarum tractatus quos utinam haberemus; non enim dubito quin faciles sint et exacti. Haec de artibus quae in scholis minoribus traduntur annotata sint. Quibus ubi arithmetices ac musices rudimenta, praeterea clarissimi poetae D. Henrici Glareani *Geographia* accesserint, non ineptum ad universales scholas auditorem mittemus.

Qui vero autores christianis pueris tuto praelegi possint ne vanis, fabulosis, lascivis opinionibus ab innocentia et pietate quae est in Christi Ihesu doctrina, vel latum pilum avertantur, libere dicemus, quanquam sciamus non defuturos semipaganos literatores et veteratores qui haec aut in universum aspernabuntur aut novum monachismum redolere conclamabunt. Aspernentur qui volent. Tantus enim non sum ut quenquam in mea verba iurare velim. Si autem purum christianismum^v monachismum (ut solent) interpretabuntur, tamen neque huiusmodi odiosum interpretamentum vel tantillum a veritate me abducere valebit.

Grammaticis initio proverbia quaedam Salomo- [fol. B6v] nis quae ad puerorum mores dirigendos conducant, praelegantur, quibus tuto Catonem cum Erasmicis scholiis, sapientum sententias, Aesopi fabellas coniunxeris^w. Et quod Quintilianus ait, ut tenerae mentes non modo quae diserta, sed magis quae honesta sunt discant, ideoque optime institutum ut ab Homero atque Virgilio lectio inciperet, ego rectissime factum affirmavero ut a Nonno aut Gregorio Nazianzeno ac Iuvenco nobili poeta, qui evangelicam maiestatem (ut ille inquit) heroicis versibus complexus est, lectio incipiat. Qua ratione fiet ut Servatoris nostri dicta et facta rudibus ingeniis firmiter insideant. Hos comitabitur prudentissimus ille Prudentius et alii poete christiani, si tempus et aetas id postularint. Enarrandi sunt et a pueris ediscendi sacri aliquot psalmi, a D. Eobano Hesso, Melanchthone, Micyllo et aliis viris clarissimis eleganti carmine versi.

^v christianismum] Christiansimum

^w coniunxeris] coniunxeis

Neque haec scripserim quod optimum poetarum Virgilium aliosve bonos autores christianorum scholis proscribendos censeam, sed horum lectionem tantum differendam in aetatem firmiorem et iudicium solidius. Talem docendi morem regnante Iuliano augusto Apollinarem Syrum instituisse memoriae proditum est. Is enim pro Homérico poemate Hebraicam conscripsit antiquitatem et Menandri comoedias, Euripidis tragoedias, Pindari lyram, argumenta ex sacris literis desumens, summa laude imitatus est. [fol. B7r]

Sed inter nostros ludimagistros invenias qui Apollinarem hunc cum suo tam pio instituto exhibere non verentur. Ex quorum numero quosdam novi qui coelum terrae miscere mallent quam Terentianas comoedias non modo non praelegendo explicare, sed etiam gestibus, non dicam qualibus, pueris exprimendas perdocere. Quam vero oscitanter hi nostri gloriosi magistri Fabium legerint, res ipsa indicat. “Comoedia enim”, inquit, “cum mores in tuto fuerint, inter praecipua legenda erit”. Si quis autem Terentiana phrasi delectetur, quae revera Latinissima est, habet loquendi formulas ex toto Terentio in exiguum libellum a Cornelio Graphaeo collectas atque a Ioanne Piniciano peritissimo atque integerrimo ludimagistro Germanice interpretatas. In quanta saepe dedecora ex comoediarum tragoediarumque actionibus adolescentes prolabantur, vivis exemplis indicarem, nisi castis auribus parcerem. Unius saltem D. Cypriani, qui multis annis gloriosissime rhetoricam exercuit, de huiusmodi actionibus testimonium audiamus: “Converte hinc vultus ad diversi spectaculi non minus poenitenda contagia. In theatris quoque conspicias quod tibi dolori sit et pudori. Cothurnus est tragicus prisca facinora carmine recensere. De parricidis et incestis horror antiquus, expressa ad imaginem veritatis actione, replicatur ne saeculis transeuntibus exolescat quod aliquando commissum [fol. B7v] est. Admonetur omnis aetas auditu fieri posse quod factum est. Nunquam aevi senio delicta moriuntur, nunquam crimen temporibus obruitur, nunquam scelus oblivione sepelitur. Exempla fiunt quae esse iam facinora destiterunt. Quae pudica fortasse matrona ad spectaculum accesserat, de spectaculo revertitur impudica”. Haec Cyprianus non minus vere quam eleganter. Christianus ergo puer castorum poetarum carmina cantet, sacras historias recitet, piam aliquam declamationem ediscat.

Dialecticis divi Ambrosii et Ciceronis *De officiis* libros proponi optarim. Uterque iuxta dialecticorum ac rhetorum praecepta diffinit, dividit, argumentatur exactissime, sed Ambrosius tanto fortius quanto christianus.

His qui rhetorum praecepta degustarunt, Cypriani et Lactantii selecta opuscula declarentur, ea tamen maxime quae ad religionem nostram confirmandam et adversariorum confutandam faciunt. Hic sciolus quispiam obgannire obgrunnireque occipiet: Hui? Quos nam autores scholis obtrudere Noviomagus conatur? Quisquis es qui contradicere voles, scias hos duos tales esse, quales (eximium christianorum decus) gentilitas nunquam habuit. Sive enim carmina pangere sive soluta oratione dicere collibuisse, in utroque genere fuere exercitatissimi. Paulus Orosius, diligens, verax ac pius historicus, tantos [fol. B8r] oratores non deseret. Postquam vero christianum pectusculum tam eruditorum, tam facundorum, tam piorum lucubrationibus imbutum fuerit, tum demum ad ipsum Ciceronem, ad Iulium Caesarem, ad Titum Livium, ad Cornelium Tacitum, ad Plutarchum et alios bonos autores passis velis properare licebit. Si excusa autorum christianorum exemplaria haberi nequeunt, auditores veterum more scribant. Hoc namque scribendi labore et stilus exercebitur et memoria tenacior reddetur.

DE ORDINE SIVE SCHOLAE INSTITUTIS

Reliquum est ut de docendi discendique ordine nonnihil attingamus. Horas discendi, discipulorum classes praeceptorum prudentiae relinquimus. Christianus magister haec ante omnia curet ut omnis lectio ab oratione incipiat. Nunc oratio dominica, nunc psalmus aliquis, nunc Prudentianus quispiam hymnus lectionibus praeludat. A lectione modestiae, praecipue in publico, amoris erga parentes, observantiae erga praeceptores, reverentiae erga maiores, comitatis erga pares et minores admo-
neantur. Demum stata hora post lectiones hymnum aliquem decantent atque Deo gratias agentes domum properent, audita et scripta aut secum aut, quod malim, cum sodali repetant. [fol. B8v] Admodum proderit si bis in septimana^x cum de literarum, tum potissimum de morum profectu examinentur. Nullus sodali suo, ubicunque locorum fuerit, alia lingua quam Latina aut Graeca loquatur. Qui hoc non observaverit, poenas dato. Imprecari, mentiri, iurare nephas esto. Dominicis diebus parentes sive praeceptores in ecclesiam et ad sacras conciones properantes alacres et compositis moribus subsequantur. Quantumvis namque parvuli, quantumvis rudes, perpetuo tamen aliquid audiunt quod domi narrent, quod ingenium, mores simul et memoriam non mediocriter iuvet ac provehat.

^x septimana] septima

Quoniam autem ad finem nostra properat oratio, unum hoc parentibus, paedagogis, magistris curae sit ut puris mentibus crebro instillent opiniones ac aphorismos quosdam christiano pectusculo dignos, quibus veluti saburratae sacraque ancora instructae ethnicorum et haeticorum^y Scyllas et Charybdes, Sacro afflante Spiritu, simplici prudentia et prudenti simplicitate evitare queant. Quales sunt: Deum unum rerum omnium quae usquam sunt esse Creatorem, Curatorem, Dispositorem, Servatorem, sine cuius consilio ne pilus quidem capitis nostri in terram cadat. Praeterea huic coelesti, potentissimo, sapientissimo, optimo Patri nostro imperscrutabili modo placuisse ut mundum primi Adae inobedientia misere collapsum, per secundum Adam [fol. B9r] Filium suum Iesum Christum, primogenitum omnis creaturae, misericorditer restauraret. Verum ut haec indubia fide, quae donum Dei est, credantur, inviolabilem Sacrae Scripturae auctoritatem, exclusis omnis humanae philosophiae rationibus, argutiis atque experimentis, esse oportebit. Quare praeceptores huius Scripturae exemplis libenter utentur perpetuoque eius divinitatem, antiquitatem, maiestatem depraedicabunt. Meminerint quoque dicti doctissimi illius Wesseli Frisii “quod universa Scriptura una copulativa vena sit, cuius necesse est omnes partes per Spiritum Sanctum inspiratas et veras esse; non enim copulativa vera, cuius vel minima pars falsa est”. Huiusmodi aphorismos diligens praeceptor colliget ex plerisque scriptis D. Erasmi Roterodami et ex aureo illo libello D. Martini Cellarii *De^z operibus Dei*.

En habes, mi Virsunge, Fabii aphorismos de parentum et praeceptorum sanctitate, de nutricum, paedagogorum, collusorum cura, integritate, innocentia, quibus nostrae de artium autorumque delectu, ne videlicet ethnici christianis praeferantur, de incipiendarum et finiendarum lectionum ordine annotatiunculae accesserunt. Quae quia a multis copiosissime tractata sunt, indicare quam explicare malui. Quod si meus hic conatus aliis quoque utilis forte videbitur, tu pro tuo arbitrio commu-[fol. B9v] nicato. Utinam puerorum doctores eo saltem animo haec amplecterentur quo a me congesta sunt, hoc est, ut solius Christi Dei ac Servatoris nostri gloria in omnibus spectaretur. Det Dominus ut Philippus tuus domesticis exemplis, tuo scilicet atque avi Marci Virsungi, praeterea doctissimorum virorum Philippi Melanchthonis et Philippi

^y haeticorum] hereticorum

^z De] de de

Puchaimeri, a quibus e christiano fonte susceptus est, ad amanda recta studia excitetur. Ego pro meo erga te totamque familiam tuam amore ad pios mores, ad honestas disciplinas hortator illi esse non desinam.^{aa}

Anno MDXXXIII mense Septembri.

Anmerkungen

filiolo. Christian Egenolff (1502-1555) hatte elf Kinder, von denen sechs jung gestorben sind. Drei der fünf zur Erwachsenenheit geratenen Kinder waren Töchter, zwei waren Söhne: Christian jr. (1528-1566) und Lorenz. Lorenz heiratete 1549 und kann somit kaum erst 1534 geboren sein. Der Sohn von dem hier die Rede ist, gehört deshalb höchstwahrscheinlich zu den jung verstorbenen Kindern.

Christophoro Wirsung. Christoph Wirsung (1500-1571), Apotheker und Publizist zu Augsburg.

Ioannis Fichardi. Johann Fichard (1512-1581), Jurist, wurde 1534 zum Syndicus der Stadt Frankfurt ernannt. Er veröffentlichte *Virorum qui superiori nostroque seculo eruditione et doctrina illustres atque memorabiles fuerunt vitae* (Frankfurt a.M.: Egenolff, 1536). Geldenhouwers Lebensbeschreibungen von den unten erwähnten Wessel Gansfort und Rudolf Agricola sind in diesem Werk aufgenommen; an das Leben von Agricola geht ein Brief Geldenhouwers an Fichard voran.

Philippus tuus. Zu Philipp Wirsung (1531/2-1562) cf. oben, S. 56-57.

Otho Brunfelsius. Otto Brunfels (1488-1534), Verfasser der *Catechesis puerorum in fide, in litteris et in moribus ex Cicerone, Quintiliano, Plutarcho, Angelo Politiano, Rudolpho Agricola, Erasmo, Philippo Melanchthone atque aliis probatissimis authoribus* (ed. pr. Straßburg: Egenolff, 1529). Auf der Rückseite des Titelblatts (fol. [a]1v) ist ein Gedicht von Geldenhouer erhalten (drei Distichen; Titel: Gerardus Noviomagus lectori; inc.: Ut princeps, consul, plebs denique tota probetur); für den Hinweis danke ich Dr. Bettina Wagner (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, München).

anser inter tot olores strepam. Cf. Verg., *Eclogae* 9.36.

Plinius Iunior. Cf. Plin., *Epistulae* 2.14, 6.6, 6.32.

Marcialis. Mart., *Epigrammata* 2.90.

Nato... fiet. Quint., *Institutio oratoria* 1.1.1.

Annae. Cf. 1 Sam. 1:11.

Horatius. Hor., *Saturae* 1.6.71-72, 76-77, 88.

Augustinus. Aug., *Confessiones* 2.3, Corpus christianorum XXVII, S. 19-20 (die zwei Sätze folgen nicht direkt aufeinander).

Christus pollicetur. Cf. Matt. 6:25-34.

^{aa} desinam.] desinam. Erratula. A6 facie 2 linea 9 lege: omni. A7 facie 1 linea ultima lege: imitari.

Protinus... ratio est. Quint., *Institutio oratoria* 1.1.3-4 (Paraphrase). Zu Chrysippus cf. *Stoicorum veterum fragmenta*, ed. Hans von Arnim, 4 Bde (Leipzig: Teubner, 1921-1924) III Nr. 734.

O mores! O tempora! Cf. Cic., *In Catilinam* 1.1.2.

adeo... multum est. Verg., *Georgica* 2.272: "adeo in teneris consuescere multum est"; auch zitiert in Quint., *Institutio oratoria* 1.3.13.

dignum habent patella operculum. Cf. Erasmus, *Adagia* I.x.72.

qualis est... convivae. Wohl aus dem Niederländischen übersetzt ('zoals de waard is, vertrouwt hij zijn gasten'); cf. *Proverbia communia. A Fifteenth Century Collection of Dutch Proverbs together with the Low German Version*, ed. Richard Jente (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1947), S. 86 Nr. 539: "Na dien dat die waert es verleent hem god gaste", mit dem lateinischen Äquivalenten "Si bonus est hospes ve malus similis venit hospes"; Jente gibt die Übersetzung "God provides guests according to the host" (S. 243).

inter pus et venenum. Cf. Hor., *Saturae* 1.7.1.

Scilicet.. iuveni. Iuv., *Saturae* 7.158-160: "culpa docentis scilicet arguitur, quod laevae parte mamillae / nil salit Arcadico iuveni".

In parentibus... loquor. Quint., *Institutio oratoria* 1.1.6.

Fortes creantur... columbam. Hor., *Carmina* 4.4.29-32.

Guilielmo Budaeo. Wie Frau Prof. Marie-Madeleine de la Garanderie mir freundlicherweise mitteilte, hat Guillaume Budé (1468-1540) sich nicht in diesem Sinne ausgelassen und hätte er zudem keinen Grund dafür gehabt. Erst um seinen 25. Lebensjahr bekehrte Budé sich geradezu plötzlich zu den *studia humaniora* — ohne irgendeines Vorbild, wie er selbst mehrmals betont hat. Sein Vater, Jean Budé (†1502), unterstützte ihn zwar anfangs, hat sich aber dann mehr und mehr über die intellektuelle Beschäftigungen seines Sohns beunruhigt und schließlich unter Warnungen und Drohungen den Laufbahn von Guillaume in eine nützlichere und gesündere Richtung zu lenken versucht. Cf. *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, ed. Percy S. Allen e.a., 12 Bde (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906-1958), Ep. 583 (Budé an Cuthbert Tunstall); Guillaume Budé, *De philologia* (Paris: Bade, 1532; repr. Stuttgart-Bad Canstatt: Frommann, 1964), fol. VIv-VIIIr. Die Mitteilung in Eugène de Budé, *Vie de Guillaume Budé, fondateur du Collège de France (1467-1540)* (Paris: Perrin, 1884; repr. Genf: Slatkine, 1969), S. 8: "Jean Budé mit de bonne heure son fils entre les mains de précepteurs qui devaient lui apprendre les belles-lettres", ist unbegründet.

Ioannes Canter. Johannes Canter (†1497), Groninger Jurist und Humanist; seine Söhne sind Johannes jr., Jacobus (1469-1529) und Andreas (†nach 1509, vor 1516), seine Töchter Ursula († nach 1499, vor 1516) und Ghebbe; vielleicht gab es noch eine dritte Tochter, Agnula oder Lammechien. Cf. Ebels-Hoving in Canter, *Dialogus*, S. 22-24 und oben Anm. 16.

Friderici Tertii. Zu diesem wahrscheinlich falschen Brief des Kaisers Friedrich III. (r. 1440-1493) cf. oben, S. 59-61.

Andreae Canter. Cf. oben, S. 60-61. Von 1503 bis 1509 war Andreas Canter Kölner Stadtpoet (Keussen, *Die Matrikel* II, S. 300). Er kann also nicht

nach Empfang der (an sich schon legendären) kaiserlichen Einladung auf dem Wege nach Wien gestorben sein, wie eine im 17. Jahrhundert entstandene Legende will. Cf. Ebels-Hoving in Canter, *Dialogus*, S. 23.

Iuvenalis. Iuv., *Saturae* 7.187-188.

Chunradi Peutingeri. Konrad Peutinger (1465-1547), Jurist, war Augsburger Stadtschreiber seit 1497; 1534 trat er wegen der Übergang seiner Stadt zur Reformation zurück. Seine Frau war die Augsburger Patrizierstochter Margarethe Welser (1481-1552), die schon von Hause aus literarisch ausgebildet war. Der unten erwähnte Claudius Pius war ihr erster Sohn; vor ihm wurden die Töchter Juliane, Konstanze, Katharina und Felicitas geboren, nach ihm die Söhne Christoph (1511-1576), Johann Chrysostomus und Karl, und die Töchter Regina und Sabina. In Geldenhouters handschriftlichem Nachlaß ist ein Gedicht vom Nimwegener Humanisten an Konstanze erhalten (J. Prinsen, *Collectanea van Gerardus Geldenhauer Noviomagus, gevolgd door den herdruk van eenige zijner werken* (Amsterdam: Müller, 1901), S. 125-126) sowie eine Kopie eines Briefes von Konstanze an ihren Vater aus dem Jahre 1521 (*ibid.*; auch in *Konrad Peutingers Briefwechsel*, ed. Erich König (München: Beck, 1923), Nr. 210, S. 339-341).

Claudius Pius. Claudius Pius Peutinger (1509-1553), Jurist, trat 1533/4 als Syndicus der Stadt Augsburg an. Geldenhouter schrieb für ihn ein Gedicht, in welchem er seine Begabung lobte; das Gedicht ist in Geldenhouters Nachlaß erhalten (*Collectanea*, S. 108).

Nec tamen... diligentes. Quint., *Institutio oratoria* 1.1.7.

Chrysippus... iudicat. *Ibid.* 1.1.16 (Paraphrase). Zu Chrysippus cf. *Stoicorum veterum fragmenta* III Nr. 733.

Non ergo perdamus... evocetur. *Ibid.* 1.1.19-20 (Paraphrase).

De pueris... dictum sit. *Ibid.* 1.1.8 (Paraphrase).

Gerardi Geldenhaurii Batavi. Gerard Geldenhouter sr. (†nach 1492), Kammerdiener der geldrischen Herzöge Arnold (r. 1423-1473) und Adolf (r. 1473-1477) von Egmond und von Adolfs Schwester Catharina (Regentin 1477-1479). Dem Herzogen Karl von Egmond (r. 1492-1538) scheint er, den Worten seines Sohns zum Trotz, nicht gedient zu haben. Karl schenkte ihm 1492 die Küsterei von Helden. Die Urkunde lobt seine Dienste für Karls Vater Adolf, enthält aber keinen Hinweis auf eine aktuelle Stelle (Text in Prinsen, *Gerardus Geldenhauer*, S. 137-138). Gleichfalls rief Geldenhouter jr. 1526 in einem Schreiben an Karl von Egmond die Dienste seines Vaters für Adolf und Catharina ins Gedächtnis zurück, ohne einen Dienst für Karl selbst zu erwähnen (Text in *Collectanea*, S. 192-193). Vielleicht erhielt Geldenhouter sr. die Küsterei als Ruhegehalt.

Hermannum Craneveldium. Herman van Cranevelt (1442-1518), Sekretär der geldrischen Herzöge Arnold, Adolf und Karl von Egmond.

Franciscus Craneveldius. Frans van Cranevelt (1485-1564), Jurist, Mitglied des Großen Rates von Mecheln (Obergerichtshof der Niederlande) seit 1522. Kontakte zwischen ihm und Geldenhouter nach 1526 sind nicht belegt.

De paedagogis... perdocent. Quint., *Institutio oratoria* 1.1.8 (erster Satz Paraphrase).

A sermone... perhibet. *Ibid.* 1.1.12 (Paraphrase).

bonam Galliarum partem. Also nicht ganz Gallien. Wahrscheinlich hebt Geldenhower den Nordrand Galliens (die Maas- und südliche Rheinufer in den Niederlanden) von der Latinitas ab, da dieses Gebiet von den germanischen Bataven bewohnt wurde; cf. Geldenhower, *Historische werken*, S. 56-58, 144, 167 Anm. 259.

Bonifacii Wolfhardi tabula. Die *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, 22+2 Bde (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1983-1997) enthält keinen Hinweis auf ein hebräisches Lehrbuch des Augsburger Predigers Bonifazius Wolfhart, dessen Geburts- und Sterbejahre unbekannt sind; Dr. Hans-Jörg Künast (Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg), Spezialist des Augsburger Buchdrucks im 16. Jahrhundert, hat mir freundlicherweise mitgeteilt, daß seines Wissens Wolfhart kein derartiges Werk verfaßt oder in den Druck gegeben hat. Wolfhart war jedoch nachweisbar als Hebraist bekannt. Im Jahre 1529 weigerte er den Lehrstuhl Hebräisch an der Basler Universität, die an seiner Stelle Sebastian Münster ernannte; cf. *Dictionnaire historique et biographique de la Suisse*, 7+1 Bde (Neuchâtel: Administration du Dictionnaire historique et biographique de la Suisse, 1921-1934) VII, 373. Auch wurde Wolfhart gelegentlich von Konrad Peutinger mit der Zensur von jüdischen Büchern beauftragt, da Wolfhart als einziger Christ in Augsburg des Hebräischen mächtig war; cf. Hans-Jörg Künast, "Getruckt zu Augspurg". *Buchdruck und Buchhandel in Augsburg zwischen 1468 und 1555* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1997), S. 207 und 84, 165, 181, 207-209; *Konrad Peutingers Briefwechsel*, Nr. 288, S. 473-474. Geldenhower erwähnt Wolfhart beiläufig in einem Brief aus 1530 an Maximilian von Burgund, Abt des Prämonstratenserklusters zu Middelburg (*Collectanea*, S. 101).

Illud in primis... prosunt. Quint., *Institutio oratoria* 1. Pr. 26-27 (die zwei Sätze folgen nicht direkt aufeinander).

Si studiis... videretur. *Ibid.* 1.2.3.

Si bona... licet. *Ibid.* 1.2.5.

Magistrorum... deterreat. *Ibid.* 2.2.1, 3 (Paraphrase).

Sumat igitur... comitas. *Ibid.* 2.2.5 (Paraphrase).

Repetere... non properare. *Ibid.* 1.1.31 (Quintilian redet hier nur vom Lernen der Syllaben).

Ii versus... monentes. *Ibid.* 1.1.35 (Paraphrase).

Plurimus... castigabit. *Ibid.* 2.2.5.

Nec opus... extiterit. *Ibid.* 1.3.14 (Paraphrase).

Studiorum initia... debent. *Ibid.* 1.1.23 (Paraphrase).

Rodolphi Agricolae. Rudolf Agricola (1444-1485), *De formando studio* (1484), ed. pr. in *Opuscula*, ed. Pieter Gillis (Antwerpen: Martens, 1511).

Huius farinae. Cf. Erasmus, *Adagia* III.v.44.

quam noverunt artem, hanc exerceant Cf. *ibid.* II.ii.82.

Ne sutor ultra crepidam. Cf. *ibid.* I.vi.16.

Caetera... semel legentur. Quint., *Institutio oratoria* 1.8.4-5.

In tragaedis... elegeris. *Ibid.* 1.8.6 (Paraphrase).

Horatium... interpretari. *Ibid.*

Elegia... reserventur. *Ibid.* (Paraphrase).

Comoedia... legenda erit. *Ibid.* 1.8.7 (Paraphrase).

Pueris... praelegenda. *Ibid.* 1.8.8 (Paraphrase).

grammatici certant et adhuc sub iudice lis est. Hor., *Ars poetica* 78.

Suum cuique pulchrum. Cf. Erasmus, *Adagia* I.ii.15.

Alexandri Galli. Alexander de Villa Dei (1160/70-1240/50), Autor des *Doctrinale (puerorum)*, ein im ganzen Abendland verbreitetes, lateinisches Lehrbuch, basiert auf Priscian; es besteht aus 2645 Hexametern.

Perottum. Niccolò Perotti (1429-1480), Verfasser der *Rudimenta grammicae* (ed. pr. Rom: Sweeney-Pannartz, 1473).

Sulpitium. Giovanni Antonio Sulpizio (†vor 1450), Verfasser eines *De arte grammatica* (ed. pr. Basel: Amerbach, ca. 1480).

Guarinum. Guarino Guarini (1374-1460), Verfasser der *Regulae grammatices* (um 1415; ed. pr. Venedig: de' Conti, 1470/1).

Aldus Romanus. Aldo Manuzio (†1515), Verfasser der *Institutiones grammicae* (ed. pr. Venedig: Manuzio, 1493).

Antonius Nebrissensis. Elio Antonio de Nebrija (1441/4-1522), Verfasser der *Introductiones Latinae* (ed. pr. Salamanca, 1481).

Alexander Hegius. Alexander Hegius (1433-1498), seit 1483 Rektor der Deventer Stadtschule, wo Geldenhouwer Unterricht genossen hat.

Rodolphi Agricolae et Wesseli Friseorum sententiae. Es ist fraglich, ob die Aussagen von Agricola und Wessel Gansfort (1419-1489) in ihren Werken überliefert sind. Maarten van Rhijn, *Wessel Gansfort* (Den Haag: Nijhoff, 1917) zitiert mehrmals Geldenhouwers Worte, ohne diese mit Hinweisen auf Gansforts Werke zu belegen. Wie Van Rhijn aber erwähnt (*ibid.*, S. 142), hat Gansfort nach Albert van Hardenberg (1510-1574), *Vita Wesseli Groningensis*, Hermannus Torrentinus (†um 1520) zu seiner Ausgabe des *Doctrinale* ermutigt.

Petrus Montanus. Petrus Montanus (1467/8-1507), erster satirischer Dichter in klassischem Stil in den Niederlanden. Viele seiner Werke sind verlorengegangen; die meisten bewahrt gebliebenen Werke sind nur aus Geldenhouwers Ausgaben und Schriften bekannt. Cf. J. Prinsen, 'Petrus Montanus', *Bijdragen voor de vaderlandsche geschiedenis en oudheidkunde* IV.3 (1903), S. 1-35; Gilbert Tournoy, 'The Beginnings of Neo-Latin Satire in the Low Countries', in *La satire humaniste*, ed. Rudolf De Smet (Löwen: Peeters, 1994), S. 95-109; *Id.*, 'Neo-Latin Satire in the Low Countries from an Italian Perspective', in *Acta conventus neo-latini Bariensis*, ed. J.F. Alcina et al. (Tempe: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1998), S. 71-95; István P. Bejczy, 'Petrus Montanus', in *Biografisch woordenboek Gelderland*, ed. Pieter W. van Wissing et al. (Hilversum: Verloren, 1998-) I, 69-70. Das hier zitierte Urteil von Montanus über Alexander de Villa Dei hat Geldenhouwer offenbar einem an ihn gerichteten Brief entnommen.

de prosodia. Wahrscheinlich eine Verweisung auf *Doctrinale*, ed. Dietrich Reichling (Berlin: Hofmann, 1893), V. 2282-2347 (Pars IV, cap. IX).

- Nicolaus Quintus.** Papst Nikolaus V (r. 1447-1455), großer Beförderer der *studia humanitatis*; er ernannte als erster Papst systematisch Humanisten in seiner Kanzlei.
- Nestor.** Dionisio Nestor (†vor 1484?), Verfasser eines *Vocabularius* (ed. pr. Mailand: Pachel-Scinzenzeler, 1483).
- Verulana.** Verweisung auf Sulpizio, die in Veroli (lateinisch Verulae) geboren war und in den Titeln seiner gedruckten Werke oft Sulpitius Verulanus genannt wurde.
- Iacobus Gaudanus.** Jacobus Magdalius von Gouda (um 1450-um 1520), *Stichologia* (ed. pr. Köln: Quentell, 1503).
- Sed quo pacto.. superinfunderis?** Cf. Quint., *Institutio oratoria* 1.2.28: "Nam ut vascula oris angusti superfusam humoris copiam respuunt, sensim autem influentibus vel etiam installatis complentur, sic animi puerorum quantum excipere possint videndum est".
- Nestor... excogitavit.** Nestors *Vocabularius* ist ein alphabetisches Wörterbuch mit Stellen aus überwiegend antiken Autoren, wohl kein Kommentar zum *Doctrinale*. Nestor basiert sich jedoch, wie Alexander de Villa Dei, auf Priscian.
- Apuleio.** Cf. *Florida* 3.
- olim ad me scripsit.** Nicht belegt in Geldenhouwers *Collectanea* oder in der Literatur über Montanus.
- Philippi Melanchthonis Grammatica.** Philipp Melanchthon (1497-1560), *Grammatica latina* (auch: *Elementa latinae grammatices*; ed. pr. Hagenau: Setzer, 1526).
- collegeram.** Nicht sonst belegt.
- Murmellius.** Johannes Murmellius (1480-1517), *Pappa puerorum* (ed. pr. Deventer: De Borne, 1514).
- Philippi sententiam.** Melanchthon, Ep. 1007 (praef. der *Elementorum rhetorices libri duo* in der 1531 erschienenen Bearbeitung), *Opera quae supersunt omnia*, ed. Carl G. Bretschneider und Heinrich E. Bindseil, *Corpus reformatorum* 1-28 (Halle: Schwetschke, 1834-1860) II, S. 543.
- Rodolphi Agricolae libri.** Agricola, *De inventione dialectica* (1479; ed. pr. Löwen: Martens, 1515).
- libri Ioannis Caesarei.** Johannes Caesarius (um 1468-1550), *Dialectica in decem tractatus digesta* (ed. pr. Köln: Cervicorn, 1525?). Ab 1536 (Straßburg: Frölich) wurden einige der zahlreichen Ausgaben dieses Werkes mit einem Beitrag von Geldenhouwer versehen.
- Philippi Elementis.** Melanchthon, *Elementorum rhetorices libri duo* (ed. pr. Wittenberg: Rhau, 1531).
- Ioannes Caesarius.** Caesarius, *Rhetorica in septem libros sive tractatus digesta* (ed. pr. Köln: von Aich, 1534).
- Henrici Glareani Geographia.** Henricus Glareanus (1488-1563), *De geographia* (ed. pr. Basel: Faber, 1527).
- vel latum pilum.** Cf. Erasmus, *Adagia* I.v.6 (nicht buchstäblich); wahrscheinlich aus dem Niederländischen übersetzt ('geen haarbreed').
- Catonem cum Erasmicis scholiis.** *Disticha moralia cum scholiis Erasmi*, ed. pr. in *Opuscula aliquot Erasmo Roterodamo castigatore* (Löwen: Martens, 1514).

sapientum sententias. *Septem sapientum celebria dicta*, aufgenommen *ibid.*

Quintilianus ait. *Institutio oratoria* 1.8.4-5, cf. oben, S. 72.

ut ille inquit. Hier., *Chronicon*, *Patrologia latina* XXVII, 677.

Eobano Hesso. Helius Eobanus Hesus (1488-1540) veröffentlichte zum ersten Mal einige Psalmübersetzungen in *Psalmi quatuor ex Davidicis carmine red-diti* (Nürnberg: Petrejus, 1527); in späteren Ausgaben fügte er weitere Übersetzungen hinzu. Die Erstausgabe seiner Fassung des ganzen Psalters ist *Psalterium universum carmine elegiaco redditum* (Marburg: Egenolff, 1537).

Melanchthone. Wahrscheinlich denkt Geldenhouwer an die Ausgabe *Psalmi omnium selectissimi...* (Hagenau: Setzer, 1532), die Psalmübersetzungen mehrerer Autoren enthält, u.a. von Melanchthon, Eobanus, und Micyllus. Sonstige Ausgaben von Psalmfassungen Melanchthons sind nicht belegt, jedenfalls nicht vor 1534. Wohl hatte Melanchthon einen Kommentar auf einige Psalmen veröffentlicht: *In psalmos aliquot davidicos enarrationes* (Hagenau: Setzer, 1528).

Micyllo. Jakob Moltzer (Micyllus, 1503-1558), *Psalmi aliquot in versus coniecti* (ed. pr. Hagenau: Setzer, 1529, zusammen mit Melanchthon, *Christianis an liceat litigare in iudicio*).

Apollinarem Syrum. Apollinarius Minor (†nach 385), Lehrer von Hieronymus, war mit Julianus Apostata in einen Kulturkampf verwickelt; er dichtete u.a. die Bibel in klassische Versen um.

coelum terrae miscere. Cf. Erasmus, *Adagia* I.iii.81.

inquit. Quint., *Institutio oratoria* 1.8.7 (Paraphrase), cf. oben, S. 72.

exiguum libellum. Cornelius Graphaeus (Scribonius, de Schrijver, um 1482-1558), *Latinissimae colloquiorum formulae ex Terentii comoedias selectae ac in Germanicam linguam versae* (ed. pr. Augsburg: Otmar, 1532); die deutschen Übersetzungen in diesem Werk sind, wie Geldenhouwer angibt, von Johannes Pinicianus (Kening, 1478-1542). Die Ausgabe enthält einen Brief von Geldenhouwer an Pinicianus und einen Antwortbrief des letzteren. Graphaeus, Stadtschreiber von Antwerpen, und Geldenhouwer waren gute Freunde. Als der erstere 1522 wegen lutherischer Neigungen im Gefängnis saß, widmete er Geldenhouwer seine *Quaerimonia*. Auch gewährte er Geldenhouwer Obdach in Antwerpen während dessen letzten Aufenthaltes in den Niederlanden, im Jahre 1527, nach seinem Übergang zum Luthertum. Im Jahre 1541 veröffentlichte Geldenhouwer seine auf 1539 datierte Bearbeitung des *Enchiridion principis ac magistratus christiani*, ein Werk, das ursprünglich von Graphaeus und Pieter Gillis verfaßt worden war; cf. Bejczy, 'Gerard Geldenhouwer of Nijmegen'. Der Augsburger Pädagoge Pinicianus war u.a. Lehrer der drei älteren Söhne von Konrad Peutinger gewesen, cf. den schon oben erwähnten Brief von Konstanze Peutinger an ihren Vater (Geldenhouwer, *Collectanea*, S. 125; *Konrad Peutingers Briefwechsel*, Nr. 210, S. 340; auch Nr. 85, S. 135-137). Um 1530 hatte Peutinger sich aber von Pinicianus abgewendet (*Konrad Peutingers Briefwechsel*, Nr. 85, S. 136 Anm. 2).

Cypriani. Cyr., *Ad Donatum* 8, Corpus christianorum III A, 7-8 (der letzte Satz folgt nicht direkt auf die vorhergehenden).

Ambrosii. Ambr., *De officiis ministrorum*.

passis velis. Cf. Erasmus, *Adagia* IV.vi.1.

saburratae. Cf. *ibid.* III.vii.57.

sacraque ancora. Cf. *ibid.* I.i.24.

Scyllas et Charybdes. Cf. *ibid.* I.v.4.

ne pilus... cadat. Cf. Matt. 10:29-30.

primi Adae... per secundum Adam. Cf. Rom. 5:12-21; 1 Cor. 15:22, 45-49.

primogenitum omnis creaturae. Col. 1:15.

Wesseli Frisii. *Epistola de imperfectione apostolorum et martyrum* in *Wesseli Gansfortii opera* (Groningen, 1614), S. 858. Für den Hinweis danke ich Prof. Arjo Vanderjagt.

Erasmi Roterodami. Vielmehr als die *Parabola* (ed. pr. Straßburg: Schürer, 1514) oder die *Apophthegmata* (ed. pr. Basel: Froben, 1531), die fast ausschließlich Aphorismen klassischer Autoren enthalten, meint Geldenhower wohl die religiösen und moralischen Schriften des Erasmus, z.B. seine seit 1517 erschienenen Paraphrasen des Neuen Testaments.

Martini Cellarii. Martinus Borrahus (Borus, Cellarius, 1499-1564), *De operibus Dei* (Straßburg: Herwagen, 1527).

Marci Virsung. Marx Wirsung (†1521), Apotheker (seit 1496), Buchführer (seit 1508) und Teilhaber der Druckerei von Sigmund Grimm (seit 1517) zu Augsburg; cf. *Die Celestina-Übersetzungen von Christof Wirsung*, S. 3-5; Künast, "Getruckt zu Augspurg", S. 53, 67, 125.

Philippi Puchaimeri. Philipp Puchaimer (Buchammer) war Leibarzt des Mainzer Erzbischofs Albert von Brandenburg. Laut *Contemporaries of Erasmus* III, S. 124 ist sein Leben nur für die Jahre 1528-1536 belegt. Daß er bei Philipp Wirsung zusammen mit Melanchthon Pate gestanden hat, darf als eine neue biographische Angabe gelten.

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COPERNIC ET ERASME

Copernic n'est pas seulement un astronome, mais aussi un représentant de l'essor de l'humanisme dans les pays du Nord de l'Europe. C'est ce que je voudrais souligner ici, en examinant trois aspects de ses rapports avec Erasme: (1) ses contacts avec des humanistes polonais ayant été en relation avec Erasme, voire défendant des idées ou options érasmiennes; (2) la présence d'allusions précises à l'œuvre d'Erasme dans le *De Revolutionibus*; (3) enfin, la parenté de certains présupposés de son entreprise astronomique avec la philologie.

1. Intermédiaires érasmiens

Copernic vivait en Warmie au temps de ce qu'on a appelé 'la première génération des admirateurs polonais d'Erasme'.¹ Plusieurs personnes de son entourage ont même été en contact direct avec le prince des humanistes. Deux noms au moins méritent d'être signalés.

Tiedemann Giese (Gysius, 1480-1550) a été chanoine de la cathédrale de Warmie avant de devenir évêque, d'abord de Chelmno (1537), puis de Warmie (1549). C'était un ami proche de l'astronome, qui l'a incité à publier son *De Revolutionibus*.² Il défendait face à la Réforme des idées

¹ A. Kempfi, 'Erasme et la vie intellectuelle en Warmie au temps de Copernic', dans *Colloquia Erasmianna Turonensia*, éd. J. C. Margolin (Paris: Vrin, 1972), p. 405. On trouvera une bibliographie essentielle sur Copernic dans *Centuria latinae. Cent une figures humanistes de la Renaissance aux Lumières offertes à Jacques Chomarat*, éd. C. Nativel (Genève: Droz, 1997), pp. 286-293 (Michel-Pierre Lerner).

² Cf. Copernic, *Des Révolutions des orbes célestes*, éd. et trad. A. Koyré (Paris: Alcan, 1934), p. 38, sur 'Tiedeman Giese, évêque de Culm, qui m'aimait beaucoup, homme plein de zèle pour les choses sacrées et toutes les bonnes sciences. Celui-ci, notamment, m'avait fréquemment exhorté et même m'avait poussé par des reproches maintes fois exprimés, à éditer ce livre...'. Ci-après l'édition-traduction de Koyré sera désignée par l'abréviation ROC. Sur Giese, voir *Contemporaries of Erasmus. A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation*, eds. G. Bietenholz et T. B. Deutscher (Toronto-Londres: University of Toronto Press, 1985-87), II, 96-97.

christiques et iréniques, d'inspiration érasmiennne, exposées dans son *Floscularum Lutheranorum de fide et operibus* Ἀνθηλογικόν (Cracovie, 1525).³ C'est Copernic qui, selon le témoignage de Giese lui-même⁴, a poussé son ami à faire imprimer son Ἀνθηλογικόν, ce qui permet de penser qu'il en partageait les options érasmiennes. Giese a également écrit un *Hyperaspisticon*, non publié et depuis longtemps disparu, mais dont le titre même possède une résonance érasmiennne, puisque Erasme avait publié un *Hyperaspistes* en 1526-1527. Selon Jean Brozek (Broschius, 1585-1652), mathématicien et professeur à l'Académie de Cracovie, qui s'acharnait à réunir le plus de documentation possible sur Copernic, l'*Hyperaspisticon* contenait une défense de l'astronome et Giese y citait, entre autres, l'opinion très favorable exprimée par Erasme, peu avant sa mort, sur Copernic: 'sententiam Erasmi Roterdami de Copernico [...] valde mansuetam'.⁵ Nous ne connaissons pas le contenu de l'*Hyperaspisticon*. Nous savons cependant que Giese voulait y montrer la compatibilité de l'héliocentrisme avec la Bible. Dans ce but, il pouvait puiser directement un argument de poids dans l'*Hyperaspistes* d'Erasme. Une des principales difficultés résidait, en effet, dans la nécessité de ne pas prendre au sens littéral certains passages bibliques, qui parlent du repos de la terre ou du mouvement du soleil. Or, Erasme avait souligné que la Bible adopte souvent la manière usuelle (mais inexacte) de parler des hommes et qu'il ne faut pas s'en tenir à une interprétation obstinément 'littéraliste'.⁶ Il subsiste en outre, au sujet d'un

³ L'ouvrage très rare de Giese a été réimprimé par F. Hipler dans son *Spicilegium Copernicanum* (Braunsberg, 1873), pp. 5-71. Voir aussi l'analyse de L. Prowe, *Nicolaus Copernicus*, 2 vols (Berlin, 1883-1884), I.2, 471-487.

⁴ Dans une lettre à Félix Reich publiée en tête de l'ouvrage et reprise dans N. Copernicus, *Gesamtausgabe*, VI.1. *Briefe*, éd. A. Kühne et al. (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1994), p. 99.

⁵ Voir F. Hipler, *Spicilegium*, p. 286. Le *Hyperaspisticon* était un des deux ouvrages à peu près contemporains de Copernic qui défendaient l'accord de son système astronomique avec la Bible; l'autre, dû à Rheticus, n'a été publié qu'en 1651, de manière anonyme. Son auteur a été identifié par R. Hooykaas, qui a réédité le texte, accompagné d'une étude importante sur le milieu intellectuel de Copernic et sur le contenu: *G. R. Rheticus's Treatise on Holy Scripture and the Motion of the Earth* (Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1984). L'importance de l'existence des ouvrages de Giese et de Rheticus réside dans le fait qu'ils montrent que l'on admettait la réalité de l'héliocentrisme dans le cercle de Copernic. Comme l'écrit Hooykaas (p. 102): 'The whole treatise would have been superfluous if Rheticus had held the opinion that astronomical hypotheses need not be true.'

⁶ *Hyperaspistes*, dans *Opera omnia*, éd. J. Clericus (Leyde, 1703-1706), X, 1345: 'Adeo Scriptura divina non abhorret a more loquendi, sensusque communi, ut Deum etiam in quem nihil cadit humanorum affectuum, tamen velut hominum more cum hominibus loquentem inducat.'

autre ouvrage jamais publié et perdu de Giese (*De regno Christi*), un échange de lettres entre l'auteur et Erasme. Dans une longue missive, Giese demande à Erasme de bien vouloir lire et corriger son ouvrage. La lettre est parsemée d'allusions aux *Adages*. Giese dit toute son admiration pour celui qui a rendu 'les lettres sacrées et l'Evangile lui-même à leur lumière et pureté premières' et qui cherche à ramener 'un monde en révolution à rechercher la modération et l'unanimité en même temps qu'une vie digne du Christ'. Il déclare avoir puisé toutes ses idées dans les œuvres d'Erasme 'qui autrefois m'ont ravi et me retiennent encore à tel point que j'aimerais mieux me voir banni que d'être empêché de les lire'.⁷ Erasme, proche de la mort, ne répond que par un mot très bref, exprimant son regret de ne plus pouvoir venir en aide⁸, mais la lettre de Giese témoigne d'une connaissance intime et large de l'œuvre du maître.

Jean Dantiscus (Johannes Flachsbinder ou von Höfen, natif de Dantzig, 1485-1548), diplomate, humaniste et poète néo-latin, qui a résidé à plusieurs cours européennes, est un autre personnage à la fois bien connu de Copernic et qui a été en relation avec Erasme.⁹ Dantiscus, qui s'intéressait beaucoup à l'astronomie et à la géographie, connaissait sans doute déjà le système héliocentrique vers 1530, lorsqu'il vivait à Bruxelles.¹⁰ Auparavant, il avait eu l'occasion de rencontrer Copernic dans l'entourage de son oncle, l'évêque Lucas Watzenrode, que l'astronome accompagnait en tant que médecin et secrétaire avant de devenir

⁷ Erasme, *Correspondance*, Allen (ci-après: A) n° 3112, trad. franç., 12 vols (Bruxelles: University Press, 1967-1984), X, 402. Il est typique pour l'attitude conciliante de Giese qu'il demanda également à Melanchthon son jugement sur l'ouvrage (voir L. Prowe, *Copernicus*, I.2, 181).

⁸ *Ibid.*, A 3126, *Correspondance*, X, 430.

⁹ Sur Dantiscus, voir en dernier lieu *Joannes Dantiscus (1485-1548), Polish Ambassador and Humanist*, éd. J. IJsewijn et W. Bracke (Bruxelles: Palais des Académies, 1996, avec bibliographie).

¹⁰ Cf. une lettre d'août 1541 du cosmographe louvaniste Gemma Frisius à Dantiscus: '... en ma présence, autrefois [*olim*], tu as fait mention de cet auteur célèbre [= Copernic] lorsque nous discussions entre nous des mouvements de la terre et du ciel.' (Trad. franç. d'après G. J. Reticus, *Narratio prima*, éd.-trad. par H. Hugonnard-Roche & J.-P. Verdet, avec la collaboration de M.-P. Lerner & A. Segonds [Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1982], p. 249). Comme Dantiscus a quitté Bruxelles en mars 1532, ces conversations doivent nécessairement se situer aux alentours de 1531. La correspondance entre Dantiscus et Gemma Frisius du début des années 1540 témoigne d'un vif intérêt pour la parution de la *Narratio prima* de Reticus d'abord, du *De Revolutionibus* ensuite; cf. F. van Ortroij, *Bio-bibliographie de Gemma Frisius, fondateur de l'école belge de géographie, de son fils Corneille et de ses neveux les Arsenius* (Bruxelles: Hayez, 1920; réimpr. Amsterdam, 1966), pp. 403-416, avec les corrections apportées par E. H. Waterbolk, 'The "Reception" of Copernicus's Teachings by Gemma Frisius (1508-1555)', *Lias*, 1 (1974), 225-241.

chanoine à Frombork.¹¹ Il a pu discuter des idées de Copernic avec Bernard Wapowski (ca 1470-1535), secrétaire du roi Sigismond Ier, historien et premier cartographe de la Pologne, qui a échangé des lettres sur des sujets astronomiques avec Copernic et était très admiratif à son égard.¹² Dantiscus a également entretenu une correspondance avec Erasme, qui lui a dédié une traduction latine du *De Spiritu sancto* de Basile.¹³ Il a bien connu plusieurs membres de l'entourage d'Erasme: Cornelis De Schepper, Lieven Algoet (Livinus Panagathus), Goclenius, qui lui envoya un portrait d'Erasme par Holbein, Jean Van Kampen (Joannes Campensis), qui le suivit en Pologne, ou encore Hilaire Berthulf (Hilarius Berthulphus), qui devint son secrétaire.¹⁴ En 1532, Dantiscus a financé personnellement la publication de l'*Enchiridion Psalmorum* de Campensis, une nouvelle traduction latine des psaumes à partir de l'hébreu.¹⁵ Il a également fait venir des ouvrages d'Erasme en Warmie, lorsqu'il y est devenu évêque (1537-1538), après l'avoir été à Chelmo (depuis 1532). Il est vrai qu'à partir de 1538 Dantiscus se montra moins tolérant en matière religieuse; à partir de la même date, il eut deux conflits avec Copernic, l'un à propos de l'amitié de celui-ci pour Sculteti, un autre chanoine, l'autre au sujet de la 'focaria' de l'astronome. Néanmoins, les relations ne furent pas rompues et Dantiscus continua à admirer l'œuvre astronomique de Copernic, lui envoyant même un éloge: *In Copernici libellum epigramma*, publié par Rheticus en tête du *De lateribus et angulis triangulorum* (Wittenberg, 1542).¹⁶

Aux noms de Giese et de Dantiscus, on peut en ajouter un troisième, moins important il est vrai. En effet, un autre indice de la connaissance

¹¹ Cf. l'allusion dans une lettre de Copernic à Dantiscus du 8 juin 1536 (N. Copernicus, *Gesamtausgabe*, VI.1. *Briefe*, lettre 100, p. 195).

¹² Wapowski envoya à Copernic le *De motu octavae sphaerae* de Johan Werner, paru en 1522 avec d'autres ouvrages du même auteur. Copernic répondit par une longue lettre, très critique (cf. E. Rosen, *Three Copernican Treatises*, 3e éd. [New York: Octagon, 1971]). Voir également la lettre de Wapowski du 15 octobre 1535, dans laquelle, après une visite rendue à Copernic, il exprime son vif espoir de voir publiées des tables fondées sur le système copernicien (Copernicus, *Gesamtausgabe*, VI.1. *Briefe*, lettre 95, pp. 186-187).

¹³ Voir la lettre-préface (A 2643) dans *Correspondance*, X, 22-27. Il y a une allusion à une correspondance perdue dans A 2876 (*Correspondance*, X, 413).

¹⁴ Cf. H. de Vocht, *Dantiscus and his Netherlandish Friends* (Louvain: Vandermeulen, 1961), *passim*.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

¹⁶ En fait, l'épigramme semblait destinée à figurer en tête du *De Revolutionibus*: cf. N. Copernicus, *Gesamtausgabe*, VI.1. *Briefe*, p. 315 (commentaire de la réponse de Copernic à Dantiscus, lettre 168).

qu'avait Copernic de l'œuvre d'Erasmus provient du testament de son ami Félix Reich (?-1538), également chanoine à Frombork, qui, en 1538, lui lègue une édition d'œuvres de Chrysostome et d'Athanase établie par Erasmus (*Diversa opera Chrysostomi et Athanasii, Erasmo interprete*).¹⁷

En dehors de ces repères dans l'entourage de Copernic, la marque la plus importante de sa familiarité avec Erasmus provient de l'épître au pape Paul III, qui sert de préface au *De Revolutionibus*. Les allusions qui suivent en constituent la preuve. Elles forment en même temps un ensemble homogène quant à la signification qui se dégage de leur rapprochement.

2. Rapprochements textuels

On a pu relever dans le *De Revolutionibus* des mentions de vingt-quatre auteurs classiques, parmi lesquels non seulement Euclide ou Ptolémée, mais aussi Sophocle, Platon, Plutarque, Cicéron et Virgile.¹⁸ Cette abondance n'a rien d'étonnant, vu l'éducation humaniste de Copernic en Pologne d'abord, en Italie ensuite, et vu l'ampleur de la bibliothèque qu'il s'est constituée au fil des années.¹⁹ Dans celle-ci, des ouvrages techniques (astronomiques et médicaux) voisinaient non seulement avec des textes littéraires anciens, mais aussi avec des ouvrages d'humanistes modernes tels que Bessarion, Politien et Pontano. Mais ni la présence de certains ouvrages parmi ses livres, ni les mentions explicites ne suffisent à donner une idée de l'importance de certains auteurs pour Copernic. Il importe de prendre en considération aussi les allusions intertextuelles, par lesquelles il intègre des mots, des expressions ou des figures empruntés à d'autres dans son propre discours sans en indiquer la source. Ce travail de citation implicite et de réécriture allusive est particulièrement important dans l'épître au pape Paul III, qui sert de préface au *De Revolutionibus*. Erasmus y occupe une place prépondérante et méconnue.

¹⁷ Voir M. Biskup, *Regesta Copernicana (Calendar of Copernicus' Papers)* (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1973), p. 173 (n° 402).

¹⁸ P. L. Rose, *The Italian Renaissance of Mathematics* (Genève: Droz, 1976), p. 129.

¹⁹ Il existe de nombreux travaux sur la bibliothèque de Copernic. Voir notamment l'article de synthèse de P. Czartoryski, 'The Library of Copernicus', dans *Science and History. Studies in Honor of Edward Rosen* (Wrocław-Varsovie...: Ossolineum, The Polish Academy of Sciences Press, 1978), pp. 355-396.

'fuci inter apes'

L'épître dédicatoire s'ouvre sur les hésitations que Copernic a éprouvées avant de publier son livre. Elle rappelle à ce propos l'exemple 'des Pythagoriciens et de certains autres' qui avaient coutume de ne pas divulguer leurs doctrines par écrit, pour qu'elles ne tombent pas dans les mains de ceux qui, 'à cause de la stupidité de leur esprit, se trouvent être parmi les philosophes comme des frelons parmi les abeilles' (ROC, 37: *propter stupiditatem ingenii inter philosophos tamquam fuci inter apes versantur*).

Certes, l'opposition entre les abeilles et les frelons est déjà présente chez Virgile (*Géorgiques*, IV, 168). Mais la comparaison qui apparaît ici reprend une métaphore récurrente dans la correspondance d'Erasme, où les frelons correspondent aux théologiens et aux moines ennemis des belles-lettres. Une lettre de 1519 rassure Nicolas Bérault: 'Tu n'as rien à craindre des frelons.'²⁰ Et en 1526, une lettre à John Claymond développe la métaphore par surenchère, en y mêlant aussi les bourdons: 'Et si les avettes de la campagne sont pourvues de dards qui leur permettent d'exécuter les bourdons, les abeilles chrétiennes, elles, n'en possèdent pas ou, si elles en ont, elles préfèrent se rendre utiles plutôt que de frapper. Et pourtant les bourdons participent, eux, au travail des abeilles, mais ces frelons, plus réellement encore que les bourdons, ne négligent aucun moyen de faire obstacle à ceux qui produisent le miel.'²¹ On lit encore dans les *Parabolae*: 'Si on enlève ses ailes à un bourdon et qu'on le replace dans la ruche, il enlève aussi leurs ailes à tous les autres frelons; ainsi ceux qui ont été attirés dans la nasse des moines, quand ils ont perdu leur liberté essaient d'en attirer d'autres, s'ils peuvent, pour les empêcher d'avoir une meilleure condition qu'eux.'²² Plutôt que de multiplier les citations, il suffira de reprendre ce que Jacques Chomarat note à ce propos: 'L'antithèse entre les abeilles et les frelons fournit de belles allusions; les admirateurs d'Erasme rivalisent avec lui d'ingéniosité dans le traitement du thème...'²³ La comparaison de Copernic montre qu'il peut, lui aussi, être placé parmi ces admirateurs. Du coup, il situe sa propre entreprise scientifique dans le prolongement de l'activité des

²⁰ Erasme, *Correspondance*, A 1024 (voir n. 7), IV, 99.

²¹ *Ibid.*, A 1661, VI, 311-312.

²² *Parabolae*, dans *Opera omnia*, I.5, n° 3220. Traduction de J. Chomarat, *Grammaire et rhétorique chez Erasme*, 2 vols (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1981), II, 798.

²³ J. Chomarat, *Grammaire*, II, 803.

humanistes actifs dans les belles-lettres, puisqu'il envisage le même genre d'ennemis.

'non esse remedium adversus sycophantae morsum'

Vers la fin de l'épître, Copernic demande au pape sa protection, 'afin que, par ton autorité et jugement tu puisses réprimer les morsures des calomniateurs; quoiqu'il soit bien connu qu'il n'y a pas de remède contre la morsure des sycophantes' (ROC: 47). Dans '... etsi in proverbio sit, non esse remedium adversus sycophantae morsum' se retrouve presque littéralement l'Adage 1529: 'Non inest remedium adversus sycophantae morsum.'²⁴ Si le commentaire de l'adage se limite à fournir quelques références antiques, en d'autres textes Erasme s'en prend plus particulièrement à la *sycophantia* des scolastiques.²⁵ Encore une fois donc, Copernic identifie ses adversaires à ceux de l'humanisme érasmien.

Les mots de la famille de 'sycophanta' servent en particulier à dénoncer la 'fourberie' des théologiens qui, selon une expression utilisée par Copernic dans la phrase qui suit la reprise de l'adage, 'détournent malignement quelque passage de l'Écriture de son sens' (ROC: 47). Ces termes apparaissent dans le mouvement de l'évangélisme érasmien aussi bien que chez des réformés. On les rencontre dans la correspondance de Zwingli comme dans l'œuvre exégétique de Mélanchthon, et à plusieurs reprises.²⁶ Ils constituent une arme commune dans la critique de la théologie scolastique.

²⁴ Erasme, *Opera omnia* (Amsterdam: North Holland, 1969-), IV.3, 40. Cette source est bien repérée dans les travaux sur Copernic (voir par exemple la traduction anglaise d'E. Rosen: Copernicus, *On the Revolutions*, 2e éd. [Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992], p. 342), mais la question de sa signification n'est guère abordée.

²⁵ Voir par exemple: *Colloquiorum familiarium Formulae*, dans *Opera omnia* (Amsterdam: North Holland, 1969-), I.3, 90: 'Age admittetur, modo domi relinquit gryphos sophisticos, mateologias, sycophantias, supercilium, virulentias, risum Sardonium, glorias Thrasonicas, philautiam.' Ou *De misericordia domini, Concio* (dans Erasme, *Opera omnia* [Leyde, 1703-1706], V, 589): 'Rixis, obrectationibus, sycophantis plena sunt omnia.' Il arrive aussi, il est vrai, qu'on lui adresse l'accusation en retour (O. Brunfels dans A 1405, I. 2, *Correspondance*, V, 466)!

²⁶ Zwingli, *Briefwechsel*, éd. G. Finsler (Leipzig: Nachfolger, 1911), VII, 380 (lettre de Nesen, écrite depuis Louvain, à Zwingli). Mélanchthon, *Opera quae supersunt omnia*, éd. H. E. Bindseil (Brunswick: Schwetske, 1854), XXI, 614 et 620. La phrase: 'Et hanc veterem significationem vocabuli sycophantice detorquet ad articulum de tribus personis divinitatis.' (p. 614) possède une formulation proche de celle de Copernic: 'propter aliquem locum scripturae, male ad suum propositum detortum' (ROC: 47). Cf. R. Hoven, *Lexique de la prose latine de la Renaissance* (Leyde: Brill, 1994).

‘ματαιολόγοι’

La mention de l’adage sur les sycophantes est immédiatement suivie par une attaque contre les vains parleurs: ‘Si cependant il se trouvait des ματαιολόγοι qui, bien qu’ignorant tout des mathématiques, se permettaient néanmoins de juger de ces choses et, à cause de quelque passage de l’Ecriture, malignement détourné de son sens, osaient blâmer et attaquer mon ouvrage; de ceux-là je ne me soucie aucunement, et ceci jusqu’à mépriser leur jugement comme téméraire.’ (ROC: 47-48)

Le terme ματαιολόγοι apparaît dans la deuxième épître de Paul à Timothée et fait, à ce titre, l’objet d’un long commentaire d’Erasme dans ses *Annotationes*. Je n’en traduis que le début: ‘Pour ce qui est de la prononciation, *mataeologia* n’est pas très éloigné de *theologia*, alors que les choses diffèrent grandement. Ainsi donc nous aussi nous devons prendre garde de ne pas cultiver la théologie de telle manière que nous tombons dans la matéologie, combattant sans fin sur de futes sornettes. Nous devons plutôt nous occuper de ce qui nous transforme dans le Christ et qui nous rend digne du ciel.’²⁷ Suit alors une longue énumération (sur deux colonnes entières de l’édition de Leyde) de toutes les pusillanimités, *nugae, quaestiunculae*, etc., dont s’occupe la scolastique. Celle-ci représente visiblement la matéologie par excellence, comme il ressort de nombreux passages de la correspondance d’Erasme.²⁸ *Mateologia* apparaît également, avec toute une série d’autres termes dénigrants, dont *sycophantia*, dans une liste de défauts des scotistes.²⁹ Signalons encore que, sur l’exemple de *mateologia* opposé à *theologia*, Erasme forge *mateolectica*, pour ridiculiser les avatars de la dialectique.³⁰

²⁷ Erasme, *Opera omnia* (Leyde), t. VI, col. 926: ‘Quantum ad pronunciationem attinet, *mataeologia* non multum abest a *Theologia*, cum res inter se plurimum discrepent. Proinde nobis quoque cavendum est, ne sic sectemur Theologiam, ut in *mataeologiam* incidamus de frivolis nugis sine fine digladiantes. Ea potius tractemus, quae nos transformant in Christum, et coelo dignos reddant.’

²⁸ Voir par exemple l’ironie dans la lettre A 939, l. 63 (*Correspondance*, III, 548, l. 70). Cf. également les lettres A 911, l. 5; A 1084, l. 32; A 1172, l. 11; A 1173, ll. 112-113.

²⁹ Voir la citation ci-dessus (dans la n. 25) des *Colloquiorum familiarium Formulae*.

³⁰ *Hyperaspistes*, dans *Opera omnia* (Leyde), X, 1345: ‘Nam vera Dialectica agnoscit eius linguae, qua disputat, idiomata: quae si nesciat, non est Dialectica, sed *mateolectica*.’ Signalons que Quintilien avait utilisé ματαιοτεχνία à propos d’un mauvais usage de la rhétorique (*Inst. Or.*, II, 20, 4, trad. J. Cousin, Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1976), p. 103: ‘C’est aussi une sorte de ματαιοτεχνία, c’est-à-dire une vaine imitation de l’art, qui ne comporte vraiment rien de bon, ni de mal en soi, mais qui est un travail inutile, comme celui d’un homme qui, d’une certaine distance, lançait à la suite des pois chiches sur une aiguille et les y enfilait sans en perdre un seul.’

Les mots *mateologus* et *mateologia* firent fortune, si bien que, selon Plattard, 'les humanistes appliquèrent naturellement cette épithète aux théologiens ergoteurs et bavards.'³¹ En 1519, un esclandre éclata à Louvain, parce qu'un jeune professeur, probablement Rescius, avait publiquement appelé *matheologi* les théologiens de l'université.³² Le mot apparaît dans les lettres d'amis d'Erasme tels que Boniface Amerbach ou Beatus Rhenanus.³³ Dans une préface écrite en 1521 pour une réédition du *Dictionarium Graecum*, Nicolas Bérauld applique le terme aux adversaires de l'apprentissage du grec.³⁴ Rabelais l'utilise dans *Gargantua*, pour qualifier les ennemis de l'humanisme, reprenant le jeu de mots d'Erasme sur *théologie* et *matéologie*.³⁵

D'après certains éditeurs, chez Copernic, le terme *ματαιολόγοι* viserait Luther et Mélanchthon, qui, avant la publication du *De Revolutionibus*, avaient déjà émis des opinions défavorables sur l'hypothèse du mouvement de la terre.³⁶ Cependant, comme le montrent les citations déjà proposées, le mot est avant tout dirigé contre les adversaires de l'humanisme, et spécialement les théologiens scolastiques. A ce titre, aussi longtemps que la scission dans l'Eglise n'était pas consommée, il a longtemps constitué, tout comme l'appellation de 'sycophantes', une invective commune à l'évangélisme et aux réformateurs présents ou futurs. En 1516, Zwingli, par exemple, l'avait utilisé dans une lettre à Erasme, en indiquant bien, par l'emploi du possessif de la deuxième personne, qu'il s'agit d'un terme propagé par Erasme: '*tui mataeologi*'.³⁷

³¹ J. Plattard, 'L'Ecriture Sainte dans l'œuvre de Rabelais', *Revue des études rabelaisiennes*, 8 (1911), 298-299.

³² Cf. H. de Vocht, *History of the Foundation and the Rise of the Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense, 1517-1550*, 4 vols (Louvain: Libr. Univ. Uystpruyst, 1951-1953), I, 315-316.

³³ Pour Amerbach, voir A 1084, l. 32. Pour Beatus Rhenanus, *Briefwechsel*, éd. A. Horawitz & K. Hartfelder (Amsterdam: Nieuwkoop, 1966), p. 125.

³⁴ *Dictionarium Graecum innumeris locis auctum, ac locupletatum*..., Paris, 1521, f° 1 v°: 'Quamquam non desunt indocti ac crassi, immo vero abominati quidam spiritus, qui, ut Plinij verbis utar, inauspicatarum avium vice obvij modo agere vetent ac prodesse vitae. Ii sunt *πρωχοί* quidam, ac *ματαιολόγοι* non imperiti modo homines atque infantissimi, sed insolentes etiam ac superbi.'

³⁵ Voir le chap. 14 (ou 15, selon les éditions) de *Gargantua*, toujours concernant les adversaires de l'humanisme: 'Voyons, si bon vous semble, quelle différence y a entre le sçavoir de vos resveurs matéologiens du temps jadis et les jeunes gens de maintenant.'

³⁶ Cf. l'édition du *De Revolutionibus* par F. Kubach et K. Zeller, dans *Gesamtausgabe* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1949), II, 434: 'Nomine *ματαιολόγοι* alludit ad Lutherum et Melancthonem.'

³⁷ Lettre de Zwingli à Erasme (29 avril 1516), dans Erasme, *Correspondance*, A 401, II, 320.

Lactance

La phrase qui suit l'exclusion des ματαιολόγοι dans l'épître dédicatoire du *De Revolutionibus* contient une critique de Lactance: 'Car on sait bien que Lactance, écrivain autrement célèbre, mais faible mathématicien, a parlé d'une façon puérile de la forme de la terre, en se moquant de ceux qui ont découvert que la terre avait la forme d'une sphère.' (ROC: 48) Certes, depuis le moyen âge déjà, les opinions de Lactance sur la forme de la terre étaient rarement prises au sérieux.³⁸ Mais Copernic l'intègre dans une critique d'inspiration érasmienne en le donnant pour l'exemple même des ματαιολόγοι. Et s'il lui reconnaît des mérites dans d'autres domaines que les mathématiques, il n'est pas inutile de remarquer que dans ces autres domaines justement, Lactance ne jouissait guère de l'estime unanime des humanistes, contrairement à ce que l'on répète souvent dans les études coperniciennes.³⁹ Il ne bénéficiait point de l'admiration d'Erasme, en tout cas. Bien qu'il ait édité ses œuvres, Erasme doute que Lactance mérite d'être reçu dans la liste des docteurs de l'Eglise'.⁴⁰ Qui plus est, il ne doit pas être mis entre les mains de lecteurs trop inexpérimentés, car son œuvre contient 'de grandes erreurs' quant à la foi.⁴¹ Si sa valeur en tant que théologien est donc sujette à caution, ses qualités d'écrivain font également l'objet de critiques. Dans le *Ciceronianus*, il se voit traité de 'singe de Cicéron'. Une série d'exemples doit montrer qu'il est de loin inférieur au modèle qu'il s'est choisi, voire qu'il en est la caricature.⁴² Au début de la *Paraclesis*, Erasme oppose ironiquement les choix stylistiques de celui qu'il appelle ironiquement 'le célèbre Lactance' (cf. l'«écrivain autrement célèbre» de Copernic) aux siens propres, car il souhaite pour lui-même une éloquence 'toute différente de Cicéron'.⁴³ En prenant Lactance pour

³⁸ Cf. R. Hooykaas, *Rheticus*, pp. 29, 122, 128.

³⁹ Cf., par exemple, la note sur Lactance dans l'édition citée de F. Kubach et K. Zeller (p. 434), ainsi que R. S. Westman, 'Proof, Poetics and Patronage: Copernicus's Preface to *De Revolutionibus*', dans D. C. Lindberg & R. S. Westman (eds.), *Reappraisals of the Scientific Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1990), p. 200.

⁴⁰ *Enarratio in Psalmum XXXVIII* (*Opera omnia*, Amsterdam, 1986, V.3, 193): 'Lactantium transeo, quem fortassis negabunt recipiendum in album doctorum ecclesiae.'

⁴¹ *Apologia...* contre Latomus (*Opera omnia*, Leyde, IX, 93): 'Porro Lactantius praeterquam quod parum idoneus est, qui tradatur aetati primae, magnos habet errores admixtos de fide catholica.'

⁴² Erasme, *Dialogus Ciceronianus*, dans *Opera omnia* (Amsterdam), I.2 (1971), 705 pour l'expression 'Ciceronis simius', et p. 659 pour les exemples. On ne voit donc pas ce qui motive R. S. Westman (*Proof*, 200) à donner Erasme en exemple des admirateurs du style cicéronien de Lactance.

cible, Copernic choisit donc un théologien dont l'autorité doctrinale et les qualités d'écrivain étaient elles aussi mises en doute par certains humanistes. Entre critique humaniste et critique astronomique se dessine à nouveau une continuité.

3. Philologie et astronomie

Une double conclusion s'impose à partir de ces quatre rapprochements textuels entre Copernic et Erasme :

- les quatre exemples portent sur les dangers que représentent des théologiens frelons, fourbes, diseurs de balivernes, incompetents;
- les quatre exemples apparaissent à des endroits stratégiques du texte : le premier au début, les trois autres, concentrés, dans trois phrases successives, vers la fin.

Tout se passe comme si, au début et à la fin de l'épître, Copernic cherchait ainsi à suggérer, par le choix des images et des termes, que son entreprise astronomique s'inscrit dans le mouvement de l'humanisme, dans la mesure où il a affaire aux mêmes adversaires potentiels. Les allusions érasmiennes apparaissent comme une tactique rhétorique de sa part pour se rallier les humanistes en général ou mieux, dans la mesure où il prétend n'écrire que pour les mathématiciens⁴³, les humanistes parmi les mathématiciens. C'est que, au-delà de l'influence ponctuelle exercée par les humanistes qui fournissaient de nouvelles éditions et traductions des ouvrages anciens, il existe une parenté profonde entre la pratique philologique d'un Erasme et l'activité astronomique de Copernic. Par son exigence de liberté et d'esprit critique, son retour aux faits, aux sources, l'attitude des humanistes est analogue à celle de Copernic. Tout comme Lorenzo Valla, Politien ou Erasme veulent restituer le texte véritable des Anciens et de la Bible, ainsi Copernic a pour dessein de reconstituer la texture véritable du monde : 'nulle autre cause ne me poussa à rechercher une autre façon de déduire les mouvements des sphères que le fait

⁴³ Trad. de J. Chomarat dans Erasme, *Œuvres choisies* (Paris : Le Livre de Poche, 1991), p. 446. Dans la lettre A 3043, tout en reconnaissant : 'Atqui nihil eo nitidius', Erasme reproche néanmoins à Lactance l'inadaptation de son style à la matière.

⁴⁴ Selon la célèbre formule : 'Mathematica mathematicis scribuntur.' (ROC : 48). P. L. Rose (p. 126) a raison de mettre en garde contre une interprétation trop simpliste de cette sentence : 'It is a misleading simplification to isolate aspects of Copernicus' thought into rigidly separated compartments of humanism and mathematics.'

d'avoir compris que les mathématiciens ne sont pas d'accord avec eux-mêmes dans leurs recherches.' (ROC: 40)

Les philologues aussi bien que Copernic insistent beaucoup sur la nécessité de lire les faits et les sources en fonction de leurs codes spécifiques. D'où l'affirmation, chez Erasme, des droits de la grammaire face à la théologie: 'Prétendre que la théologie est trop grande pour se plier aux lois de la grammaire et que tout le travail de la traduction dépend du Saint-Esprit, c'est vraiment donner aux théologiens une dignité toute nouvelle que de permettre à eux seuls de parler barbare!'⁴⁵ L'adage *Illotis pedibus* est un des textes les plus véhéments à ce sujet. Il déclare que Jérôme ne s'est pas équipé 'de frivolités sophistiques, de décrets aristotéliens, de frivolités plus grandes encore'; au contraire, 'il se dota de la connaissance des trois langues. Qui les ignore est non point théologien, mais violateur de la théologie sacrée.'⁴⁶ L'attitude de Copernic est la même lorsqu'il s'en prend aux 'ματαιολόγοι, qui, bien qu'ignorant tout des mathématiques, se permettraient néanmoins de juger de ces choses'.

Nécessité, pour le théologien, de se soumettre aux résultats de l'astronomie comme à ceux de la philologie. La connaissance du langage mathématique initie seule au livre du monde, comme celle des langues du texte original est le préalable nécessaire à l'interprétation de l'Écriture. Il s'agit, pour le philologue comme pour l'astronome, de substituer la maîtrise du maniement de codes spécifiques aux arguments basés sur l'autorité.

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⁴⁵ A 182, dans *Correspondance*, I, 387. Il s'agit d'un passage de la lettre à Christophe Fischer qui a servi de préface à l'édition des *Annotationes* de Valla sur le Nouveau Testament.

⁴⁶ *Adagia*, 855, dans *Opera omnia* (Amsterdam), II.2 (1998), 376. Ici trad. de J. Chomar dans Erasme, *Œuvres choisies*, p. 380.

Harry VREDEVELD

SOME SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES TO ERASMUS'S
DE CONSCRIBENDIS EPISTOLIS

The following notes to Erasmus's *De conscribendis epistolis* are intended to supplement the commentaries by Jean-Claude Margolin in *Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami* (Amsterdam, 1969-), I.2 (1971), pp. 205-579, and by Charles Fantazzi in *Collected Works of Erasmus* (Toronto, 1974-), 26 (1985), pp. 493-559. For the reader's convenience I have added a few previously published annotations that were not included in Professor Fantazzi's commentary. These derive from Jozef IJsewijn, 'Castigationes Erasmiannae, II', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 27 (1978), 297-301, identified as **IJ**; and from Kurt Smolak, trans., *Erasmus von Rotterdam, De conscribendis epistolis / Anleitung zum Briefschreiben (Auswahl)*, in *Erasmus von Rotterdam, Ausgewählte Schriften*, ed. by Werner Welzig, 8 vols (Darmstadt, 1968-1980), VIII, identified as **Sm**.

Other works cited in abbreviated form are:

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| Aen. Silv., <i>Hist.</i> | Aeneas Silvius, <i>Historia de duobus amantibus</i> , ed. by Eric J. Morrall, in <i>Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (Pius II) and Niklas von Wyle, The Tale of Two Lovers, Eurialus and Lucretia</i> (Amsterdam, 1988). |
| ASD | <i>Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami</i> (Amsterdam, 1969-). |
| BAS | Desiderius Erasmus, <i>Omnia opera</i> , 9 vols (Basel, 1538-1542). |
| CCSL | <i>Corpus Christianorum, series Latina</i> (Turnhout, 1953-). |
| CWE | <i>Collected Works of Erasmus</i> (Toronto, 1974-). |
| Ficino, <i>De vita</i> | Marsilio Ficino, <i>Three Books on Life</i> , ed. and trans. by Carol V. Kaske and John R. Clark (Binghamton, NY, 1989). |
| <i>Flos medicinae</i> | <i>Flos medicinae scholae Salerni</i> , ed. by Salvatore de Renzi, 2nd edn (Naples, 1859). |
| HL | <i>Humanistica Lovaniensia</i> . |
| Innoc., <i>Miseria</i> | Lotario dei Segni (Pope Innocent III), <i>De miseria condicionis humane</i> , ed. by Robert E. Lewis (Athens, GA, 1978). |
| LB | <i>Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami opera omnia</i> , ed. by J. Clericus, 10 vols (Leiden, 1703-1706 = repr. Hildesheim, 1961-1962). |

- Nachträge* *Nachträge zu A. Otto, Sprichwörter und sprichwörtliche Redensarten der Römer*, ed. by Reinhard Häussler (Hildesheim, 1968).
- Otto August Otto, *Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer* (Leipzig, 1890 = repr. Hildesheim, 1971). Cited by proverb number.
- Petrarca, *Rem.* Francesco Petrarca, *De remediis utriusque fortunae*, in *Francisci Petrarcae opera quae extant omnia*, 3 vols (Basel, 1554 = repr. Ridgewood, NJ, 1965), I, 7-254.
- Petrarca, *Secret.* Francesco Petrarca, *De contemptu mundi, colloquiorum liber, quem Secretum suum inscripsit*, in *Opera*, I, 373-416.
- PL *Patrologiae cursus completus, series Latina*, ed. by J.-P. Migne, 221 vols (Paris, 1844-1865).
- Ps. Sen., *Formula* Pseudo-Seneca, *Formula vitae honestae*, in *Martini episcopi Bracarenensis opera omnia*, ed. by Claude W. Barlow (New Haven, 1950), pp. 204-250.
- Sen., *Mor.* Seneca, *De moribus liber*, in *L. Annaei Senecae opera quae supersunt*, ed. by Friedrich Haase, 3 vols in 2 (Leipzig, 1878-1881), III, 462-467.
- Walther *Proverbia sententiaeque Latinitatis medii aevi*, ed. by Hans Walther, 6 vols (Göttingen, 1963-1969).

Page and line references to *De conscribendis epistolis* are keyed to the edition in ASD I.2. Abbreviations for Latin works follow the ones adopted in *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*. Abbreviations for ancient Greek works and for Erasmus's works are the standard ones used in ASD.

206, 14. Vt nox longa quibus See Hor., *Epist.*, 1, 1, 20 [Sm].

209, 9. omni pedi... consuere Cf. *Adag.*, 3356.

210, 6-7. innumerabiles... mundi illi Democritici Cf. Cic., *Ac.*, 2, 55 [Sm]; *Fin.*, 1, 21; 2, 102; Val. Max., 8, 14, ext. 2.

211, 2-4. ne horum... non possint Cf. p. 248, lines 9-11; p. 493, lines 15-16; *Antibarb.*, ASD I.1 (1969), p. 53, lines 21-23. Also compare *De pueris*, ASD I.2, p. 41, line 2; *De rat. stud.*, ASD I.2, p. 113, lines 11-13. For the phrase "ne... ea rudibus annis discant... quae grandes iam dediscere aut pudeat aut nolint" in lines 2-3 cf. Plaut., *Amph.*, 687-688; Sen., *Tro.*, 633; Quint., *Inst.*, 1, 1, 5; Hier., *Epist.*, 107, 4: "ne discat in tenero, quod ei postea dediscendum est". For "imbibant" in line 3 cf. p. 248, line 13 below (with note to lines 13-14).

211, 4. illiterata literatorum turba Cf. p. 258, line 13 below; Ep., 843, lines 9-11, where Erasmus complains that schoolmasters teach nothing but "illiteratas ac mox dediscendas literas". For the wordplay cf. also Ep., 529, line 91; 1223, line 19; 1234, line 21; *Carm.*, 44, 15; 47, 4-5.

211, 5-6. Phalarismum Cf. Otto, 1405.

211, 13-212, 1. Agesilaus... calceum See Plut., *Mor.*, 208 C [Sm]; Erasmus, *Lingua*, ASD IV.1A (1989), p. 42, lines 530-533; *Apophth.*, 1, Agesilaus, 5, LB IV, 94 B [Sm]; *Adag.*, 2567, ASD II.6 (1981), p. 375, lines 630-635.

214, 5. hircum Cf. Hor., *Sat.*, 1, 2, 27.

215, 8. pannos For the image cf. Hor., *Ars*, 15-16; Erasmus, *De cop. verb.*, ASD I.6 (1988), p. 38, lines 234-253; *Coll.*, ASD I.3 (1972), p. 216, lines 5-14; *Carm.*, 116, 3.

calamistros Cic., *Brut.*, 262; *Orat.*, 78.

215, 11. scribito... venerit Cf. Otto, 273; Erasmus, *Ep.*, 15, lines 40-41; 161, lines 52-53; 2599, lines 49-50; cf. also p. 301, line 12 below.

216, 2. orationum procellas Cf. Quint., *Inst.*, 8, 6, 7: "contionum procellas"; 11, 3, 158: "eloquentiae procellam".

216, 9-10. illa Albanorum... Fabius See Quint., *Inst.*, 12, 10, 62-63 [Sm].

217, 2. fulmina aut tonitrua Periclis Cf. also Quint., *Inst.*, 2, 16, 19: "vt non loqui et orare, sed, quod Pericli contigit, fulgere ac tonare videaris".

217, 10. puer... quatuordecim He was actually about 17 years old at the time. See Harry Vredeveld, 'The Ages of Erasmus and the Year of his Birth', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 46 (1993), 754-809.

219, 13. oculis noctuinis Plaut., *Curc.*, 191.

221, 19. graeca miscere latinis Cf. Hor., *Sat.*, 1, 10, 20-21; Erasmus, *De cop. verb.*, ASD I.6 (1988), p. 50, lines 460 and 477-478.

223, 28. In Noctibus ac Miscellaneis Erasmus refers to Gellius's *Noctes Atticae* and Poliziano's *Miscellanea* (Florence, 1489). Cf. *Ep.*, 373, lines 204-205: "Noctes Gellianas aut Angeli Politiani Miscellanea". The translation in *CWE* 25, p. 20 should be changed from "In Gellius' *Noctes* and other miscellanies" to "In [Gellius'] *Noctes* and [Poliziano's] *Miscellanea*".

226, 1. Aurelium St. Augustine is meant here [IJ]. Cf. p. 495, line 5 below, where "Aurelius" unmistakably refers to the great church father.

226, 2. totum hominem See note at p. 251, line 13 below.

227, 18. sero sapere coepit See note at p. 503, line 8 below.

227, 18-228, 1. literis..., quae marsupium non consequuntur An allusion to Hier., *Adv. Rufin.*, 1, 17, *CCSL* 79, p. 16, lines 35-37 (quoted in Erasmus, *Adag.* 574): "Quamuis Croesos quis spiret et Darios, litterae marsupium non sequuntur".

228, 10-21. Hos si ridere... Cicerones Cf. Pers., *prologus*, 1-3 and 12-14 [Sm]. As the ancient scholiast notes, Persius alludes to Ennius's dream on Mount Parnassus [Sm].

231, 4-5. Et nisi me fallit... praesagium,... veniet Cf. Calp. *Ecl.*, 3, 96: "et veniet, nisi me praesagia fallunt"; Erasmus, Ep., 49, line 101: "Et nisi me fallit augurium, erit...".

232, 11. Briseidam This accusative form occurs also in Hyg., *Fab.*, 106, 1 and 106, 3; however this text was not published until 1535. In the 1534-edition (*F*) Erasmus changed the reading to "Briseida", as in Prop., 2, 8, 35.

233, 17-18. Phaedriae sodalis... ineptire desinat Cf. Ter., *Eun.*, 50-80, where Parmeno counsels Phaedria to remain steadfast in his resolve to forget his lover Thais [Sm]. The phrase "ineptire desinat" comes from Catull., 8, 1 [Sm].

234, 13. Qu. Curtio A note in *CWE* 26, p. 501 (note 39 to p. 26) explains: "Erasmus inadvertently uses the *praenomen* of Quintus Curtius the historian (first century AD) for Manius Curtius, the hero who in 362 BC rode his horse into a chasm that appeared in the forum". However, the *praenomen* of the legendary Curtius was "Marcus", not "Manius". See Liv., 7, 6, 3; Oros., 3, 5. As for the erroneous *praenomen* "Quintus", Erasmus often uses it elsewhere. See *De copia*, ASD I.6 (1988), p. 238, line 998; *Moria*, ASD IV.3 (1979), p. 102, line 544; *Ciceron.*, ASD I.2, p. 638, line 14; p. 644, line 12; and *Explan. symboli*, ASD V.1 (1977), p. 254, line 462. The correct form "M. Curtius" appears in *Disputatiunc.*, LB V, 1273 A, but this is perhaps a later editorial correction.

234, 15. Lucretiam See Liv., 1, 57-59 [Sm]; and, for example, Ov., *Fast.*, 2, 725-852; Aug., *Civ.*, 1, 19.

237, 1-3. Socrates... mori For the anecdote see Diog. Laert., 2, 5, 35; Val. Max., 7, 2, ext. 1; Erasmus, *Apophth.*, 3, Socrates, 53, LB IV, 160 E. The story is repeated at p. 437, lines 25-27 below.

237, 7. fortunae procella Sen., *Ag.*, 594; Apul., *Met.*, 10, 4: "procellam fortunae saeuientis"; Erasmus, *Carm.*, 105, 121; p. 433, line 11 below. For the image cf. also p. 435, line 26: "fortunae flatus."

238, 2-3. Si quem... Tantali fabula The miser's lot was frequently likened to Tantalus's. See Hor., *Sat.*, 1, 1, 68-72; Ov., *Am.*, 3, 7, 49-52; Alanus de Insulis, *De planctu Naturae*, 13, 10-11, ed. by Nikolaus M. Häring, in *Studi Medievali*, 19 (1978), 857-858; Walther, 31043; Innoc., *Miseria*, 2, 14. Erasmus was fond of the image too; see, for example,

Carm., 96, 93-94; *Enchir.*, LB V, 29 D; *Adag.*, 522 and 1514; *De rat. stud.*, ASD I.2, p. 138, line 8 - p. 139, line 1.

240, 25. adamantinis vinculis Cf. Otto, 18; *Nachträge*, pp. 17 and 258; Erasmus, *Adag.*, 643; p. 422, line 20 below.

241, 8. auribus hauriendam Verg., *Aen.*, 4, 359; Ov., *Met.*, 13, 787; 14, 309; Erasmus, *Panegy. ad Philipp.*, ASD IV.1 (1974), p. 55, line 931; also p. 272, line 17 below.

241, 15-16. falsis bonis verisque malis Cf. *Carm.*, 117, 3; *Enarrat. in Ps.*, 38, ASD V.3 (1986), p. 222, lines 918-920; *Eccles.*, ASD V.5 (1994), p. 350, line 773. Also cf. *Enchir.*, LB V, 44 D: "fucata bona..., vera mala".

242, 25-243, 3. In hoc... contemplaretur For the commonplace that nature endowed us with upright posture so that we may contemplate the stars and their maker see, for instance, Xen., *Mem.*, 1, 4, 11; Plat., *Tim.*, 90 A; Cic., *Leg.*, 1, 26; *Nat. deor.*, 2, 140; Ov., *Met.*, 1, 84-86; Sen., *Dial.*, 8, 5, 4; *Epist.*, 94, 56; Aug., *Civ.*, 22, 24: "erecta in caelum corporis forma admonet eum quae sursum sunt sapere"; Boeth., *Cons.*, 5, *carm.* 5, 8-15.

243, 3. mundi machinam Lucr., 5, 96.

243, 4. poetae platonici reliquique scriptores The commentators in ASD and *CWE* speculate that this phrase may be taken as a sign of Erasmus's interest in Italian Neoplatonism. Kurt Smolak (p. 97) surmises that "die platonischen Dichter" might be a reference to the Prometheus story as told in Ov., *Met.*, 1, 80-86, since Plato tells this myth in *Prot.*, 320 D-321 E. How a lowly comma can trip up the loftiest theories! For according to the 1534-edition (*F*) the passage should read as follows: "poetae, Platonici, reliquique scriptores".

243, 5-6. luteo... fingitur Cf. *Antibarb.*, ASD I.1 (1969), p. 134, lines 11-12.

243, 6-7. de luto... animauit Cf. *Gen.*, 2, 7; Erasmus, *Carm.*, 110, 113-116; *Conc. de puero Iesu*, LB V, 602 A-B: "nos finxit... ad sui ipsius imaginem... ac sacro sui oris afflatu spiritum vitalem indidit"; *De imm. Dei misericord.*, LB V, 571 A: "corpus finxit e limo, animum indidit afflatu oris sui". For the metaphor of God as the great potter see, for example, *Sirach*, 33, 13; *Rom.*, 9, 21.

244, 4. Mithridates... calluit In *De pueris*, ASD I.2, p. 49, lines 20-21 Erasmus more correctly says that Mithridates knew 22 languages. Besides Quint., *Inst.*, 11, 2, 50, see Plin., *Nat.*, 7, 88; 25, 6; Val. Max., 8, 7, ext. 16; and Gell., 17, 17, 2.

244, 15-17. Ex historia... quaerere See also *Apophth.*, 3, Diogenes, 63, LB IV, 178 E.

244, 17-20. Rursus... hominis See also *Apophth.*, 3, Diogenes, 25, LB IV, 175 A.

244, 20-245, 3. Adhiberi... elinguem See also *Apophth.*, 6, Stratonicus, 37, LB IV, 311 B.

245, 8. stipitem, caudicem, plumbum Cf. Ter., *Haut.*, 877, where these terms refer to a fool [Sm]: "caudex, stipes, asinus, plumbeus".

monstrum hominis Ter., *Eun.*, 696 [Sm]; Erasmus, *De conscr. ep.*, ASD I.2, p. 259, lines 9-10; p. 267, line 6; p. 532, line 17.

246, 8. animum... coelestis Cf. Cic., *Cato*, 77: "est enim animus caelestis ex altissimo domicilio depressus"; Verg., *Aen.*, 6, 730: "caelestis origo"; Quint., *Inst.*, 1, 1, 1: "origo animi caelestis creditur".

247, 5-7. daemones... scientes Cf. Lact., *Inst.*, 2, 15; Isid., *Orig.*, 8, 11, 15.

248, 13-14. Imbibat... resipiat Horace's image became proverbial; see Otto, 1770; *Nachträge*, pp. 65 and 218; and, for example, Walther, 25948 (with further references): "Quod noua testa capit, inueterata sapit". It was especially popular in pedagogical treatises. See, for instance, Quint., *Inst.*, 1, 1, 5; Hier., *Epist.*, 107, 4; Gerson, *De paruulis ad Christum trahendis*, prima consideratio, in *Secunda pars operum Johannis de Gerson doctoris Christianissimi* ([Strasbourg], 1488), sig. S2^v, col. 2: "Quo semel est imbuta recens seruabit odorem diu testa"; Erasmus, *De pueris*, ASD I.2, p. 33, lines 11-12; p. 75, lines 16-17; *Inst. christ. matrim.*, LB V, 713 B; *Coll.*, ASD I.3 (1972), p. 458, line 191.

249, 5. per fas nefasque See note to *Carm.*, 96, 12.

249, 16. per saxa, per ignes Hor., *Epist.*, 1, 1, 46, also quoted in Erasmus, *Enchir.*, LB V, 23 E. See further note to Erasmus, *Carm.*, 96, 5-10.

249, 17. aliena bona Concerning the external goods cf., for example, Arist., *Rhet.*, 1, 4; Publil., *Sent.*, 1 (quoted in Sen., *Epist.*, 8, 9): "Alienum est omne quicquid optando euenit"; Erasmus, *Ep.*, 104, line 2: "aliena, quippe fortunae munera"; *Enchir.*, LB V, 60 C-D.

249, 18. caeca fortuna See Otto, 694; *Nachträge*, p. 103; cf. p. 561, line 15 below.

249, 24-25. malorum... seminaria See Otto, 229; *I Tim.*, 6, 10; Erasmus, *Carm.*, 96, 19-20, with note.

249, 26-27. magno... amitti Cf. Walther, 6125: "Diuitias diues non congerit absque labore, / Non tenet absque metu, non deserit absque

dolore"; Erasmus, Ep., 35, lines 33-35 (letter from Willem Hermans to Jacob Batt); *De contemptu mundi*, ASD V.1 (1977), p. 46, lines 185-187; *Enchir.*, LB V, 60 F. For the proverbial wisdom that riches do not bring happiness, only cares and worries, see *Carm.*, 96, 61-70, with note.

251, 2. omnibus suis numeris See note at p. 363, line 18 below.

251, 6-7. Ad haec... mellis Cf. p. 431, line 3 below.

nos in feras transferant Since passionate love is a form of madness (line 4 above), it reduces us to the level of unreasoning beasts. For the commonplace see, for example, Serv., *Aen.*, 7, 19: "Circe... libidine sua et blandimentis homines in ferinam vitam ab humana deducebat, vt libidini et voluptatibus operam darent"; Alanus de Insulis, *Summa de arte praedicatoria*, 5, PL 210, 123 A: "luxuria... hominem in pecudem mutat"; Aen. Silv., *Hist.*, p. 125: "ex amoris flamma sic mens hominis alienatur vt parum a bestiis differat"; Baptista Mantuanus, *Elegia contra Amorem*, in *Opera omnia*, 4 vols (Antwerp, 1576), I, fol. 176^r: "Fit pecus omnis amans dum pro ratione libido / Iudicium nutu temperat omne suo. / Quisquis enim viuit sine lumine mentis et vsu, / Fert hominis vultus ingeniumque ferae"; *Ecl.*, 3, 158: "aequiperas hominem pecudi"; 7, 111-114; Erasmus, *Enchir.*, LB V, 56 F-57 A.

251, 7. plus aloës... mellis This proverbial expression (cf. Otto, 1083) recurs in Erasmus's writings. See *De contemptu mundi*, ASD V.1 (1977), p. 74, lines 971-972; *Enchir.*, LB V, 57 A; *Coll.*, ASD I.3 (1972), p. 725, lines 196-197; *Eccles.*, ASD V. 5 (1994), p. 48, lines 868-869; *De praep. ad mort.*, ASD V.1 (1977), p. 352, lines 307-308; also see p. 431, line 3 below.

251, 11-13. Exhaurire... demergere Cf. Alanus de Insulis, *Summa de arte praedicatoria*, 5, PL 210, 122 A, of licentiousness: "bursam euacuat, corpus eneruat, animum inebriat, statum mentis effeminat, animum commaculat, famam perdit, proximum offendit, Deum amittit"; Ps. Bernardus, *Floretus*, 3, section "De luxuria", in *Floretus, in quo flores omnium virtutum et detestationes viciorum metricè continentur vna cum commento* (Lyons, 1494), sig. d5^v: "Mortificans animam, ledit cum corpore famam, / Excecat mentem, valde turbat rationem, / Subuertit sensum, consumit tempora, cenum, / Offendit dominum, fert hostes, tollit amicum, / Vires debilitat,... /... et vitam sepe minorat"; Erasmus, *Enchir.*, LB V, 57 B (of carnal lust): "patrimonium exhaurit, corporis simul et vires et speciem interimit. Valetudinem vehementer laedit, morbos innumerabiles parit, eosque foedos.... Ingenii vigorem tollit, mentis aciem hebetat et quasi pecuinam mentem inserit,... et quod hominis erat

proprium, eripit rationis vsum"; p. 431, line 7-8 below. For the physiological consequences of indulging in passionate love see Harry Vredeveld, "'That Familiar Proverb': Folly as the Elixir of Youth in Erasmus's *Moriae Encomium*", *Renaissance Quarterly*, 42 (1989), 81-85; Erasmus, *Coll.*, ASD I.3 (1972), p. 382, lines 233-235.

251, 13. totum hominem Prud., *Apoth.*, 779; Petrarca, *Secret.*, 2 (p. 395): "corpus atque animam et breuiter totum hominem"; Erasmus, *Encom. medic.*, ASD I.4 (1973), pp. 168-170, lines 119-120; p. 170, line 132; *Carm.*, 2, 23; Ep., 1381, line 189; also see p. 226, line 2 above; p. 452, line 7 and p. 453, lines 13-14 below.

252, 1. fermento vitiatas For the image cf. *Carm.*, 7, 28-29, where see note.

252, 6. omni sexui, omni aetati For this expression cf. Suet., *Cal.*, 4: "sexum, aetatem, ordinem omnem"; Tac., *Ann.*, 6, 19: "omnis sexus, omnis aetas, inlustres ignobiles"; Sen., *Oed.*, 53: "omnis aetas... et sexus"; Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. Willard R. Trask (Princeton, 1990), p. 160.

252, 23. vir bonus... nascitur Cf. p. 351, lines 16-17 below, with note.

254, 2-3. nobilitatem... veriore For the topos of true nobility see Curtius, *European Literature*, pp. 179-180; Albert Rabil Jr., *Knowledge, Goodness, and Power. The Debate over Nobility among Quattrocento Italian Humanists* (Binghamton, NY, 1991). Cf. Iuv., 8, 20; Walther, 16986b; 16991-16994; 17000; 17003; 23779; p. 360, lines 14-15 below.

258, 9. Arcadicus... asinus Cf. *Antibar.*, ASD I.1 (1969), p. 51, line 1 (14), with note: "asellos Archadicos". Though proverbially stupid and uncultivated (see Otto, 156; Erasmus, *Adag.*, 2227), the Arcadians did breed fine asses. Thus, to be called an Arcadian was tantamount to being called an ass. Cf. Pers., 3, 9: "Arcadiae pecuaria rudere credas"; Erasmus, *Carm.*, 93, 23.

asinus, leonis indutus exuui See *Adag.*, 266, especially ASD II.1 (1993), p. 376, lines 758-770, where Erasmus retells the fable about the ass of Cuma (Lucian., *Pisc.*, 32; Aesop., 199 [Hausrath]).

258, 13. literatiores... illiteratissimus For the wordplay cf. p. 211, line 4 above, with note.

259, 9-10. hominis monstrum See note at p. 245, line 8 above.

259, 16-17. plagosum... genus Cf. *Carm.*, 6, 56; Ep., 277, line 41; 843, lines 9-10; p. 260, line 4 below. The flogging schoolmaster was a

commonplace; see, for example, Quint., *Inst.*, 1, 3, 14; Aug., *Conf.*, 1, 9; Prud., *Praef.*, 7-8; Erasmus, *Moria*, ASD IV.3 (1979), p. 138, lines 250-251; *De pueris*, ASD I.2, p. 54, line 24 - p. 62, line 2.

259, 17. Antra Cf. *Carm.*, 6, 56; *Inst. christ. matrim.*, LB V, 713 D.

260, 4. plagoso illi See note at p. 259, lines 16-17 above.

261, 9. vt in speculo Cf. Ter., *Ad.*, 415 and 428: "tamquam in speculum"; Erasmus, *Adag.*, 1250.

262, 11-12. vt et hac... inserunt For the image cf. Cic., *De orat.*, 2, 162: "his..., qui omnes tenuissimas particulas atque omnia minima mansa vt nutrices infantibus pueris in os inserant".

263, 1-2. Extant... partibus Erasmus refers to two poems that were regularly included among Vergil's juvenilia in medieval manuscripts and Renaissance editions. See *De copia*, ASD I.6 (1988), p. 28, lines 35-38 (where the commentary erroneously points to passages in Vergil's *Georgics* and *Aeneid* rather than to the *Appendix Vergiliana*). For an edition of the two pseudo-Vergilian poems see *Anth.*, 579-590, collectively entitled "De aurora et sole"; and *Anth.*, 566(b)-578, collectively entitled "Tetrasticha de quattuor temporibus anni".

267, 6. hominis monstrum See note at p. 245, line 8 above.

272, 17. auribus haurit See note at p. 241, line 8 above.

274, 10. tricas, apinas Otto, 127; Erasmus, *Adag.*, 143.

284, 8. Midae diuitias Cf. Otto, 1110; Erasmus, *Adag.*, 524; p. 479, line 23 below.

284, 14. Quot habet... salutes Erasmus himself used this sort of "inept" salutation in an early poem of his. See *Carm.*, 98, 1-6, with note.

286, 13. quaestores paricidios For this form cf. the early draft quoted in Johannes Despauterius, *Syntaxis* (Paris, 1509), sig. R7^r: "*scultetus pro quaestore paricidio*". See Judith Rice Henderson, 'Despauterius' *Syntaxis* (1509): The Earliest Publication of Erasmus' *De conscribendis epistolis*', *HL*, 37 (1988), 198. The more correct form, used in the 1534-edition (*F*), is "quaestores paricidii". Cf. *Dig.*, 1, 2, 2, 23: "hi appellabantur quaestores parricidii".

288, 5. Terque quaterque For this conventional formula cf. p. 566, line 8 below, with note.

salue, meum praesidium Ep., 91, 1 (to Jacob Batt); cf. Hor., *Carm.*, 1, 1, 2, to his patron Maecenas: "O et praesidium et dulce decus meum".

288, 6. Salutem tibi dico... desidero Cf. Ep., 124, line 1: "Salutem tibi precor, mi Batte, quam ipse desydero". The model is Ov., *Trist.*, 5,

13, 1-2: "Hanc tuus... mittit tibi Naso salutem, / mittere si quisquam, quo caret ipse, potest". Cf. also Ov., *Pont.*, 1, 10, 1-2.

288, 7. Salutem... habitura Cf. Ov., *Met.*, 9, 530: "Quam, nisi tu dederis, non est habitura salutem".

290, 16-17. peritissimos, fidos, eximios Erasmus often mentions these and similar virtues in a physician. See *Carm.*, 2, 2-3, with note.

291, 16. formosum puellum Cf. p. 533, line 20 below, with note (also referring to a deformed old man): "puer pulchellus".

292, 13. Nostrae... sapientissime The model is Ter., *Haut.*, 646 and 967. Cf. also ll. 13-14 and p. 293, line 6 below.

293, 16-294, 5. Fugienda... mundum Cf. *Eccles.*, ASD V.5 (1994), p. 130, lines 518-524.

293, 16-17. magica... superstitione Cf. Tac., *Ann.*, 12, 59: "magicas superstitiones".

295, 10-11. diuinae mentis interpretem Cic., *Hortensius*, fragment quoted in Aug., *Contra Iulianum*, 4, 15, 78, *PL* 44, 778: "diuinae mentis interpretes"; Erasmus, *Moria*, ASD IV.3 (1979), p. 184, line 39: "diuinae mentis interpres"; *Eccles.*, ASD V.4 (1991), p. 38, line 95: "diuinae voluntatis interpretes"; *Carm.*, 88, 43-44.

296, 2-3. Etiam... cura vt valeas Cic., *Fam.*, 16, 11, 3.

296, 6. valebis... meque mutuo diliges Cf. Cic., *Fam.*, 10, 4, 4; 10, 7, 2; 10, 11, 3; 10, 15, 4; 10, 17, 3.

296, 11. meminervis... viuere The unauthorized version of *De conscribendis epistolis* published by Siberch at Cambridge in 1521 (sig. B4^v) uses the same phrase at the end of a lengthy letter of miscellaneous content: "meminervis te inter venena viuere. Valitudinem tuam cura diligenter".

296, 12. cogita te mortalem esse Sen., *Epist.*, 35, 3.

296, 13. totis neruis Cf. *Adag.*, 316: "Omnibus neruis"; 2868; *Nachträge*, p. 255.

296, 16-17. Sed heus... oportuit. Vale Cf. Ep., 47, line 83: "Sed heus tu, pene preterieram quod maxime mandatum volebam.... Vale"; p. 548, lines 4-5 below. For the phrase "Sed heus tu" see, for example, Cic., *Fam.*, 7, 11, 2; 7, 25, 1; 16, 17, 1; see also p. 308, line 2 below.

301, 12. quicquid in buccam venerit See note at p. 215, line 11 above.

302, 3-4. Sed haec... splendida Cf. Cic., *Phil.*, 2, 63: "Sed haec ipse fatetur esse in suis sordibus: veniamus ad splendida."

302, 15. Habes... accipe Cf. Cic., *Ad Q. fr.*, 3, 2, 3: "Habes forensia. Domi recta est".

302, 20. Omnibus... addam Cf. Cic., *Ad Q. fr.*, 3, 3, 4: "Habes fere de omnibus rebus. Vnum illud addam".

305, 1. faciem perfricuit Cf. Otto, 631; Erasmus, *Adag.*, 747; *Coll.*, ASD I.3 (1972), p. 163, line 1235; *De cop. verb.*, ASD I.6 (1988), p. 162, lines 374-375. See also Ep., 1284, line 22 (= p. 206, lines 11-12 above); p. 475, line 15 and p. 534, lines 3-4 below.

305, 3. Elabetur... Proteus Cf. Hor., *Sat.*, 2, 3, 71; p. 479, lines 16-18 below.

306, 5. actum... fuerat See *Adag.*, 239.

306, 7. aduersus... inopia Cf. Otto, 1250; *Nachträge*, p. 194; Erasmus, *Adag.*, 2602.

308, 2. Sed heus tu See note at p. 296, lines 16-17 above.

308, 9-11. In hortis... arcessere Cf. Cic., *De orat.*, 1, 28 (which in turn alludes to Plat., *Phaedr.*, 229 A and 230 B): "Cur non imitatur, Crasse, Socratem illum, qui est in Phaedro Platonis? Nam me haec tua platanus admonuit, quae non minus ad opacandum hunc locum patulis est diffusa ramis, quam illa, cuius vmbram secutus est Socrates, quae mihi videtur non tam 'ipsa acula', quae describitur, quam Platonis oratione creuisse." Erasmus also recreates this Socratic setting in *Antibarb.*, ASD I.1 (1969), p. 65, lines 7-17, with similar language. For the phrase "patulis ramis" see further Verg., *Culex*, 146; Ov., *Met.*, 7, 622; Erasmus, *Carm.*, 96, 47.

308, 14. vtemur foro See Otto, 710; Erasmus, *Adag.*, 92; *Carm.*, 7, 30-31; *Paraphr. in Eleg. Laur. Vallae*, ASD I.4 (1973), p. 332, lines 444-445: "Vti foro est se accommodare loco, tempori, rebus, et personis. Nescis vti foro"; *Moria*, ASD IV.3 (1979), p. 106, line 614.

309, 14. Libycas harenas pernumerare Otto, 786; Erasmus, *Adag.*, 344; cf. Verg., *Georg.*, 2, 105-106. The phrase "Lybicas harenas" comes from Ov., *Met.*, 4, 617.

314, 6. circulum absoluere See *Adag.*, 1586.

315, 12-13. suadendo... audeas Cf. *Eccles.*, ASD V.4 (1991), p. 311, line 564: "Quisquis enim exhortatur suadet vt audeat".

323, 9-11. Item Hercules... caeteris Erasmus paraphrases the adage "Ne Hercules quidem aduersus duos". See *Adag.*, 439; cf. p. 237, line 11 above.

325, 6. in coelum tolli Cf. Otto, 288; Erasmus, *Adag.*, 500.

325, 8-9. extremam manum deesse; eam imponere See Otto, 1051; Erasmus, *Adag.*, 134. Cf. p. 349, line 21 below; p. 359, line 21.

325, 11. in hoc tanquam extremo actu Cf. *Adag.*, 135.

326, 1-19. A spe... componere Cf. *Eccles.*, ASD V.4 (1991), pp. 328-329, lines 21-59.

328, 4. inseat natura Cf. p. 412, line 10 below, with note.

329, 18-19. sibilis... explodi Cic., *Q. Rosc.*, 30.

329, 23-24. priscorum... absunt Envy gnaws only at the living, not the dead. For this commonplace see Prop., 3, 1, 21-24; Ov., *Am.*, 1, 15, 39-40; *Trist.*, 4, 10, 121-124; *Pont.*, 3, 4, 73-74; 4, 16, 1-3.

329, 25. finitimis exemplis acrius tangatur Cf. Ov., *Epist.*, 15 (16), 328: "exemplo tangi non propiore potes".

330, 15. Nobilitatus crudelitate Nero Cf. Cic., *Off.*, 2, 26: "Phalaris, cuius est praeter ceteros nobilitata crudelitas".

330, 17. Sibi felix, patriae funestus L. Sylla Cf. Suet., *Tib.*, 59, 2, quoted in Erasmus, *Adag.* 520, ASD II.2 (1998), p. 45, line 490: "Aspice felicem sibi, non tibi, Romule, Syllam"; Erasmus, *Panegy. ad Philipp.*, ASD IV.1 (1974), p. 56, line 973: "[Sylla] sibi modo fuit felix, patriae vero funestus"; Ep. 2432, line 72: "[Sylla] contumeliosis versibus sibi felix dictus est, non Reip."

332, 5. Formica... consulit Otto, 690; Erasmus, *De pueris*, ASD I.2, p. 29, lines 3-5.

332, 6-12. Hoc ausa... contemnes Cf. *De cop. verb.*, ASD I.6 (1988), pp. 242-244, lines 104-122.

332, 12-13. Vt corpus... et ignes Ov., *Rem.*, 229, with "redimas" changed to "valeat".

333, 8-9. Sol Christo... permolliet Cf. Arator, 1, 321-323: "Sol ruit in tenebras, tu pectore nigra rebellas; /... / Saxa crepant, tu dura manes"; Erasmus, *Carm.*, 111, 97-100. In *CWE* 25, p. 85, "luxit" is translated as "shone" rather than as "mourned".

334, 2. Cacodaemones... contremiscunt Cf. *Iac.*, 2, 19: "daemones credunt, et contremiscunt".

335, 14-15. per omnes... circumuolitant Cf. *Carm.*, 2, 105-106, where see note. See also p. 362, line 22.

336, 14-337, 1. diuina mens... parentis Erasmus often praises Homer as the prince of poets, the father of poetry, learning, and philosophy. See, for example, *Adag.*, 1408, LB II, 556 F; *Adag.*, 2823; *Orat. de virt.*, LB V, 67 F; *Lingua*, ASD IV.1A (1989), p. 72, line 506. This view is based on the traditional idea that the Homeric epics are to be understood as allegories conveying a deeper wisdom; see Maria Cytowska, 'Homer bei Erasmus', *Philologus*, 118 (1974), 143-157.

337, 1-3. in Iliade... virtutis iter Ulysses was traditionally regarded as a paragon of wisdom. Cf., for instance, Hor., *Epist.*, 1, 2, 17-18: "quid virtus et quid sapientia possit, / vtile proposuit nobis exemplar Vlixen". See further: Hugo Rahner, *Griechische Mythen in christlicher Deutung* (Zürich, 1957), pp. 424-430; *Symbole der Kirche: Die Ekklesiologie der Väter* (Salzburg, 1964), pp. 260-266; Erasmus, *Ep.*, 52, lines 41-45; *De contemptu mundi*, ASD V.1 (1977), p. 42, lines 75-76; *De cop. verb.*, ASD I.6 (1988), p. 235, lines 940-942; also see p. 350, line 22 and p. 438, lines 8-10 below.

337, 3-9. Neque temere... gessissent Like Ulysses, Hercules was idealized in ancient literature as a hero of wisdom and morality. See Xen., *Mem.*, 2, 1, 21-34, retold in Basil., *Ad adolescentes*, 5; and, for example, Cic., *Off.*, 1, 118; Sen., *Dial.*, 2, 2, 2 (referring to Ulysses and Hercules); *Benef.*, 1, 13, 3. See further p. 350, lines 15-17 and p. 438, lines 6-8 below; *Ep.*, 52, lines 40-41; 145, lines 35-36 (in each of these instances Hercules is mentioned together with Ulysses).

338, 7-8. de membris... coniuratis Cf. *Moria*, ASD IV.3 (1979), p. 100, lines 533-535.

339, 9. Vt palma... onus Cf. Plin., *Nat.*, 16, 223; Gell., 3, 6, 2 [Sm]; see also p. 360, lines 6-8 below.

341, 2-9. Verum... gratulari Cf. *Eccles.*, ASD V.4 (1991), pp. 330-331, lines 106-111.

341, 7. currentem incitare See Otto, 486; Erasmus, *Adag.*, 146. Cf. p. 349, line 18; p. 360, line 9; p. 364, line 13; and p. 365, lines 14-15 below.

341, 16. transuersum... agente See *Adag.*, 1792.

341, 17. non tam... freno Cf. Cic., *Att.*, 6, 1, 12 (quoted in Erasmus, *Adag.*, 147, which is relevant here too): "alter... frenis eget, alter calcaribus"; also cf. p. 349, lines 16-17 below.

343, 7-10. Augent... poetae Cf. Quint., *Inst.*, 8, 6, 40; Erasmus, *Eccles.*, ASD V.5 (1994), pp. 130-132, lines 524-535.

343, 8-9. cruentis... sacratissimum deorum Erasmus cannot be alluding to Cic., *Mil.*, 20, as is suggested in *CWE* 26, p. 519 (note 8 to p. 90), for that passage has nothing to do with sacrilege. Perhaps he paraphrases Verg., *Aen.*, 2, 164-168: "Tydides... scelerumque inuentor Vlixes / fatale adgressi sacrato auellere templo / Palladium... / corripuere sacram effigiem manibusque cruentis / virgineas ausi diuae contingere vittas". The translation in *CWE* 25, p. 90 ("By the blood-stained hands of the most holy gods") seems to be based on a false reading in BAS and LB,

where we find "... sacratissimorum deorum". Correct it to: "With blood-stained hands [seized] the most sacred image of the gods".

345, 2-3. pro summo... retulisti Cf. Ter., *Phorm.*, 336: "pro maleficio... beneficium summum nolunt reddere"; p. 519, lines 24-25 below: "pro summis beneficiis summum maleficio reddidit"; p. 533, lines 2-3.

346, 23-347, 1. quum Vergilius... Scipionis Cf. *Eccles.*, ASD V.5 (1994), p. 60, lines 173-174: "Vergilius amplificat virtutem Turni, quo fiat illustrior virtus Aeneae victoris. Et historici dum exaggerant quantus in rebus bellicis fuerit Annibal, attollunt Scipionis gloriam, qui illum deuicit." Cf. further *De rat. stud.*, ASD I.2, p. 145, lines 5-6; *Apolog. resp. Iac. Lop. Stun.*, ASD IX.2 (1983), pp. 70-72, lines 209-210.

349, 9. ceu digito commonstremus Cf. Otto, 549; Erasmus, *Adag.*, 943.

349, 16. nihil... humile aut sordidum cogitaris Cf. Cic., *Fin.*, 5, 57: "nihil abiectum, nihil humile cogitant".

349, 16-17. non tam... frenis egere See note at p. 341, line 17 above.

349, 21. Impone summam manum Cf. p. 325, lines 8-9 above, with note.

350, 6-7. Ardua... virtutis via Cf. Sen., *Dial.*, 4, 13, 1: "Nec, vt quibusdam visum est, arduum in virtutes et asperum iter est"; Erasmus, *Ep.*, 52, lines 41-43: "Cum saepe tum erudite poete significant, id quod Seneca dicit, arduum asperumque esse virtutis iter"; p. 361, line 20 below.

350, 8-9. quod omen dii auertant Cf. Cic., *Flacc.*, 104: "quod di immortales omen auertant"; *Phil.*, 3, 35 and *Ad Brut.*, 1, 10, 5: "quod di omen auertant"; Liv., 28, 41, 13: "quod omnes di omen auertant"; p. 352, lines 19-20 below.

350, 15-17. Hercules... penetrasse Cf. p. 337, lines 3-9 above, with note.

350, 22. Vlysem,... sapientis viri simulacrum See note at p. 337, lines 1-3 above.

351, 16-17. patriae... potius quam sibi ipsi natum Cf. Cic., *Fin.*, 2, 45, citing Plat., *Epist.*, 9: "non sibi se soli natum meminerit sed patriae, sed suis"; Plin., *Epist.*, 9, 19, 1: "... non sibi sed patriae"; Erasmus, *Carm.*, 40, 4: "Cui simul et patriae, non sibi natus erat"; *Orat. de virt.*, LB V, 69 A: "Principi... qui patriae, non sibi nascitur"; *Enarrat. in Ps.*, 1, ASD V.2 (1985), p. 66, line 14: "non sibi natus sit, sed patriae, sed amicis"; p. 252, line 23 above.

352, 8. ex hac vita migrassent Cic., *Rep.*, 6, 9; 6, 15; *Leg.*, 2, 55; Erasmus, *De cop. verb.*, ASD I.6 (1988), p. 192, line 41; also cf. p. 425, line 5 below.

352, 19-20. quod... auertat Cf. p. 350, lines 8-9 above, with note.

352, 27. Codrus Erasmus alludes to the shepherd mentioned in Verg., *Ecl.*, 7, 26: "inuidia rumpantur... ilia Codro".

suspensio trabem delegit A variation on the proverb quoted in Plin., *Nat.*, praef., 29: "prouerbum... suspensio arborem eligendi". See further Otto, 1722; Erasmus, *Adag.*, 921; p. 361, line 27 below, with note.

353, 6. Dii... secudent Cf. Verg., *Aen.*, 7, 259: "di nostra incepta secudent".

353, 7. felicibus vttere fatis Cf. Verg., *Aen.*, 6, 546: "... melioribus vttere fatis".

353, 8. exhortatoria ad Heliodorum See Hier., *Epist.*, 14 (not *Epist.* 54, as indicated in *CWE* 26, p. 521, note 24 to p. 97).

355, 5. Hoc sit Taking its cue from the commentary in ASD, a note in *CWE* 26, p. 521 (note 10 to p. 99) says that "the transition from Cicero to Pliny is made with no warning to the reader, an indication of hastiness of composition". This is not the case. Here, as elsewhere, the early editions alert the reader by way of a marginal note (in this case: "Plinius"). Such sidenotes, however, are consistently ignored in ASD I.2.

358, 20-21. Non est... consequitur Cf. Otto, 764; Petrarca, *Secret.*, 3 (p. 414): "Insanus profecto videatur, qui die medio per solis ardorem, vt vmbram cerneret ostenderetque aliis, cum labore discurret, atque nihilo sanior est, qui inter aestus vitae multo cum labore circumfertur, vt gloriam suam late diffundat"; Walther, 32116c: "Vmbram dum sequens fugit, at sequitur fugientem, / Vmbra sit arbitrio gloria vana tuo!"; Erasmus, *De contemptu mundi*, ASD V.1 (1977), p. 50, lines 286-288: "Vt enim vmbram post se corpora ducunt, quae nec fugientem deserat nec a captante preendi se sinat, ita recte gesta vltro dignitatem adferunt quam nec meritis effugias nec immeritus assequare". Cf. also p. 491, lines 20-21 below, with note.

359, 18. aderunt... fauentes Cf. p. 365, line 11 below. For the phrase "fortibus ausis" see Verg., *Aen.*, 9, 281; Sil., 1, 151; 3, 179.

359, 19. Audaces adiuuat ipse deus A variation on Ov., *Met.*, 10, 586: "audentes deus ipse iuuat".

suus cuique animus deus est Cf. Otto, 518; Erasmus, *Adag.*, 115.

359, 21. summam manum addere Cf. p. 325, lines 8-9 above, with note.

359, 24. Si te... rerum A quotation from Verg., *Aen.*, 4, 272.

360, 5. οὐ ... ἀνδρός Otto, 431; Erasmus, *Adag.*, 301.

360, 6-8. Si palma... crescere See note at p. 339, line 9 above.

360, 9. sponte... addam Cf. Plin., *Epist.*, 1, 8, 1: "Addidisti ergo calcaria sponte currenti"; Erasmus, *Adag.*, 147.

360, 14-15. Nobilitas... nascitur For the topos of true nobility see note at p. 254, lines 2-3 above.

360, 24-25. Macte... animi For this poetic phrase see, for example, Stat., *Theb.*, 2, 495; *Silv.*, 1, 3, 106; 5, 1, 37.

360, 26. macte... coelum Cf. Verg., *Aen.*, 9, 641.

361, 13-14. Perge... positum est Based on Cic., *Fam.*, 10, 12, 5: "Perge igitur, vt agis, nomenque tuum commenda immortalitati.... Verum decus in virtute positum est...."

361, 20. Ardua... via Cf. p. 350, lines 6-7 above, with note.

361, 27. ad suspendium adigere Plaut., *Aul.*, 50. For the thought cf. note at p. 352, line 27 above.

361, 27-28. Inuidorum latratus, velut ignauorum canum Cf. Otto, 316.

362, 22-24. Alii... pares Cf. Isocr., *Ad Demonicum*, 19.

362, 22. per terras... volitant See note at p. 335, lines 14-15 above.

363, 12. In te... recumbit Quoted from Verg., *Aen.*, 12, 59.

363, 18. numeris omnibus... absolutum For this phrase see also p. 251, line 2 above; *De pueris*, ASD I.2, p. 76, line 2. It is quoted in its original context (Plin., *Epist.*, 9, 38) at p. 569, line 26 below.

363, 19. noctes diesque See *Adag.*, 324; p. 426, line 10 below.

364, 6-8. Si aduersus... gigantibus Cf. Cic., *Cato*, 5: "Quid est enim aliud gigantum modo [*al.*: gigantum more] bellare cum dis nisi naturae repugnare?" Erasmus uses the same image at p. 409, line 12 below: "gigantum more naturae bellum indicere". He amplifies it at p. 410, line 12 – p. 411, line 10.

365, 11. Tantum... superi Cf. p. 359, line 18 above, with note.

365, 13. in medio saltare foro Cf. Cic., *Off.*, 3, 75: "in foro... saltaret"; 3, 93: "si saltare in foro turpe ducet".

365, 14-15. stimulos ... currenti Cf. p. 341, line 7 above.

365, 16-17. Vt forti... alacriorem For the image cf. Ov., *Pont.*, 3, 4, 31-32: "tamque ego sumpsissem tali clamore vigorem, / quam rudis audita miles ad arma tuba".

370, 16-371, 1. Poetas... calumniaris Cf. *Antibarb.*, ASD I.1 (1969), p. 73, lines 19-22.

371, 1. quod ignoras calumniaris For the idea that the "barbarians" carp at liberal studies because they are ignorant of them see *Antibarb.*, ASD I.1 (1969), p. 71, line 18 - p. 78, line 32; *Carm.*, 93, 21-22, with note.

371, 4-6. Miserum... habes Cf. Hier., *Adv. Iovin.*, 1, 47, *PL* 23, 277 C: "Molestum est possidere, quod nemo habere dignetur. Minore tamen miseria deformis habetur, quam formosa seruatur"; also cf. p. 430, lines 19-22 below.

373, 4-5. Peperit... non est Cf. Cic., *Inv.*, 1, 44, exemplifying irrefutable argumentation: "Si peperit, cum viro concubuit"; 1, 72-75; also cf. p. 393, line 20 below.

375, 25-27. Violatio... demonstramus Cf. *Eccles.*, ASD V.4 (1991), p. 440, lines 777-779, adding numerous examples. For the term βίαιον see ASD V.5 (1994), p. 410, addendum to the note in ASD V.4 (1991), p. 441, at line 777.

376, 2-4. Non est... expellit Cf. p. 424, line 13 - p. 425, line 2 below.

377, 15-16. hac luce clarius See Otto, 999; *Nachträge*, pp. 59, 75, and 180-181.

379, 6-7. Oreste... insaniore Cf. Cic., *Pis.*, 47: "tragico illo Oreste... dementiorem". Orestes was a byword for insanity; see Otto, 1308; Erasmus, *Adag.*, prolegomena, xiii, ASD II.1 (1993), p. 78, line 641: "Oreste insaniore"; *Adag.*, 3048.

379, 15-16. Fama... post cineres... superest Cf. Ov., *Pont.*, 4, 16, 3: "fama... post cineres maior venit".

381, 9-10. manus... iniusto sanguine cruentas Cf. Val. Max., 3, 8, ext. 3: "iniusto... cruore manus suas contaminare".

384, 8. Poenus perfidus See Otto, 1490; *Nachträge*, pp. 63, 116, 204, and 285; Erasmus, *Adag.*, 728.

Graecus leuis See Otto, 768; *Nachträge*, pp. 73, 104, 237, and 273; Erasmus, *De cop. verb.*, ASD I.6 (1988), p. 266, line 773: "Graecorum genuinam leuitatem".

384, 10-11. nomen ex re habet Ov., *Am.*, 1, 8, 3; *Met.*, 13, 569-570.

385, 4. puer, iuuenis, senex For this division of human life see E. Eyben, 'Die Einteilung des menschlichen Lebens im römischen Altertum', *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, 116 (1973), 153-155.

392, 20. homo... pennis Cf. Plat., *Polit.*, 266 E; Diog. Laert., 6, 2, 40; Erasmus, *Apophth.*, 3, Diogenes, 59, LB IV, 178 C: "Homo est ani-

mal bipes absque pennis"; *Eccles.*, ASD V.4 (1991), p. 408, line 21: "Homo est animal bipes implume".

393, 20. Nec virgo... concubuit Cf. p. 373, lines 4-5 above, with note.

395, 4-5. optima statim discenda sunt Cf. p. 493, lines 15-16 below; *De rat. stud.*, ASD I.2, p. 113, lines 11-12.

395, 6-10. vt in tempestate... debet Cf. p. 440, lines 14-19 below.

395, 12. vt picem... contaminetur Cf. *Sirach*, 13, 1: "Qui tetigerit picem inquinabitur ab ea".

395, 14-18. Imo... relinquemus The analogy comes from Basil., *Ad adulescentes*, 4. Cf. Erasmus, *Enchir.*, LB V, 9 D; *Parab.*, ASD I.5 (1975), p. 296, lines 207-212 and 215-216.

395, 15-16. quod apes... relinquant This analogy is based on a familiar medieval and Renaissance proverb. Cf. Walther, 8353: "Ex vno flore trahitur bene melque venenum"; Morris P. Tilley, *A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Ann Arbor, 1950), p. 38, no. B208: "Where the Bee sucks honey the spider sucks poison"; and, for example, Sebastian Brant, *Das Narrenschiff*, 111, 40-43; Conrad Celtis, *Amores*, praef., 35: "ex eodem... flore fauum apis et aranea venenum sugit et colligit"; Erasmus, *Enchir.*, LB V, 50 B.

401, 4. Aliena... perspicimus Cf. Ter., *Haut.*, 502-505.

403, 7-8. Propter hoc... suae In quoting *Matth.*, 19, 5, Erasmus changes "dimittet" to "relinquet", as in *Marc.*, 10, 7 and *Eph.*, 5, 31.

403, 12-13. sola mors... dirimit For the thought that even death cannot end true marriage cf. *Carm.*, 13, 4, with note; also see p. 421, lines 14-16 and p. 422, lines 20-21 below.

406, 5. ob id... legimus A sidenote in *Libellus nouus et elegans* (Basel, 1529), p. 148 explains: "In vita Annae". Erasmus alludes to the legend of St. Joachim, who was turned away from the altar because his wife, St. Anna, was barren. In *Carm.*, 1, 27-40 Erasmus suggests that both Joachim and Anna were dismissed from the temple.

407, app. crit. Apud Adrianum... sobolem See Iust., *Inst.*, 48, 20, 7, 3: "diuus Hadrianus in hac sententia rescripsit: 'Fauorabilem apud me causam liberorum Albini filiorum numerus facit, cum ampliari imperium hominum adiectione potius quam pecuniarum copia malim.'"

409, 7-8. a natura... insitum est Cf. p. 412, line 10 below, with note.

409, 12. gigantum... indicere Cf. p. 364, lines 6-8 above, with note.

411, 8-9. eum non hominem, sed saxum videri Cf. Aen. Silv., *Hist.*, dedicatory letter, p. 75, lines 4-5: "Qui nunquam sensit amoris ignem,

aut lapis est aut bestia"; Cic., *Lael.*, 48; also cf. p. 422, line 9; p. 435, line 29; and p. 444, lines 14-15 below (with note).

412, 6-7. coniugii nomen... sanctum,... venerandum Cf. Ov., *Trist.*, 1, 8, 15: "amicitiae sanctum et venerabile nomen"; Erasmus, *Encom. medic.*, ASD I.4 (1973), p. 180, lines 306-307: "sanctum ac venerabile... amicitiae nomen".

412, 8. extremus orbis Britannus Britain was proverbially at the end of the world, a world apart. Cf. Verg., *Ecl.*, 1, 66; Catull., 11, 11-12; 29, 4; Hor., *Carm.*, 1, 35, 29-30; Claud., *De consulatu Stilichonis*, 3, 149; Erasmus, *Adag.*, 1349, LB II, 539 D: "Britannos, quos auctores extra mundi terminos ponunt, quod Oceano separentur"; Ep., 102, lines 3-4; *Carm.*, 4, 25-26; *Panegy. ad Philipp.*, ASD IV.1 (1974), p. 56, line 937.

412, 10. communis... inseuit Cf. Cic., *Tusc.*, 5, 37: "communi parente natura"; Hor., *Sat.*, 1, 3, 35-36: "inseuerit... natura"; Erasmus, *De pueris*, ASD I.2, p. 23, lines 15-16: "cuius semina quaedam [not: quadam] nobis ipsa rerum parens inseuit"; p. 46, line 24; *Moria*, ASD IV.3 (1979), p. 94, lines 437-438: "natura... parens... inseuit"; also cf. p. 328, line 4 and p. 409, lines 7-8 above.

412, 11. turtures et columbos The dove — specifically the turtledove — was a stock emblem of marital love and fidelity. See note at *Carm.*, 13, 8.

413, 14-414, 1. Num Socrate... tolerantiam The anecdote is told in Gell., 1, 17, 1-3; Erasmus, *Apophth.*, 3, Socrates, 62, LB IV, 161 D. Cf. Ep., 61, lines 244-245; *Inst. christ. matrim.*, LB V, 660 A (where Erasmus cites the story as a poor reason to get married).

414, 2. Apollinis... iudicatus See Plat., *Apol.*, 21 A; Diog. Laert., 2, 5, 37; and, for example, Cic., *Cato*, 78; *Lael.*, 7: "Apollinis oraculo sapientissimum iudicatum"; 10; 13: "Apollinis oraculo sapientissimus est iudicatus"; *Ac.*, 1, 16. Cf. Erasmus, *Moria*, ASD IV.3 (1979), p. 96, lines 478-479: "Socrates ipse, vnus Apollinis oraculo sapiens, sed minime sapienter iudicatus".

415, 9. non queunt... satisfacere Cf. p. 432, line 1 below, with note.

421, 3-5. quam dulce... loquaris Cf. Cic., *Lael.*, 22, first noted in Terence O. Tunberg, 'Notes on Seven Declamations by Erasmus', *HL*, 45 (1996), 222: "Quid dulcius quam habere quicum omnia audeas sic loqui vt tecum?"

421, 11-12. ii quos ... deficiunt For the comparison of fair-weather friends with swallows see *Rhet. Her.*, 4, 61; Erasmus, *Adag.*, 2, xxi, ASD II.1 (1993), p. 106, lines 130-132; *Adag.*, 1781, ASD II.4 (1987),

p. 202, lines 138-140; *De contemptu mundi*, ASD V.1 (1977), p. 56, lines 458-459: "isti [amici]... vt hirundines exacta aestate, ita cum fortuna vna deuolarunt"; *Encom. medic.*, ASD I.4 (1973), p. 180, lines 307-310; *Parab.*, ASD I.5 (1975), p. 292, lines 136-137. For the thought cf. Cic., *Lael.*, 64; *Rhet. Her.*, 4, 24; Otto, 93; Erasmus, *Adag.*, 1781; 2404; cf. *Adag.*, 3405; Ep., 2, lines 4-18.

421, 14-16. Vxoria... distrahitur See note at p. 403, lines 12-13 above.

421, 17. te... respicit, ex te pendet Cf. Hor., *Epist.*, 1, 1, 105.

422, 9. non hominem, sed plane saxum Cf. p. 411, lines 8-9 above, with note.

422, 14. nepotum Probably not "nephews" (*CWE* 25, p. 140), but "cousins", a common meaning in ecclesiastical Latin. Thus Willem Hermans is Cornelis Gerard's "nepos" in Ep., 28, line 6.

422, 20. vinculum adamantinum See note at p. 240, line 25 above.

422, 20-21. Iam... abrumpere Cf. p. 403, lines 12-13 above, with note.

423, 3. Mors omnibus parata est Otto, 1141; *Nachträge*, pp. 110-111, 188, and 240. Cf. Erasmus, *De conscr. ep.*, ASD I.2, p. 455, lines 17-18; p. 455, lines 20-21, with note.

423, 11-15. non solet... vxorem habuit Cf. *Coll.*, ASD I.3 (1972), p. 245, lines 447-448: "Saepe nostro vitio malae sunt vxores, vel quia tales deligimus, vel quia tales reddimus, vel quia non, vt oportet, formamus et instituimus".

423, 19-20. haec veneno sustulit Erasmus may well have been thinking of Livia Iulia. Persuaded by her lover Seianus, she poisoned her husband Drusus, Emperor Tiberius's son. For the sordid tale see Suet., *Tib.*, 62, 1. The exemplum is singled out in the anti-feminist tract "Dissuasio Valerii ad Ruffinum philosophum ne vxorem ducat", widely attributed to St. Jerome in the later Middle Ages. See Walter Map, *De nugis curialium. Courtiers' Trifles*, ed. and trans. by M. R. James, revised by C. N. L. Brooke and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1983), p. 304.

423, 20. illa... adegit Cf. p. 431, lines 12-13 below. For the phrase "ad mortem adegit" see Tac., *Ann.*, 12, 22.

424, 5. Rara... auis in terris Iuv., 6, 165 (a good woman is hard to find). Cf. Hier., *Adv. Iovin.*, 1, 47, *PL* 23, 278 A: "bona... et suavis vxor... rara auis est"; Otto, 232; *Nachträge*, pp. 53, 70, 97, 139, and 233.

424, 6. Mulier... bona, pars bona Cf. *Sirach*, 26, 3: "Pars bona mulier bona"; Erasmus, *Inst. christ. matrim.*, LB V, 655 A: "Confirmat Syrach, quod dixit Solomon: *Pars bona, mulier bona*.... Sed quid prae-

dicat nobis Ecclesiasticus? 'Cui contigit vxor bona, partem bonam sortitus est'"; *Coll.*, ASD I.3 (1972), p. 245, lines 444-446 (where the source reference needs to be corrected also): "Magis aridet quod ait sapiens Hebraeus, ei bonam sortem obtigisse, cui obtigit vxor bona". The translation in *CWE* 25, p. 142 should thus be changed from "A good woman is a good inheritance" to "A good wife is a great blessing" (*RSV*).

424, 8-9. compedes The image comes from Sen., *Rem. fort.*, 16, 2 (quoted at p. 430, line 28 - p. 431, line 1 below and in *Adag.*, 1325): "'Vxorem bonam ac decoram perdidit'. Stulti est compedes suas quamuis aureas amare". For the topos of marriage as servitude cf. Cic., *Parad.*, 36; Iuv., 6, 43: "stulta maritali iam porrigit ora capistro"; Hier., *Adv. Iovin.*, 1, 47, *PL* 23, 277 B, arguing against marriage: "Si totam domum regendam ei commiseris, seruiendum est"; Erasmus, *De contemptu mundi*, ASD V.1 (1977), p. 50, lines 273-274; p. 64, lines 663-699; *Moria*, ASD IV.3 (1979), p. 80, line 161: "matrimonii capistro"; *Coll.*, ASD I. 3 (1972), p. 286, line 318: "Vulgus coniugium capistrum vocat". See also p. 430, line 6 below.

424, 13-425, 2. At vereris... simus orbi Cf. p. 376, lines 2-4 above.

425, 5. E vita migret Cf. p. 352, line 8 above, with note.

425, 6-7. mors haec... dicenda Cf. the heading to Aug., *Civ.*, 13, 10: "An vita mortalium mors potius quam vita dicenda sit"; *Enarr. in Ps.*, 118, sermo 19, 4, *PL* 37, 1555 (comparing human life with life eternal): "mors potius sit appellanda quam vita"; *Serm.*, 346, 1, *PL* 39, 1522: "Vita haec mors verius quam vita.... Nam ista vita mortalis, in qua nunc sumus, ex illius vitae comparatione mors esse conuincitur"; Innoc., *Miseria*, 1, 22: "nichil est vita mortalis nisi mors viuens"; Erasmus, *Moria*, ASD IV. 3 (1979), p. 104, lines 608-609: "vita haec nihil aliud sit quam mors quaedam"; *Enarrat. in Ps.*, 33, ASD V.3 (1986), p. 143, line 845: "mors verius est quam vita". Cf. further p. 450, lines 14-15 and p. 453, lines 22-23 below, with notes.

425, 19-426, 2. Xerxen... superfuturus esset For this story cf. also Sen., *Dial.*, 10, 17, 2 (without mention of Xerxes' name or the high vantage point): "Cum per magna camporum spatia porrigeret exercitum nec numerum eius sed mensuram comprehenderet Persarum rex insolentissimus, lacrimas profudit, quod intra centum annos nemo ex tanta iuuentute superfuturus esset". Erasmus's immediate source, however, was Hier., *Epist.*, 60, 18: "Xerxes, ille rex potentissimus..., cum de sublimi loco infinitam hominum multitudinem et innumerabilem vidisset exercitum, flesse dicitur, quod post centum annos nullus eorum quos tunc

cernebat superfuturus esset". Erasmus writes "post annos sexaginta" in line 1 (rather than the expected "post centum annos") to avoid repeating himself at p. 426, line 4, where he also has "post centum annos".

426, 8. Phaetonteum... incendium Cf. Ov., *Met.*, 4, 246: "Phaethonteos... ignes".

426, 10. noctes diesque See *Adag.*, 324; p. 363, line 19 above.

426, 20. e terra,... e duris arborum truncis Cf. Iuv., 6, 11-13.

e terra In *Libellus nouus et elegans* (Basel, 1529), p. 168, as well as in the 1534-edition (*F*) Erasmus added parenthetically, "veluti mures in Aegypto". This phrase does not refer to some biblical plague, as is suggested in *CWE* 26, p. 534 (note 103 to p. 143), but to the ancient belief that mice arose from the earth, especially the mud of the river Nile. See Diod., 1, 10, 2; Plin., *Nat.*, 9, 179; cf. Ov., *Met.*, 1, 422-429.

e... truncis See also Hom., *Od.*, 19, 163; Verg., *Aen.*, 8, 315.

427, 13. glandes Acorns were traditionally the staple food of primitive humanity. See Lucr., 5, 939-940; Ov., *Fast.*, 4, 395-402; Iuv., 6, 10; 13, 57; 14, 184; Otto, 762; Erasmus, *Adag.*, 2227, ASD II.5 (1981), p. 203, lines 949-953.

428, 5. Hippolyti... imitari *Adag.*, 2565: "Hippolytum imitabor"; cf. Otto, 810.

428, 32. mille morbis, mille casibus Cf. *Carm.*, 95, 77: "Mille neces circum et morbi genus omne tremendi"; *De contemptu mundi*, ASD V.1 (1977), p. 54, line 411: "Mille morborum nomina, mille item mortis casus".

429, 17-20. Incommoda vero... neganda Cf. *De contemptu mundi*, ASD V.1 (1977), p. 50, lines 266-276, with a brief dissuasion from marriage; also cf. ASD V.1 (1977), p. 64, lines 663-699.

430, 6. seruitutem For the topos of marriage as servitude see note at p. 424, lines 8-9 above.

430, 19-22. si formosa... procax esset Cf. p. 371, lines 4-6 above, with note.

430, 27-28. Sin ames... et caetera Erasmus alludes to Ter., *Eun.*, 59-61: "in amore haec omnia insunt vitia: iniuriae, / suspiciones, inimicitiae, indutiae, / bellum, pax rursum".

430, 28. compedes Cf. p. 424, lines 8-9 above, with note.

431, 3. plena fastidii... habens Cf. *De contemptu mundi*, ASD V.1 (1977), p. 74, lines 971-972: "fastidii plenae, plus aloes quam mellis habentes". For the expression "plus aloes quam mellis" see note at p. 251, line 7 above.

431, 6-7. voluptatem... dixere See Gell., 19, 2, 8 (= Macr., *Sat.*, 2, 8, 16): "Hippocrates autem... de coitu venerio ita existimabat, partem esse quandam morbi taeterrimi, quem nostri 'comitiales' dixerunt"; Ficino, *De vita*, 1, 7, lines 16-17 (p. 122): "Hippocrates coitum comitali morbo similem iudicauit,... quia mentem, quae sacra est, percutit".

431, 7-8. Nulla res... senium Cf. p. 251, lines 11-13 above, with note.

431, 12-13. Vxorem... adigat Cf. p. 423, line 20 above, with note.

432, 1. Non posse... vacare Cf. Hier., *Adv. Iovin.*, 1, 47, *PL* 23, 276 C: "Non est... vxor ducenda sapienti. Primum enim impediri studia philosophiae: nec posse quemquam libris et vxori pariter inseruire"; 1, 48, *PL* 23, 278 C: "Cicero rogatus ab Hirtio, vt post repudium Terentiae sororem eius duceret, omnino facere supersedit, dicens non posse se vxori et philosophiae pariter operam dare". Also cf. p. 415, line 9 above.

432, 11-12. Et hic... corpus Cf. *De pueris*, ASD I.2, p. 25, lines 8-10 and p. 26, line 24 - p. 27, line 2.

432, 22. vulnus... exulceremus Cf. *Adag.*, 580: "Refricare cicatricem."

432, 23. triplex... ratio tractandae consolationis Cf. Cic., *Tusc.*, 3, 34, where Cicero outlines three arguments of consolation ("triplici consolatione") [Sm]. In *CWE* 26, pp. 534-535 (note 1 to p. 148) Erasmus's "threefold method" of consolation is explained as the "direct, indirect, and humorous" approach exemplified in the subsequent pages of Erasmus's treatise. This is incorrect. Erasmus means (a) the straightforward method, explained at p. 432, line 23 - p. 433, line 1; (b) the discreet method, explained at p. 433, line 1 - p. 434, line 11; and (c) the extenuating method, explained at p. 434, line 12 - p. 435, line 7.

432, 24-26. viro sapienti... a seipso Cf. Sen., *Dial.*, 2, 7, 2 [Sm]: "Non est... fortior nequitia virtute: non potest ergo laedi sapiens".

433, 11. fortunae procellis See note at p. 237, line 7 above.

433, 14-15. fortiter ferat... potest Cf. *Adag.*, 214: "Feras, non culpes, quod vitari non potest"; p. 455, line 17 below, with note.

433, 20-26. Siquidem... imaginationem Cf. *Ciceron.*, ASD I.2, p. 606, line 25 - p. 607, line 6; *Eccles.*, ASD V.4 (1991), p. 332, lines 146-154.

434, 18-19. quemadmodum... coniuncta sunt Cf. *Lingua*, ASD IV.1A (1989), p. 145, lines 930-931: "veluti prouerbio dicitur iucundam esse malorum actorum commemorationem"; *Coll.*, ASD I.3 (1972), p. 564, lines 91-92: "Est et anteactorum malorum iuxta prouerbium

iucunda recordatio". Erasmus is not alluding to some passage in Aristotle's *De anima* or *Ethica Nicomachea*, as is suggested in ASD and CWE, but to Arist., *Rhet.*, 1, 11, 8 (also mentioned in Erasmus, *Adag.*, 1243). The thought was proverbial; see Otto, 889; Erasmus, *Adag.*, 1243; 3827.

434, 26-27. Nihil autem... recordatio See Cic., *Tusc.*, 3, 34 [Sm], also used at p. 432, line 23 above: "nihil est enim quod tam optundat eleuetque aegritudinem quam perpetua in omni vita cogitatio nihil esse quod non accidere possit, quam meditatio condicionis humanae, quam vitae lex commentatioque parendi, quae non hoc adfert, vt semper maereamus, sed vt numquam".

435, 14-15. societas miseriam leuat Cf. Sen., *Benef.*, 4, 18, 3: "societas... solacia contra dolores dedit"; Walther, 29943 (with further references): "Solamen miseris socios habuisse malorum".

435, 26. fortunae flatus For the image see Cic., *Off.*, 2, 19; Val. Max., 6, 9, ext. 7. Cf. p. 237, line 7 above, with note: "fortunae procella".

435, 29. saxeo pectore Cf. p. 411, lines 8-9 above, with note.

435, 31-436, 1. Quis tantum... teneretur Cf. *Carm.*, 64, 62-64. For the phrase "obliuionis ex illo Letheo flumine bibit" cf. Otto, 943; Erasmus, *De contemptu mundi*, ASD V.1 (1977), p. 53, line 363.

436, 17. sursum ac deorsum Cf. Otto, 1716; *Nachträge*, pp. 64, 80, 118, 216, and 288; Erasmus, *Adag.*, 285.

437, 12 memorem ... moneri See note at p. 533, line 11 below.

437, 13-14. hominis... sitam For the philosophical commonplace that happiness resides within us see, for example, Sen., *Dial.*, 1, 6, 5; 2, 5, 4; *Epist.*, 9, 20-22; Boeth., *Cons.*, 2, 4, 22.

437, 19. Tua te virtute inuoluas oportet Cf. Hor., *Carm.*, 3, 29, 53-55, in similar context (fortitude when facing the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune): "Laudo manentem [sc. Fortunam]: si celeres quatit / Pinnas, resigno quae dedit et mea / Virtute me inuoluo probamque / Pauperiem sine dote quaero".

437, 25-27. Socrates... malles Cf. p. 237, lines 1-3 above, with note.

438, 4-5. Darius... dicebat See Plut., *Mor.*, 172 F and 792 C; Erasmus, *Apophth.*, 5, Darius, 4, LB IV, 229 F.

438, 6-8. Num Herculis... obiecisset Cf. p. 337, lines 3-9 above, with note.

438, 8-10. Vlysem... puto See note at p. 337, lines 1-3 above.

438, 13. Claudium A sidenote in the early editions explains that we are dealing with an "Exemplum confictum". Attempts to identify Claudius with some ancient or modern figure would thus appear to be misguided.

438, 22-23. Hac enim... subiaceamus Erasmus imitates Cic., *Fam.*, 5, 16, 2 (also paraphrased at p. 456, lines 2-3 below): "Est autem consolatio peruulgata quidem illa maxime, quam semper in ore atque in animo habere debemus, homines nos vt esse meminerimus ea lege natos, vt omnibus telis fortunae proposita sit vita nostra...".

438, 24-439, 1. laeta miscere tristibus Cf. Ov., *Fast.*, 6, 463: "interdum miscentur tristia laetis"; Walther, 14913: "Miscentur tristia letis"; Erasmus, *Carm.*, 105, 43.

440, 3. Vbicunque bene sumus, in patria sumus See Otto, 1356.

440, 14-19. At saeuiente... discedunt Cf. p. 395, lines 6-10 above.

441, 13-455, 27. Quam acerbum... filius This consolation is deeply indebted to ancient models, particularly Sen., *Dial.*, 6 ("Ad Marciam de consolatione") and Plutarch, *Consolatio ad Apollonium*. There are also verbal borrowings from Val. Max., 5, 10 and Hier., *Epist.*, 60 (a model to which Erasmus explicitly refers in *Orat. funebr. Bert. de Heyen*, LB VIII, 553 D).

442, 5. fortunae telum Cic., *Pis.*, 43; *Fam.*, 5, 16, 2 (quoted at p. 456, line 3 below); Erasmus, *Carm.*, 105, 88; Ep., 152, line 49.

442, 16-17. hac se lege... emigrandum Cf. Sen., *Dial.*, 6, 10, 5: "Si mortuum tibi filium doles, eius temporis quo natus est crimen est: mors enim illi denuntiata nascenti est. In hanc legem erat datus, hoc illum fatum ab vtero statim prosequatur"; Erasmus, *De praep. ad mort.*, ASD V.1 (1977), p. 342, lines 63-64: "Vitam gratis accepimus a Domino, sed hac lege, vt omni momento reddamus reposcenti".

442, 17-18. qui mortem... deflet Cf. Sen., *Rem. fort.*, 13, 1: "Stultus es, qui defles mortem mortalium".

442, 18. cur potius... natiuitatem Cf. Sen., *Rem. fort.*, 13, 9: "Si fleturus eras morientem, et nascentem flasses".

442, 19-443, 1. Perinde... dimitti For the metaphor of "leaving the banquet of life" see Lucr., 3, 938; 3, 959-960; Cic., *Tusc.*, 5, 118; Hor., *Sat.*, 1, 1, 118-119; Plut., *Mor.*, 120 B, *Consolatio ad Apollonium*, 34.

443, 1-2. si quis velut e sublimi specula The same words occur in *Moria*, ASD IV.3 (1979), p. 106, line 655. Cf. *Adag.*, 3295: "Velut e specula".

443, 4. densa senum ac iuuenum funera Cf. Hor., *Carm.*, 1, 28, 19: "Mixta senum ac iuuenum densentur funera". Erasmus quotes Horace's verse in *De contemptu mundi*, ASD V.1 (1977), p. 53, line 371.

443, 16-17. malum malo addere Cf. Otto, 1018; *Nachträge*, pp. 59, 182, and 240.

444, 4. *Mimus ille nobilis* Ep., 109, lines 9-10, likewise referring to Publilius Syrus.

444, 4-5. *Feras... non potest* Cf. p. 455, line 17 below, with note.

444, 14-15. *marmor... adamas* Cf. Otto, 17, 910, 1593, 1610, and 1645; also cf. p. 411, lines 8-9 above, with note. For the old belief that diamond can be softened with goat's blood see Plin., *Nat.*, 20, 2; Isid., *Orig.*, 16, 13, 2.

445, 1-446, 5. *Iam vero... monitorum* This section closely follows Plut., *Mor.*, 118 D-119 D, *Consolatio ad Apollonium*, 33, which recounts the examples of Anaxagoras, Pericles, Xenophon, Dion of Syracuse, Demosthenes, and Antigonus Gonatas.

445, 4-447, 15. *Nunc tibi... fleuit pater* Cf. *Orat. funebr. Bert. de Heyen*, LB VIII, 558 B-D.

445, 6-12. *Succurrat... cognouit* Erasmus takes some of his wording from Val. Max., 5, 10, ext. 1-2.

446, 5-447, 19. *Quod si... peperit* The Roman examples of Stoic fortitude in the face of death in the family are taken largely from Sen., *Dial.*, 6, 12, 6-16, 3; a few come from Val. Max., 5, 10, 1-3 (Horatius Pulvillus, Aemilius Paulus, Marcius Rex) and from Hier., *Epist.*, 60, 5, with verbal borrowings from each.

447, 12-13. *eum... quem et genuerat et adoptauerat* The source is Sen., *Dial.*, 6, 15, 3: "Ti. Caesar et quem genuerat et quem adoptauerat amisit: ipse tamen pro rostris laudauit filium...". Seneca refers to the Emperor Tiberius (Ti. Claudius Nero before his adoption), who lost both his son Drusus the Younger (in 23 AD) and his adopted son Germanicus (in 19 AD). Erasmus, however, garbles this account, for he has Tiberius eulogize "the son, whom he had both begotten and adopted"!

448, 3-449, 2. *Intantum... cognominarent* This passage is taken from Plut., *Mor.*, 103 F-104 C, *Consolatio ad Apollonium*, 6, which in its turn quotes from Euripides' *Ino* (with the comments of Demetrius of Phalerum) and Pindar, *Pyth.*, 8, 135.

448, 9. *gratulabitur* Cf. *Orat. funebr. Bert. de Heyen*, LB VIII, 559 D-560 A; *Carm.*, 71, 14; 72, 3; Ep., 1027, lines 6-8; also cf. p. 453, line 15 - p. 454, line 5 below.

448, 12. *punctum* Cf. also Otto, 1489; *Nachträge*, pp. 63, 116, and 204; Erasmus, *De praep. ad mort.*, ASD V.1 (1977), p. 354, line 316.

449, 2-3. *prima pars... putatur* Erasmus often remarks that the first part of life is the best and happiest. See note at *Carm.*, 2, 71.

449, 5-6. illam Sileni... aboleri Cf. Cic., *Tusc.*, 1, 114: "non nasci homini longe optimum esse, proximum autem quam primum mori"; Plin., *Nat.*, 7, 4: "non nasci optimum... aut quam ocissime aboleri"; Plut., *Mor.*, 115 E, *Consolatio ad Apollonium*, 27; Erasmus, *Adag.*, 1249.

449, 9. Hegesias Besides Cic., *Tusc.*, 1, 83, see Val. Max., 8, 9, ext. 3.

449, 11-450, 6. Ante diem... pertingere Cf. *De contemptu mundi*, ASD V.1 (1977), p. 54, lines 385-390; *Carm.*, 95, 89-94; *Eccles.*, ASD V.5 (1994), p. 48, lines 871-874.

449, 11-12. Ante diem... dignus The model is Plut., *Mor.*, 120 A, *Consolatio ad Apollonium*, 34.

450, 1-3. Alius inter... cunis abripitur Cf. *Hyperasp.*, LB X, 1430 D: "ille mox in cunis moriturus, alius inter vteri materni latebras praefocandus". For the phrase "latebras vteri" see Verg., *Aen.* 2, 38 (of the Trojan horse pregnant with warriors). Erasmus frequently uses this phrase, but always applies it to the womb; see note at *Carm.*, 64, 76.

450, 4-6. Ex tot... pertingere Cf. Cic., *Cato*, 67: "pauci veniunt ad senectutem"; Erasmus, Ep., 867, lines 270-271; *De contemptu mundi*, ASD V.1 (1977), p. 54, lines 397-398; *De pueris*, ASD I.2, p. 24, lines 19-20; *De imm. Dei misericord.*, LB V, 569 C-D; *De praep. ad mort.*, ASD V.1 (1977), p. 342, lines 64-65.

450, 5. senectae limen Erasmus normally uses this Homeric phrase to indicate the transition from the autumn of life to its winter (decrepitude) at about age 55 or 60. See *Adag.*, 1946; *Panegy. ad Philipp.*, ASD IV.1 (1974), p. 30, lines 115-116; cf. Ep., 2260, lines 26-27, where Pieter Gillis at about age 43 is said to be far from the threshold of old age. In *Carm.* 2, 195-196 he uses it to describe age 40 as a first threshold to old age (the transition from the summer to the autumn of life): "in limine primo / Consistimus senectae". In *Apophth.*, 6, 9, LB IV, 304 F he says that a man about to enter the winter of life is "in extremo senectutis limine".

450, 6-8. Hac... exeundum Cf. *De praep. ad mort.*, ASD V.1 (1977), p. 342, lines 63-64: "Vitam gratis accepimus a Domino, sed hac lege, vt omni momento reddamus repositi".

450, 10. imperator Cf. Cic., *Cato*, 73: "vetat... Pythagoras iniussu imperatoris, id est dei, de praesidio et statione vitae decedere".

450, 10-11. Nos si sapimus... operiemur Cf. Walther, 29558b: "Sic viue, tamquam omnis supremus sit dies"; 5826, 5879, 5890, 5959a, 12510, 29540, 29544, 29558, 33935, and 33936. The source is Petrus

Alfonsi, *Disciplina clericalis*, exemplum 28, ed. by Alfons Hilka and Werner Söderhjelm, in *Die Disciplina Clericalis des Petrus Alfonsi (das älteste Novellenbuch des Mittelalters). Kleine Ausgabe* (Heidelberg, 1911), p. 45, lines 6-8: "Et philosophus ait: Operare pro futuro seculo quasi nunc sis moriturus, et pro presenti sicut semper victurus". See further Erasmus, *De contemptu mundi*, ASD V.1 (1977), p. 54, lines 414-415; *Antibarbar.*, ASD I.1 (1969), p. 98, lines 17-18; *De praep. ad mort.*, ASD V.1 (1977), p. 364, lines 594-596.

450, 14-15. Quid enim... cursus Cf. Sen., *Rem. fort.*, 2, 6: "vita ipsa cursus ad mortem seu verius mors quaedam"; Sen., *Dial.*, 11, 11, 2: "tota vita nihil aliud quam ad mortem iter est"; Aug., *Civ.*, 13, 10: "nihil sit aliud tempus vitae huius, quam cursus ad mortem"; Erasmus, *De praep. ad mort.*, ASD V.1 (1977), p. 342, lines 52-53: "Tota haec vita nihil aliud est quam cursus ad mortem". Cf. further *De conscr. ep.*, p. 425, lines 6-7 and p. 453, lines 22-23, with notes.

450, 20-24. Neque... reliquit What matters is not the length of life, but its quality. For this old idea see, for example, *Sap.*, 4, 8-9; Sen., *Epist.*, 22, 17; 77, 20: "Quomodo fabula, sic vita non quam diu, sed quam bene acta sit, refert"; 93, 2; 101, 15; *Benef.*, 5, 17, 6; *Dial.*, 6, 24, 1: "Incipe virtutibus illum, non annis aestimare: satis diu vixit"; Plut., *Mor.*, 111 D, *Consolatio ad Apollonium*, 17. See further Erasmus, *Carm.*, 12, 10; *Parab.*, ASD I.5 (1975), p. 192, line 504; p. 220, line 959; *Inst. princ. christ.*, ASD IV.1 (1974), p. 144, lines 243-245.

450, 22. ἐρώσιον ... ἀπούρης Cf. *Adag.*, 631, ASD II.2 (1998), p. 156, lines 644-645; *Adag.*, 1489, LB II, 578 A; *Adag.*, 2225, ASD II.5 (1981), p. 202, line 920; *Adag.*, 3998, ASD II.8 (1997), p. 268, lines 974-975. Also cf. *Lucianus*, ASD I.1 (1969), p. 421, line 3; *Carm.*, 143, 1.

450, 23. peracta vitae fabula Repeated at p. 455, line 7 below; cf. *De copia*, ASD I.6 (1988), p. 156, line 223; p. 192, line 48; *Adag.*, 135.

451, 2. optimum est... dulcissimum Cf. Sen., *Rem. fort.*, 4, 1: "Optimum est mori, cum iuuat viuere". Cf. p. 455, lines 21-22 below: "tunc optimum est mori, cum viuere est suauius".

451, 3-8. iam patri... subduxit Cf. Sen., *Rem. fort.*, 13, 6: "'Filiam amisi'. Si pium, nihil est iam, quod illi metuas: in tuto est."

451, 11. gaudere, qui talem habueris Cf. Sen., *Rem. fort.*, 13, 7: "'Filiam perdiidi'. Si virtute praeditum, gaude, quod habueris"; p. 455, line 23 below.

452, 7. totum hominem See note at p. 251, line 13 above.

453, 13-14. totum... hominem See note at p. 251, line 13 above.

453, 14. tot huius... imponat The thought that death ends all our afflictions was proverbial; see note at *Carm.*, 2, 170-171.

453, 15. si animum... liberat Cf. Prud., *Perist.*, 5, 357-360: "si mors habenda eiusmodi est / quae corporali ergastulo / mentem resoluit liberam / et reddit auctori Deo". For the image of the body as a penitentiary ("ergastulum") for the soul, see also, for example, Aug., *Civ.*, 11, 23; 12, 27; *Epist.*, 166, 15, *PL* 33, 727.

453, 18-19. ne pilum... perimat Cf. *Carm.*, 9, 8: "Nostris peribit nihil et haud pilus"; *Enarrat. in Ps.*, 1, ASD V.2 (1985), p. 68, line 69: "vestri autem ne pilus quidem capitis peribit"; *De sarc. eccl. concord.*, ASD V.3 (1986), p. 277, lines 673-674; Vulg. *Luc.*, 21, 18; *Act.*, 27, 34.

453, 22-23. huius vitae (si modo vita est appellanda) Cf. Aug., *Civ.*, 13, 10: "vitae huius (si tamen vita dicenda est)"; 22, 22: "haec ipsa vita, si vita dicenda est, tot et tantis malis plena testatur". Also cf. p. 425, lines 6-7 and p. 450, lines 14-15 above, with notes.

454, 3-5. Viuit... damnat Cf. *Orat. funebr. Bert. de Heyen*, LB VIII, 559 D; *Carm.*, 9, 22-23: "viuit ac te cominus / Sentit videtque".

454, 10-12. bona verba Not "let us speak words of good omen", as translated in *CWE* 25, p. 163, but "no more of this" or "enough of this".

455, 7. peracta vitae fabula See p. 450, line 23 above, with note.

455, 14-15. genueras mortalem Cf. p. 445, lines 5-6 above; Sen., *Rem. fort.*, 13, 8: "An non Anaxagoram audieras? an oblitus eras te genuisse mortalem?"; Cic., *Tusc.*, 3, 30; Hier., *Epist.*, 60, 5.

455, 17. Quid prodest... non potest Cf. Publil., *Sent.*, 206 (quoted at p. 444, lines 4-5 above): "Feras, non culpes, quod mutari non potest"; Erasmus, *Adag.*, 214: "Feras, non culpes, quod vitari non potest". Also cf. p. 433, lines 14-15 above; p. 462, line 6 and p. 544, line 4 below.

455, 17-18. quod tibi... commune est Cf. p. 423, line 3 above, with note.

455, 20-21. nullus cuiquam... dies The thought was proverbial. See, for example, Anselmus, *Meditationes*, 7, 1, *PL* 158, 741 A: "Nihil certius morte, nihil hora mortis incertius"; Bernardus, *Epist.*, 105, *PL* 182, 240 C: "Nil mortalibus vel morte certius, vel incertius hora mortis"; 412, *PL* 182, 621 A: "nihil enim certius morte, nihil hora mortis incertius"; *De conuersione ad clericos sermo*, 8, 16, *PL* 182, 843 B: "Quid vero in rebus humanis certius morte, quid hora mortis incertius inuenitur?"; Petrarca, *Secret.*, 1 (p. 380): "nil morte certius, nil hora mortis incertius"; *Secret.*, 3 (p. 409); Walther, 15117: "Mors certa est, incerta

dies”; 15123; 15133; 15134; and elsewhere; Erasmus, *De contemptu mundi*, ASD V.1 (1977), p. 54, line 391; *Enarrat. in Ps.*, 85, ASD V.3 (1986), p. 363, line 934; *De imm. Dei misericord.*, LB V, 569 F; *De praep. ad mort.*, ASD V.1 (1977), p. 364, lines 591-594: “mors... certa,... dies mortis... incertus”. For the idea cf. also Cic., *Cato*, 74: “Moriendum enim certe est, et incertum an hoc ipso die”. See also p. 423, line 3 above.

455, 21-22. In ipso... suauiissimum Cf. p. 451, line 2 above, with note.

455, 23. Optimum... habueris Cf. p. 451, line 11 above, with note.

462, 6. Quorsum... potest Cf. p. 455, line 17 above, with note.

462, 8. Aliis... prodes For this proverbial thought see *Adag.*, 1438: “Aliorum medicus, ipse vlceribus scates”; *Adag.*, 3332.

462, 14. inanes lachrymae Verg., *Aen.*, 10, 465.

462, 18-19. bonum... mali Cf. Plaut., *Pseud.*, 452 (quoted in Erasmus, *Adag.*, 2368): “bonus animus in mala re dimidiumst mali”.

463, 10. extilles lachrymis Cf. Ter., *Phorm.*, 975.

465, 6. lactes... spe Cf. Hier., *Epist.*, 60, 9: “spe lactaueris”; Erasmus, *Ep.*, 139, lines 137-138: “ne me vana spe lactaueris”.

vorsuram fecero Cf. Otto, 994; Erasmus, *Adag.*, 923.

466, 3. magnum telum... necessitas See *Adag.*, 1240; p. 467, line 16 below.

467, 16. durissimum telum necessitas See note at p. 466, line 3 above.

467, 24. ad te... confugio Cf. Verg., *Aen.*, 1, 666: “ad te confugio et supplex tua numina posco”; *Psalm.*, 142, 9: “Ad te confugi”.

468, 10. aperiendum... medelam Cf. Boeth., *Cons.*, 1, 4, 1: “Si operam medicantis exspectas, oportet vulnus detegas”; Erasmus, *Ep.*, 1759, line 2: “Celare suum malum non debet qui remedium expectat”.

468, 23-24. sese ad bonam frugem conuertere Otto, 722; Erasmus, *Adag.*, 3427.

468, 24. quod factum... infectum Cf. Plaut., *Aul.*, 741: “factum est illud: fieri infectum non potest”; Ter., *Phorm.*, 1034: “fieri infectum non potest”; Otto, 627; *Nachträge*, pp. 56, 160, and 270; Erasmus, *Adag.*, 1272; and p. 540, line 27 - p. 541, line 1 below.

469, 8-9. si quid... munificentiae Cf. Cic., *Arch.*, 1: “Si quid est in me ingenii..., aut si qua exercitatio dicendi..., aut si huiusce rei ratio aliqua ab optimarum artium studiis ac disciplina profecta..., earum rerum omnium vel in primis hic A. Licinius fructum a me repetere prope suo iure debet”.

469, 23. cui semel me debeo Cf. Ov., *Epist.*, 9, 15; *Met.*, 2, 643-644; 7, 48; Publil., *Sent.*, 647: "Sanctissimum est meminisse cui te debeas"; Erasmus, *Panegy. ad Philipp.*, ASD IV.1 (1974), p. 35, line 303: "fateor omnia debere me tibi, sed tu te vicissim debes mihi".

470, 1-2. si qua vnquam... respondi Cf. Cic., *Att.*, 14, 13a, 1: "si bonitas tua responderit iudicio meo, quod semper habui de te".

471, 2-472, 23. Tu si... existimatio etc. Notes 23-36 to pp. 177-178 in *CWE* 26, pp. 540-541 all point mistakenly to "*Ad familiares*". Correct these references to: "*Ad Atticum*".

475, 15. perfricui faciem See note at p. 305, line 1 above.

478, 12. Hermannus theologus Erasmus may well have been thinking of his friend and fellow Augustinian canon Willem Hermans. On the title page of his *Sylva odorum*, edited by Erasmus at Paris in 1497, Hermans is styled: "Guielemi Hermani Goudensis, theologi ac poetae clarissimi".

479, 15. sitim Insatiable greed is often likened to burning thirst or to drowsy; see note at *Carm.*, 96, 81.

479, 16-18. quas Proteus... elabendi vias Cf. p. 305, line 3 above, where see note.

479, 23. Midae See note at p. 284, line 8 above.

480, 25. vix ossibus haereat Cf. Verg., *Ecl.* 3, 102: "vix ossibus haerent"; Hier., *Epist.*, 117, 7: "ossibus vix haerentem".

488, 17-24. Quod si... foedius For this argument see, for example, Plin., *Paneg.*, 4, 1; Erasmus, *Ep.*, 179, lines 42-46; 180, lines 39-115; 337, lines 89-91; *Inst. princ. christ.*, ASD IV.1 (1974), pp. 178-179, lines 403-406.

491, 4. Optima... consuetudo The maxim comes from *Rhet. Her.*, 4, 24, a work formerly attributed to Cicero: "Optima viuendi ratio est eligenda; eam iucundam consuetudo reddet".

491, 7. longo rerum... solet Cf. Baptista Mantuanus, *Ecl.*, 4, 190: "senior longo factus prudentior vsu".

491, 15-16. Amicum... amaturus Cf. Otto, 91; Walther, 908: "Ama tanquam osurus, oderis tanquam amaturus"; Erasmus, *Adag.*, 1072; *Ep.*, 83, lines 78-79; *De cop. verb.*, ASD I.6 (1988), p. 260, lines 562-563: "Ama tanquam osurus, oderis tanquam amaturus".

491, 16. officiis certa Cf. Cic., *Fam.*, 7, 31, 1: "relicuum est, vt officiis certemus inter nos".

491, 17. Nemini tua arcana committas Cf. Ps. Cato, 2, 21^a: "Quod tacitum esse vis dicere noli"; Sen., *Mor.*, 16: "Quod tacitum esse velis,

nemini dixeris. si tibi [ipsi] non imperasti, quomodo ab aliis silentium speras?"; Walther, 26064: "Quod tacitum vis esse caue ne dixeris vlli"; Vulg. *Prov.*, 25, 9-10; *Sirach*, 8, 21-22.

491, 20-21. Gloriam... sequentem Cf. Sen., *Benef.*, 5, 1, 4: "gloria fugientes magis sequitur"; Hier., *Epist.*, 108, 3: "Fugiendo gloriam, gloriam merebatur; quae 'virtutem quasi vmbra sequitur', et adpetitores sui deserens, adpetit contemptores". The thought was proverbial; see Otto, 765; Plin., *Epist.*, 1, 8, 14: "Sequi... gloria, non adpeti debet"; cf. also p. 358, lines 20-21 above, with note.

491, 23. Ieiunus stude, aut scribe For this advice see Ficino, *De vita*, 1, 7, lines 26-33 (p. 124) and 1, 11 (pp. 136-138).

492, 2. Cibus sit temperatus Cf. Hier., *Epist.*, 125, 7: "Modicus ac temperatus cibus et carni et animae utilis est".

coena parcius Cf. Hor., *Epist.*, 1, 14, 35: "cena brevis iuuat"; *Flos medicinae*, 321: "Coena brevis, vel coena levis fit raro molesta".

492, 3. potus... sume Cf. Ps. Sen., *Formula*, 4 (p. 242): "Considera tecum quantum natura poscat, non quantum cupiditas expetat"; *Flos medicinae*, 313: "Non bibe ni sitias, et non comedas saturatus"; Ficino, *De vita*, 1, 11, lines 5-6 (p. 136): "Famem (si commode fieri potest) cibus, sitim potus expectet". See also p. 495, line 12 below.

493, 10-12. Satiestate... abhorrentes Cf. Ps. Sen., *Formula*, 2 (p. 240): "Non semper in actu sis, sed interdum animo tuo requiem dato, sed requies ipsa plena sit sapientiae studiis et cogitationibus bonis. Nam prudens numquam otio marcet. Animum aliquando remissum habet, numquam solutum."

493, 15-16. Optima... dediscenda Cf. p. 395, lines 4-5 above, with note.

493, 16-494, 1. Quod in... offenditur Cf. Sen., *Epist.*, 2, 2-4; Petrarca, *Rem.*, 1, 43 (p. 53): "Libri quosdam ad scientiam, quosdam ad insaniam deduxere, dum plus hauriunt quam digerunt: vt stomachis, sic ingeniis nausea saepius nocuit quam fames".

494, 3-4. non quam... refert Cf. Sen., *Epist.*, 45, 1: "Non refert, quam multos [libros], sed quam bonos habeas".

494, 7. Plinio Secundo See Plin., *Epist.*, 9, 36 [Sm].

495, 8-10. Nocturnas... offendunt For the idea that nocturnal studying is a serious threat to mind and body see Ficino, *De vita*, 1, 7, lines 34-119 (pp. 124-128); Erasmus, *Coll.*, ASD I.3 (1972), p. 641, lines 158-164.

495, 10. Aurora Musis amica est The phrase became proverbial; see Walther, 1815a. For the thought cf. Ficino, *De vita*, 1, 8, lines 1-3 (p. 128): "ferme iam satis constat opportune nostra nos studia exordiri vel

statim oriente sole, vel hora vna saltem vel duabus ad summum ante solis exortum”.

495, 10-11. Pransus... deambula Cf. *Flos medicinae*, 368: “Post coenam stabis aut passus mille meabis”; Ficino, *De vita*, 1, 11, lines 37-38 (p. 138): “Sumpto cibo statim modice deambulandum, mox vero sedendum”; Heinrich Bebel, *Proverbia Germanica*, ed. by Willem H. D. Suringar (Leiden, 1879 = repr. Hildesheim, 1969), no. 593, explaining the phrase “i vel sta paste” in *Flos medicinae*, 209: “postquam comederis, sta vel ambula”.

495, 12. Cibi... sumito Cf. p. 492, line 3 above, with note.

495, 15-496, 1. Plinianum... impertias Cf. Ep., 126, lines 12-14.

496, 10-497, 1. a calce... redibis Cf. *Adag.*, 137, especially ASD II.1 (1993), p. 252, line 930: “a calce ad caput recurrere”.

497, 6-8. Si quid... apposito Cf. Ep., 283, lines 129-130, commending a poem by Andrea Ammonio: “Sunt et alia permulta digna quae notentur asteriscis”.

498, 16. Secreta studia... laudantur Cf. Quint., *Inst.*, 2, 18, 4: “nam est aliquis ac nescio an maximus etiam ex secretis studiis fructus ac tum pura voluptas litterarum, cum ab actu, id est opera recesserunt et contemplatione sui fruuntur”.

498, 18-19. Experiamur... imitati See Plat., *Theaet.*, 149 A-151 E (especially 151 E).

500, 1. vultum componito Plin., *Epist.*, 2, 20, 3.

501, 1-2. Semper tibi proximus esto Ps. Cato, 1, 40.

501, 3. arripienda est occasio Cf. Hor., *Epod.*, 13, 3-4: “rapiamus... Occasionem”; Hier., *Epist.*, 54, 6: “Arripe, quaeso, occasionem”; Otto, 1262; *Nachträge*, pp. 77 and 194; Erasmus, *Adag.*, 670, especially ASD II.2 (1998), p. 196, line 500: “occasionem arripere”.

501, 22. enatare nudos Cf. Sen., *Rem. fort.*, 14, 1: “‘Naufragium feci.’ Cogita non quid perdideris sed quod euaseris. ‘Nudus exii.’ Sed existi”; Erasmus, *De contemptu mundi*, ASD V.1 (1977), p. 42, line 54 (from a shipwreck): “nudus euasi”.

503, 8. sero sapias Cf. *Adag.*, 1474, LB II, 574 B, quoting from a now-lost epigram of Erasmus: “Vel sero sapiemus”; *Enchir.*, LB V, 57 F: “Cogita,... quam sero sapuerint, quam sero coeperint odisse sua mortifera gaudia”; p. 227, line 18 above. Cf. further Otto, 1410: “Sero sapiunt Phryges”; Erasmus, *Adag.*, 28; *Carm.*, 2, 172-173.

508, 17. indolis... specimen Plin., *Epist.*, 2, 7, 4; 3, 11, 5.

508, 18. occultae musices Cf. Suet., *Nero*, 20, 1 (quoted in Erasmus, *Adag.*, 684): “occultae musicae nullum esse respectum”.

517, 23-24. Irato genio, diis iratis Cf. Pers., 4, 27: “dis iratis genioque sinistro”; Erasmus, *Adag.*, 72; also cf. p. 555, line 12 below: “irati dii”; p. 556, line 11 below: “superis... iratis”.

517, 24. mente laeua See *Adag.*, 2815.

519, 1-2. Pallebat... amator Pallor is a conventional symptom of love-sickness. See, for example, Tib., 1, 8, 52; Hor., *Carm.*, 3, 10, 14; Ov., *Ars*, 1, 729.

519, 20. Nihil... sacrum illi fuisse Cf. *Carm.*, 119, 14: “Nihil illi erat sacrum”.

519, 24-25. pro summis... reddidit Cf. p. 345, lines 2-3 above, where see note.

521, 21-22. fac me... leues Cf. p. 524, lines 23-24 below; Plin., *Epist.*, 3, 17, 2 (in similar context) and 6, 8, 7: “exime hunc mihi scrupulum”.

523, 25. Brutianum laconismum Cf. Cic., *Fam.*, 11, 25, 2; Erasmus, *Adag.*, 1949, ASD II.4 (1987), p. 306, lines 579-580: “M. Tullius aliquando iocatur in Laconismum Bruti”.

524, 21-22. Quid enim... prodere Cf. *Sirach*, 27, 17: “Qui denudat arcana amici fidem perdit”. (Note that the phrase “amici fidem” in the biblical verse also occurs in the preceding sentence of Erasmus’s text.)

525, 4. Tantus... iniuria Cf. Cic., *Att.*, 2, 21, 4: “tantus fuit amor, vt exhauriri nulla posset iniuria”.

528, 7. Θεῖον ... τιμή A note in *CWE* 26, p. 548 (note 15 to p. 216) observes that this phrase “differs from the Homeric phrase quoted by Cicero” in *Att.*, 1, 1, 4. It is true that modern editions, following certain manuscripts, quote Hom., *Il.*, 22, 159. But other manuscripts and some early editions (Venice and Rome, 1470) omit the Greek altogether, while the edition printed at Paris by Badius Ascensius in 1521-1522 (presumably also his 1511-edition) offers the text as quoted here by Erasmus.

531, 5-6. Quare... literarum Quoted from Cic., *Fam.*, 16, 25 (where “epistularum” instead of “literarum”).

531, 17. ne pilo quidem See *Adag.*, 704.

532, 17. hominis monstrum See note at p. 245, line 8 above.

533, 2-3. pro summis... reposueris Cf. p. 345, lines 2-3 above, with note.

533, 11. narrare memori Cf. Otto, 1090; *Nachträge*, pp. 60, 240, and 280; Erasmus, *Adag.*, 112; p. 437, line 12 above: “memorem... moneri”.

533, 13-14. Scis post ipse quam... suscepim In this sentence "post" is an adverb, not a conjunction with "quam". Note that "post" does not occur at this point in Siberch's text (Cambridge, 1521), but was first inserted in the 1522-edition (A). Hence the translation in *CWE* (p. 219) should be corrected from "You know what labours, what vigils I underwent for your sake after taking you in like a brother" to "Besides, you yourself know how I took you in like a brother, what labours and vigils I underwent for your sake."

533, 20. puer pulchellus The ironic phrase comes from Cic., *De orat.*, 2, 262 and *Att.*, 1, 16, 10. Cf. p. 291, line 16 above, of a deformed old man: "formosum puellum".

bos ad palaestram exercendus Cf. Hier., *Epist.*, 57, 12 (quoted in Erasmus, *Adag.*, 362): "oleum perdit et inpensas qui bouem mittit ad ceroma"; Erasmus, *Ep.*, 61, lines 199-200 (also referring to the Scottish guardian): "quod asino cum lyra,... boui cum palaestra".

534, 3-4. frontis perfrictae Cf. p. 305, line 1 above, with note.

535, 16-17. contumeliis oneras Cic., *Phil.*, 2, 99.

535, 18. Desperatis... medicinam Cic., *Att.*, 16, 15, 5.

540, 27-541, 1. quod factum... potest See *Adag.*, 1272; cf. p. 468, line 24 above, with note.

542, 5-6. nihil tam... temperetur Cf. Hor., *Carm.*, 2, 16, 27-28.

542, 10. ille gurgis, ille helluo Cf. Cic., *Pis.*, 41: "ille gurgis atque helluo".

542, 12. funigerorum Not "undertaker", as explained in ASD and translated in *CWE* 25, p. 226, but "Cordelier", "Franciscan friar" [IJ]. Cf., for example, *Moria*, ASD IV.3 (1979), p. 160, lines 553-554; René Hoven, *Lexique de la prose latine de la Renaissance* (Leiden, 1994), s.v. In John Siberch's unauthorized version (Cambridge, 1521, sig. T1^r) the reading is "Cordigerorum".

544, 3-4. Sic... temperat See *Adag.*, 663; 766, ASD II.2 (1998), p. 290, lines 164-169; *Ep.*, 2192, lines 3-6; 3089, lines 8-9; *Carm.*, 64, 95-96. For the phrasing cf. also Hor., *Carm.*, 1, 12, 14-16.

544, 4. Aeque animo... non potest See note at p. 455, line 17, above.

546, 20-21. vereor... acerba Erasmus adapts Cic., *Att.*, 3, 17, 3: "caue vereri ne aut diligentia tua mihi molesta aut veritas acerba sit".

548, 4-5. Sed heus... oportuit Cf. p. 296, lines 16-17 above, with note.

551, 15. et vti et abuti Cf. *Rhet. Her.*, 4, 39: "Vos me vestro quo pacto vobis videbitur vtamini atque abutamini licebit"; p. 577, line 23 below: "qua possis... vel vti vel abuti".

555, 2-4. Inter... adimere Erasmus paraphrases Plin., *Epist.*, 8, 16, 5, quoted at p. 560, lines 23-24 below.

555, 12. irati dii See note at p. 517, lines 23-24 above.

556, 2-3. His tantis... poterat Cf. Otto, 801.

556, 11. superis... iratis See note at p. 517, lines 23-24 above.

556, 15. Polycrates Polycrates of Samos was celebrated for his good fortune and hence called "felix". See Cic., *Fin.*, 5, 92; Erasmus, *Carm.*, 7, 24, with note.

558, 16-19. Quam ob rem... non erit According to the commentary in ASD, Erasmus's text differs somewhat from that in Cic., *Att.*, 11, 25, 1. In point of fact, he quotes Cicero exactly — not, of course, from a modern edition, but from a Renaissance edition such as the one published at Venice in 1470 or at Paris in 1521-1522 (presumably also the 1511-edition). There one will find the reading "pristinum hoc officium" now banished from Cicero's text.

558, 20. Quid... fiam Cf. Ter., *Hec.*, 300.

560, 23-24. Est enim ... vel venia See note at p. 555, lines 2-4 above.

561, 15. caeco fauore fortunae See note at p. 249, line 18 above.

561, 23. bonis auibus See *Adag.*, 75.

561, 30-31. cum onere honor A variation on the proverbial "Onus est honos". See Otto, 828; *Nachträge*, pp. 58, 74, 105, 171-172, 238, and 273. Cf. p. 563, line 7 and p. 565, line 8 below.

562, 14-563, 11. Incredibilem... Vale Both ASD and *CWE* surmise that this letter may refer to the elevation of Adrian of Utrecht to the cardinalate on 1 July 1517. This identification is impossible, since the letter already appears in Siberch's edition. In that version, which goes back to the late 1490s, the addressee is congratulated on being named to a bishopric in Great Britain.

563, 7. onus, haud honorem See note at p. 561, lines 30-31 above.

564, 23-24. prae gaudio vix me capio Cf. *Carm.*, 42, 54 (referring to the Virgin at Jesus's birth): "sese non capit".

565, 8. onus, non honorem See note at p. 561, lines 30-31 above.

565, 23-25. Ego... respondet Erasmus closely follows Cic., *Fam.*, 2, 1, 2.

566, 2-7. O diem... cum laude Cf. *Carm.*, 64, lines 3-5 and 9.

566, 4. vnione For the motif of marking the return of a beloved person with a pearl see Mart., 8, 45, 1-2; 11, 36, 1-2; Erasmus, *Panegy. ad Philipp.*, ASD IV.1 (1974), p. 84, lines 911-912. The Thracian custom of

marking propitious days with a white stone, unlucky days with a black one, was proverbial. See Otto, 299; Erasmus, *Adag.*, 454, ASD II.1 (1993), p. 528, lines 238-248; Ep., 17, lines 27-29; *Declamatiuncula*, LB IV, 623 B; *Carm.*, 110, 161-162.

nota Hor., *Carm.*, 1, 36, 10 (quoted in Erasmus, *Adag.*, 454): "Cressa ne careat pulchra dies nota"; Erasmus, *Carm.*, 64, 5.

566, 8. terque quaterque laetum Cf. Verg., *Aen.*, 1, 94; Hor., *Carm.*, 1, 13, 17; Prud., *Perist.*, 2, 529-530; Erasmus, *Carm.*, 1, 83-84. Cf. further *Adag.*, 1805; *Carm.*, 6, 58; 88, 29-30; 110, 14; p. 288, line 5 above.

566, 15. Ioannem Campanum Cf. Ep., 61, line 144: "Campanus, homo lepori iocisque natus".

566, 16-17. Argutius iocatur Ausonius In *CWE* 25, p. 245 this sentence is taken to mean: "Ausonius was too clever in his jokes". But Erasmus, who admired Ausonius and often quotes him in the *Adagia*, is not at all critical of him here. He intends to contrast Ausonius's clever wit with Campano's uninhibited, almost scurrilous humor. Translate: "Ausonius's jokes are wittier".

568, 2-3. Quin et... et hic This sentence is translated in *CWE* 25, p. 246 as: "But he [*sc.* Poliziano] is very much of an Ausonius in joking. So, too, is Guillaume Budé, who proves himself a Frenchman even in this." The sense, however, is: "Another one much given to joking is Ausonius. So is Guillaume Budé, he too a Frenchman."

569, 18-21. Mihi... retinuisti The passage is taken from Cic., *Fam.*, 1, 7, 3.

569, 26 omnibus numeris absolutum See p. 363, line 18 above.

572, 21. sese mutuis laudibus quasi scabant Cf. *Adag.*, 696: "Mutuum muli scabunt".

577, 23. vel vti vel abuti Cf. p. 551, line 15 above, with note.

578, 14-15. Hoc tibi... defuturum Taken from Cic., *Fam.*, 10, 11, 3 (where "mi Cicero" and "defuturam").

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LA POLÉMICA ARIAS MONTANO-WILHELMUS LINDANUS:
UN NUEVO DOCUMENTO (AGR I 115, N° 3714)*

Entre el escaso pero curioso material sobre Benito Arias Montano (1527-1598) conservado en los Archives Générales du Royaume / Algemeen Rijksarchief de Bruselas, se encuentra un billete autógrafo del humanista español dirigido a quien fue su más pertinaz émulo en los Países Bajos, el obispo de Roermond Wilhelm Vander Lindt, Wilhelmus Lindanus (1525-1588) entre los círculos humanistas.¹ A pesar de su brevedad, el interés de esta comunicación me parece incontestable ya que tan sólo se conservan tres cartas más cruzadas entre ambos teólogos, todas anteriores a la que aquí edito; por otra parte, este nuevo docu-

* Este trabajo, que forma parte del proyecto de investigación de la DGICYT PB 96-1514, es resultado de mi estancia de investigación en el *Seminarium Philologiae Humanisticae* de la Universidad Católica de Lovaina. Dicha estancia ha sido subvencionada por la Secretaría de Estado de Universidades, Investigación y Desarrollo (Ministerio de Educación y Cultura), dentro del Subprograma General de Perfeccionamiento de Doctores en el Extranjero (Programa Sectorial de Formación del Profesorado y Perfeccionamiento de Personal Investigador). Dedico este artículo a Rosa María Sánchez Vallejo.

¹ Sobre la biografía de Lindano puede consultarse el trabajo de P. Th. Van Beuningen, *Wilhelmus Lindanus als inquisiteur en bisschop. Bijdrage tot zijn biografie (1525-1576)* (Assen, 1966). Wilhelm Van der Lindt nace en 1525 en Dordrecht y estudia en Lovaina en la década de los 40, siendo uno de los más brillantes alumnos del *Collegium Trilingue*; después reside temporalmente en Francia perfeccionando el griego y el hebreo. Trabajó durante algún tiempo en la universidad creada en Dillingen por el cardenal Otto Truchsess, arzobispo de Augsburgo, para la formación de los clérigos, habiendo alcanzado mientras tanto el doctorado en Teología (1556). Entre 1554 y 1557 enseñó Teología en Dillingen para convertirse en 1557 en canónigo y arcediano del obispado de Utrecht y vicario general de la sede de Leeuwarden. Su extraordinaria eficacia le llevó a ser nombrado Inquisidor de Holanda en 1562 y a ser consagrado obispo de Roermond en 1563, en Bruselas. La revolución y los problemas religiosos le impidieron residir en Roermond durante siete años. En 1578 hizo un viaje a Roma para exponer a Gregorio XIII el estado de los Países Bajos; el pontífice le nombra asistente al trono pontifical. Después de tres meses en Roma, Lindano embarca hacia España, de donde regresa en 1579. En 1584 vuelve a Roma, donde durante el papado de Sixto V se ocupa de estudios filosóficos y de investigaciones de antiguos manuscritos: en 1588 se le llamó a ocupar el obispado de Gante, vacante después de la muerte de Cornelio Jansenio (1575). Lindano fallece el 2 de noviembre de 1588, tres meses después de su nominación.

mento es el único testimonio directo de uno de los episodios más curiosos en la dilatada rivalidad científica y personal que mantuvieron desde principios de los setenta Montano y Lindano. En este artículo elaboro una síntesis de la polémica entre ambos filólogos y, en su lugar correspondiente (3.1) ofrezco la primera edición y traducción de la misiva; como hilo conductor de mi exposición, recorro a la carta de Arias Montano al monje cartujo don Esteban de Salazar,² del 4 de febrero de 1594, donde el bibliista extremeño recapitula, desde la serena perspectiva de sus 67 años, los motivos y la cronología de la disputa.

1. Arias Montano y Guillermo Lindano: orígenes de la polémica (1568-1572)

En los párrafos iniciales de su carta dirigida al monje Esteban de Salazar, casi treinta años después de los inicios de la polémica, Arias Montano comienza su relato con la siguiente aclaración: ‘Yo le suplico atienda a mi testimonio escrito de mi mano, afirmado de mi nombre como hombre que protesto delante de Dios con testimonio verdadero de mi conciencia que nunca tuve rencor ni pasión contra él [Lindano] en el tiempo que vivió, aunque supe cuanto dijo contra mí en Flandes, en Roma, y más en España, donde parece hallaba oídos más a propósito’.³ Las relaciones entre ambos teólogos no fueron malas desde el principio; es más, cuando el proyecto de la Biblia se estaba gestando,⁴ Lindano debía de ser considerado uno de los destacados promotores, al menos si no se había producido ningún cambio sustancial desde el 19 de diciembre de 1566, fecha en la que Plantino comunica a Zayas que ‘tanto más tomo osadía de emprender esta obra, por conocer muchas personas doctas y muy cathólicas y honradas que prometen de assistirme en ello; entre las quales es uno el reverendísimo Lindano, obispo de Ruremunde en Olanda; que [...] me prometió a boca que [...] me daría cient escudos

² Publicada por T. González Carvajal, *Elogio histórico del Doctor Benito Arias Montano*, en *Memorias de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 7 (Madrid, 1832), cols 188-193.

³ Carvajal, *Elogio histórico*, col. 189 [a]; el texto que da Carvajal queda dispuesto en dos columnas por cada página: aquí me refiero a la columna a de la página 189.

⁴ *Biblia Sacra, Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, et Latine, Philippi II Reg[is] Cathol[ici] pietate et studio ad sacrosanctae ecclesiae usum* (Amberes, 1569-1572). Para su completa descripción bibliográfica remitimos a Leon Voet, *The Plantin Press, 1555-1589: A Bibliography of the Works Printed and Published by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp and Leiden*, 6 vols (Amsterdam, 1980-1983), I, 280-315.

en hallando yo manera para emprender la dicha obra. Y que si Su Magestad viniese por acá y él pudiesse gozar de su obispado, emplearía y daría mucha más cantidad para la dicha obra, señalándome que serían hasta quinientos o mill escudos'.⁵ El 14 de noviembre de 1568 Lindano solicita a Montano en una breve carta que consulte para él una lectura del *Eclesiástico* (cap. 16) en los códices griegos procedentes de Roma que se habían reunido para la fijación del texto de la *Políglota*; como prenda de amistad, el obispo hace entregar a Montano un ejemplar de su última obra.⁶

A pesar de estos precedentes cordiales, ya estaban puestos los cimientos de la discordia. Montano debió de conocer pronto y bien la perspectiva filológica de Lindano ante el texto sagrado, pues el obispo de Roermond ya había tomado parte activa en la controversia bíblica de la época con su *De optimo genere interpretandi scripturas* (Colonia 1558),⁷ uno de cuyos 'fundamentos — en palabras de Montano — era el común que tienen los miso-hebreos y suelen afirmar por averiguado [...], que los egemplares hebreos están corruptos. Y para esto, como cosa singular y, como dicen, argumento palmario y testigo más que de vista, citó Lindano un Psalterio, que él llamó anglicano, por incorrupto y muy entero y antiguo, e las demás calidades que él puso, en el cual afirmó estar el "Dicite in gentibus, quia Dominus regnauit a ligno"; y otro verso que decía faltar en los otros egemplares'.⁸

La oportunidad de rebatir los argumentos del teólogo neerlandés se presentó en la edición de la *Biblia Regia*; un trabajo filológico realizado

⁵ B. Macías, *La Políglota de Amberes en la correspondencia de Benito Arias Montano (MS. Estoc. A 902)* (Huelva, 1998), p. 68.

⁶ *Apologeticon libri tres ad Germanos, pro concordia cum catholica Christi Ecclesia, contra nouam protestantium confessionem Augustanam ex Lutherana caluinisantem* (Amberes, 1568-1570); para una completa descripción bibliográfica remitimos a Voet, *The Plantin Press* III, 1339-1340.

⁷ Obra contestada con una apología de 'un doctor catedrático de Colonia', es decir, Juan Isaac (cf. B. Macías, *La Políglota de Amberes*, pp. 304-305). Juan Isaac, o Ytzig, judío de origen y creencias, era rabbi en Wetzlar, pero se convirtió al cristianismo. Durante su primera etapa lovaniense produce *De Hebraeorum grammatica liber, methodo dilucida admodum ac facili* (Lovaina, 1552), copia de los preceptos aprendidos de su tutor Andrés van Gennepe, Baleno. En 1552 pasa a Colonia donde vive una época de florecimiento económico. En 1553 vuelve por algún tiempo a Lovaina para preparar sus ediciones y entre 1563-1564 se hospedó en casa de Plantino mientras preparaba un *Léxico Hebreo*, basado en el de Sanctes Pagnino, que debía formar parte de la *Biblia Real*. Muere en Colonia el 27 de febrero de 1577. Cf. H. de Vocht, *Collegium Trilingue Louaniense* IV, 299-306; *Deutscher Biographischer Index*, 4 vols (München-London-New York-Oxford-Paris, 1986), II, 974.

⁸ Carvajal, *Elogio histórico*, col. 189 [b].

por ilustres hebraístas y que recogía junto a la *Vulgata* la traducción latina de Santes Pagnino era el lugar obligado para comprometerse abiertamente en la controversia. Montano, con el cargo y oficio que entonces desempeñaba, consiguió el manuscrito del Salterio Anglicano junto con los otros manuscritos hebreos, griegos, caldeos y latinos que se habían reunido para la edición de la *Biblia Regia*: se aprovechó entonces la ocasión para refutar el valor de un texto presentado por el ilustre Lindano como prueba para desacreditar las fuentes originales hebreas, de las que bebía la propia edición de la *Políglota*. El manuscrito, propiedad del doctor Juan Clemente, antiguo secretario de Tomás Moro, fue objeto de examen durante ocho meses por parte de Montano, Francisco Rafelengio,⁹ los hermanos Guy y Nicolás Le Fèvre de la Boderie,¹⁰ y otros entre los que cuenta Montano al propio Plantino, a Juan Harlemio, y a los médicos Juan Goropio Becano y Alvar Núñez. El parecer de los consultados fue tajante: 'Por cierta sentencia de todos el libro se dio por no auténtico egemplar';¹¹ los resultados de la revisión crítica del Salterio inglés realizada por los filólogos reunidos en Amberes quedaron plasmados en el

⁹ Francisco Rafelengio (Lannoy, 27 febrero 1539-Leiden, 20 julio 1597), impresor, librero y editor que trabaja en Amberes entre 1575 y 1585, y en Leiden entre 1585 y 1597. Hacia 1563 llega a Amberes y conoce a Plantino, quien le confía un puesto de corrector el 12 de marzo de 1564. El 23 de junio de 1565 contrae matrimonio con Margarita, la hija mayor de Plantino, con la que tiene seis hijos. Como corrector de Plantino, realiza un notable trabajo en la elaboración de la *Biblia Políglota*: en el tomo seis, primero del *Apparatus Sacer*, se encuentra su epitome de la *Gramática Hebrea* de Santes Pagnino; en el tomo siete, participó en la edición de la *Hebraicorum Bibliorum Veteris Testamenti Latina interpretatio*; finalmente en el tomo octavo, Rafelengio firma la carta introductoria de la colaboración *Variae lectiones et annotatiunculae quibus Thargum, id est, Chaldaica paraphrasis infinitis in locis illustratur et emendatur*. Cf. *Biographie Nationale* XVIII, cols 728-735; A. Rouzet, *Dictionnaire des imprimeurs, libraires et éditeurs des XV^e et XVI^e siècles dans les limites géographiques de la Belgique actuelle* (Nieuwkoop, 1975), pp. 183-184; *Biografische Index van de Benelux* III, 1173.

¹⁰ Guy Le Fèvre de la Boderie (9 de agosto 1541-1598), poeta y filólogo francés. Estudió lenguas orientales con Guillermo Postelo en el Colegio Real. Es muy destacable su contribución a la *Biblia Regia*: en el tomo sexto, primero del *Apparatus Sacer*, se encuentra su *Gramática Caldea* y el *Diccionario Siriaco-Caldeo*; el tomo siete, segundo del *Apparatus*, incluye una traducción interlineal del texto hebreo del *Antiguo Testamento*, obra de él mismo y de su hermano Nicolás Fabricio; además asistió a la empresa como corrector junto con Rafelengio, Cornelio Kiel y otros. Plantino también imprimió en 1572 su iniciación al siríaco y su *Seuerini Alexandrini de ritibus baptismi* (del mismo año). Cf. M. Sabbe, 'Guy Le Fèvre de la Boderie et la Polyglotte anversoise', *De Gulden Passer*, 6 (1928), 250-253; F. Secret, 'Guy Le Fèvre de la Boderie, représentant de G. Postel à la Polyglotte d'Anvers', *De Gulden Passer*, 44 (1966), 245-257; *Index Biographique Français* III, 1327.

¹¹ Carvajal, *Elogio histórico*, col 190 [a].

décimo cuarto tratado del tomo octavo de la *Políglota*, titulado ‘Benedicti Ariae Montani de exemplari psalterii Anglicani animaduersio’:¹²

1) ‘Cum primis enim neque liber antiquus est, neque ab aliquo, qui Hebraicam linguam cognorit, scriptus, sed a scriba Latinas eleganter pingendi literas non ignaro, octoginta, aut ad summum centum abhinc annis depictus; brevis liber caractere Hebraico, imitatione magis et pingendi peritia quam legendi notitia relato, adeo corrupte descripto, ut uix ullum uerbum integritatem suam retinere uideatur. Habet nonnullorum Psalmorum Latinam interpretationem nostram uulgatam, et annotatiunculas illum Iacobi de Valentia stylum redolentes, perbreues illas et raras’.¹³

2) ‘Cum puerilem omnino rem esse deprehendissem, tamen ad nonagesimum sextum Psalmum me contuli; ibi non modo non reperi illud testimonium, *a ligno*, uerum totum illum dimidium uersum desiderauí, uidelicet, “Dicite in gentibus quia Dominus regnauit”’.¹⁴

3) [...] ‘et tamen in toto libro quamquam plura uerba et integrae sententiae desiderentur, nihil tamen deest quod scriptum antea fuerit, constat enim integra et continuata scriptura, eaque, ut diximus, pene recens, puncti et uocalis ex minio accentus ex Heliotropio depicti, capitales literae aliquot in initiis Psalmorum aureae, sed quae Latinam magis quam Hebraicam referant formam’.¹⁵

Para suavizar una censura que, ya de por sí, habría removido los bajos instintos del investigador más humilde, y que, conocido el carácter de Lindano, hacía barruntar una fuerte tormenta, Arias Montano no menciona en ningún punto el nombre del autor cuyo libro fulmina, y acaba sugiriendo ‘no con intención de enojarlo sino de escusarlo [...], que entendía yo que él no había visto el libro [se refiere al Salterio inglés], sino siguiéndose por agena relación’.¹⁶

¹² Fol. 4^a; pp. [3-4]. El tratado viene precedido de la *Benedicti Ariae Montani Hispaniensis de uaria in Hebraicis libris lectione ac de Mazzoreth ratione atque usu praefatio ad lectorem*, redactada el 13 de enero de 1572.

¹³ En Carvajal, *Elogio histórico*, col 190 [a], lo formula Montano de la siguiente manera: ‘[...] ni el libro es antiguo ni escrito de mano de hombre que supo escribir bien letra hebrea; aunque la latina común de por aquellos tiempos cuando escribían los monjes los libros, ésta es razonable; y muchos de los caracteres hebreos dan aire a los latinos [...]’.

¹⁴ En Carvajal, *Elogio histórico*, col 190 [a]: ‘Fuimos a buscar el medio verso o final de el *a ligno*, y no sólo faltaba el *a ligno*, sino todo lo que respondía “Dicite in gentibus quia Dominus regnauit”’.

¹⁵ En Carvajal, *Elogio histórico*, col 190 [a] explica Montano: ‘Buscamos el otro verso repetido que dicen no se halla en los demás, y estaba allí, con manifiesta nota de que lo había añadido el escritor de el lugar conocido, y en la margen anotado esto por vía de advertimiento en latín [...]’.

¹⁶ Carvajal, *Elogio histórico*, col 190 [b].

A principios de febrero de 1572, Juan de Zúñiga, embajador del rey en Roma, comunicaba a Felipe II los recelos que había despertado entre algunos cardenales romanos la edición de la *Políglota* y aconsejaba al monarca que se enviara a Roma al propio Arias Montano para despejar cualquier duda sobre la ortodoxia de la obra;¹⁷ el 26 de abril ya había partido el teólogo español hacia la Urbe, a donde llega el 3 de junio.¹⁸ Cuando Arias regresa a Amberes el 1 de diciembre con la satisfacción del deber cumplido, se entera de que, durante su ausencia, Lindano había movido ‘grandes tragedias contra mí y mi nombre, y contra todos mis escriptos; y esto había sido en Lovaina y en Amberes’;¹⁹ de todo lo cual le informaron directamente el obispo de Amberes Francisco Sonnio²⁰ y el impresor Cristóbal Plantino, quien me parece que, de forma consciente, no quiso preocupar al biblista español con este problema durante su estancia en Roma, ya que ninguna mención se hace de la furia de Lindano en las doce cartas que envía el impresor al humanista desde mayo a noviembre de 1572.²¹

2. La Políglota de Amberes: campo de batalla entre hebraístas y miso-hebraístas (1572-1579)

Con la viveza que le caracterizaba, Arias Montano plasma en su carta a Esteban de Salazar las palabras que, en su ausencia, cruzaron sus defensores de Amberes con Lindano, tan colérico que Juan

¹⁷ Carvajal, *Elogio histórico*, cols 159-160.

¹⁸ Como se lee en mi trabajo ‘La correspondencia de Arias Montano conservada en el Museo Plantin-Moretus’ (tesis doctoral inédita, Universidad de Cádiz, 1998), n° 72 07 05^a. La numeración de las cartas citadas de este trabajo es cronológica: es decir, la referida carta lleva fecha del 5 de julio de 1572, pues las dos primeras cifras corresponden al año, las dos siguientes, al mes, y las últimas, al día.

¹⁹ Carvajal, *Elogio histórico*, col. 190 [b].

²⁰ Francisco Vanden Velde o de Campo, nacido en Son (cerca de Eindhoven) en 1506. Obtuvo el primer puesto en la promoción de maestros de arte en 1527; en 1569 fue consagrado primer obispo de Amberes, donde murió el 30 de junio de 1576, dejando sus *Demonstrationes Religionis Christianae ex Verbo Dei libri III* y varios escritos sobre la fe y la disciplina que fueron reimprimidos muchas veces. Cf. *Biographie Nationale* XXIII, cols 179-224; *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, reed. P. C. Molhuysen, P. J. Blok, K. H. Kossmann (Leiden, 1911-1937), II, cols 1346-1348; *Biografische Index van de Benelux* IV, 1345.

²¹ Editadas y traducidas por A. Dávila, ‘La correspondencia de Arias Montano’, n°s [72 05 13-72 05 20], [72 06 09], 72 06 21, 72 07 05^a, 72 07 05^b, [72 07 16], [72 07 19-72 07 25], [72 08 01-72 08 07], [72 08 07-72 08 22], 72 08 29, [72 11 01] y [72 11 05-72 11 10].

Latomo²² ‘le dijo en la cara “se nunquam uidisse hominem biliosior-rem”’;²³ Sonnio, indignado, recriminó a Lindano en presencia de Plantino: ‘Domine Reuerendissime, non ferimus istas detractationes et maledicentias. De absentibus bene semper dicere et tuum et meum decet officium’. Sin embargo, el obispo de Roermond seguía exigiendo una retractación formal; ni Sonnio, ni Plantino, ni otros humanistas presentes como Juan Goropio Becano²⁴ sabían exactamente de qué debía retractarse Montano, pues todos coincidían con los filólogos de la *Políglota* en que el Psalterio alabado por Lindano no era antiguo. Así que por fin preguntó Sonnio ‘¿hay otra cosa de que os agraviéis sino de que escribió que no le habíades visto [se refiere al ejemplar del Psalterio]? Respondió [Lindano]: “istud ipsum, istud ipsum: nam profecto ipse his oculis uidi librum et habui in manu”’.²⁵

Así que muy poco le duró a Arias Montano la tranquilidad que le reportó la aprobación papal para la *Políglota*. Los informes de los teólogos de Lovaina sobre las amenazas que andaba propalando Lindano por aquella ciudad, además de la propia solicitud de Sonnio, que, como prelado de la sede antuerpiense, se veía comprometido a propiciar la reconciliación entre su colega de Roermond y el director de la *Biblia* de Amberes — de lo contrario se le venía encima la presidencia de un proceso de difamación —, obligaron a Montano a escribir a Lindano una larga carta no conservada, con fecha del 13 de febrero de 1573.²⁶ Pode-

²² Juan Latomo o Steenhouwer, poeta e historiador, nació en Bergen-op-Zoom. Después de acabar la carrera de Humanidades es nombrado prior del Convento del Trono de Nuestra Señora, de la orden de San Agustín (Grobendonk, cerca de Herentals), puesto en el que permaneció veinticinco años. Cultiva con éxito a la poesía latina, escribiendo *Epitaphia* para sus amigos y, como historiador de los conventos de su orden, *Corsendonca siue Coenobii canonicorum regularium ordinis S. Agustini de Corsendonca origo et progressus* (Amberes, 1644); *Historia Coenobii Paradisi B. Mariae*; e *Historia coenobii siue abbatae Trudonopolitanae, ord. sancti Benedicti*. Muere en Amberes el 15 de junio de 1578 (cf. *Biographie Nationale* XI, cols 441-442; *Biografische Index van de Benelux* III, 823).

²³ Carvajal, *Elogio histórico*, col. 190 [b].

²⁴ Juan Goropio, Jean Geertszone o Gerartsen van Gorp (1518-1572). Médico y lingüista de Brabante, originario de Hilverenbeek o ‘Beek, pueblo cercano a Tilburgo, que le dio el nombre de ‘Becano’. Cf. *Biographie Nationale* VIII, cols 120-123; H. de Vocht, *Collegium Trilingue Louaniense*, IV, 31-40; E. Frederickx, ‘Ioannes Goropius Becanus (1519-1573). Leven en werk’ (tesis doctoral inédita, Universidad de Lovaina, 1973); *Biografische Index van de Benelux* I, 91.

²⁵ Las dos últimas citas proceden de Carvajal, *Elogio histórico*, col 191 [a].

²⁶ Si es la misma que cita Lindano en su carta del 10 de abril de 1573, editada por B. Macías, *La Políglota de Amberes*, p. 301.

mos recrear el contenido de la misiva del teólogo español si se reúnen algunas referencias indirectas:²⁷ el mensaje principal es que, si tanto ofendía a Lindano el que Montano le hubiera acusado de no haber consultado personalmente el Salterio, no había ningún reparo en retirar públicamente tal suposición; ahora bien, jamás ‘consentiría en autorizar el libro; y por esto lo tenía conmigo depositado en poder de Plantino, para testimonio perpetuo’,²⁸ pues estaba convencido de su nulo valor, como argumenta de nuevo *in extenso* en esta misiva. Parece que, en principio, Lindano se sentía satisfecho con esta retractación parcial, que más que restituirle la fama perdida producía el efecto contrario:

Luego que él recibió ésta mía en Ruremunda, pasó por allí Juan Lato, general visitador y provincial perpetuo de los canónigos reglares de Alemania y Flandes y reformador de ellos [...] y él le mostró mi carta con estas palabras: ‘iam conuenit mihi cum Aria Montano, nam pollicetur per epistolam se correcturum id quod scripserat, librum mihi non fuisse inspectum’. Lato le pidió la epístola y después de leída le preguntó si había más que aquello en que él se tuviese por ofendido, y él respondió que no más, y que aquello tenía por calumnia, decir yo que no había visto lo que había visto. Juróme Lato que con gran instancia le rogó que no tratase de tal cosa, que mejor estaba sin tal declaración mía o retractación que con ella, pues yo decía que en abonar el libro yo no mudaría cosa, porque era contra la verdad, y en el resto yo me daría por engañado, pues con tanta cólera y porfía lo había pedido al obispo Sonnio que yo obedecía por prelado. E dijo que por tres veces en diversos tiempos en un mismo día y su noche le rogó que conociese mi ánimo y no tratase de tal satisfacción, que era cargarse él más de ella; y al fin dijo que él ternía a él por contrario si no le ayudaba a persuadirme que pusiese la declaración que él pedía e yo le había ofrecido por mi carta, y así me lo dijo Lato.²⁹

Pero cedamos la palabra a Lindano para conocer su versión de los hechos. En una carta de respuesta a Montano con fecha del 10 de abril de 1573, el teólogo neerlandés quiere dejar claros ante todo los sentimientos de admiración y amistad que siente hacia el biblista español, aunque siempre alude o hace referencia explícita al proceso eclesiástico

²⁷ Me refiero al resumen de la carta que hace Montano en su epístola a Esteban de Salazar (Carvajal, *Elogio histórico*, doc. n° 73) y a la respuesta de Lindano con fecha del 10 de abril de 1573, que sí se conserva y es editada por B. Macías, *La Políglota de Amberes*, pp. 291-305.

²⁸ Carvajal, *Elogio histórico*, col. 191 [b].

²⁹ Carvajal, *Elogio histórico*, col. 191 [b].

con el que viene amenazando para defenderse, a menos que Arias se retracte de su calumnia. Por lo demás, da la impresión de que la carta del español, calificada por el propio Lindano en tono sarcástico como ‘libello expurgatorio’, debió de ser bastante dura y rozar casi la misma soberbia achacada por la fama al prelado neerlandés: Arias recriminaba de nuevo a Lindano que anduviera lanzando ‘tragedias o injurias e infamias contra un ausente’³⁰ y que no dejara de difamarle; asimismo muestra su profunda indignación y sorpresa por el hecho de que el obispo de Roermond ‘se lamente de que la verdad manifiesta [es decir, el parecer de Montano], sea antepuesta a la opinión particular [la de Lindano], y el que prefiera que se atienda a la propia estimación antes que a la disciplina pública’.³¹ En su defensa, lo primero que alega Lindano es que, en cuanto al Salterio inglés, lo único que él hizo fue suscribir el parecer de su maestro en Lovaina Andrés Baleno³² y el de otros eruditos. Aun así, cree ciegamente en el valor y la antigüedad de dicho códice, que por otro lado sólo presentaba como *terminus ante quem non* para la corrupción de los manuscritos bíblicos a manos de los judíos: es decir, en ciertos pasajes, cambiados después por los ‘rabinos’, está más conforme a la traducción *Vulgata*; la división de los Salmos corresponde a la canónica; algunos de sus versículos y hemistiquios faltan en los actuales códices rabínicos.³³ Las objeciones que presenta Montano al manuscrito inglés son — según Lindano — fútiles, todas salvables si se examina cada cuestión con detenimiento y objetividad.³⁴ Pero, descendiendo ya al meollo de la cuestión, lo que más afectaba a la fama e integridad científica del neerlandés era el hecho de que, según el biblista español, Lindano declaraba que el salmo emblema ‘Desde la cruz’³⁵ se encontraba en el códice inglés, cuando esto no era así, lo que hacía suponer que el prelado de Roermond ni siquiera había consultado personalmente el manuscrito; Lindano estaba seguro de que tales palabras habían sido suprimidas del salmo XCVI por los judíos, pero de la misma forma había comprobado él mismo y más de una vez que no existían en el códice inglés, antiguo aunque ya corrupto.³⁶ Desde esta perspectiva, el nombre

³⁰ B. Macías, *La Políglota de Amberes*, pp. 292-293.

³¹ B. Macías, *La Políglota de Amberes*, pp. 294-295.

³² B. Macías, *La Políglota de Amberes*, pp. 294-295.

³³ B. Macías, *La Políglota de Amberes*, pp. 296-297.

³⁴ B. Macías, *La Políglota de Amberes*, pp. 296-299.

³⁵ VVLG. *Psalm*. XCVI, 10: ‘dicite in gentibus quia Dominus regnavit a ligno’

³⁶ Éste es, en realidad, el meollo de la polémica: la postura de Lindano como filólogo bíblico se centra en un ataque visceral a los manuscritos hebreos de la *Biblia*, lo que

de Lindano habría quedado en entredicho a raíz de una acusación falsa, cuyos efectos difamatorios se veían aumentados por el prestigio y el nombre de quien acusaba.

Movido por los consejos del obispo de Amberes y otras influyentes amistades, Montano se vio obligado a retractarse públicamente en dos ocasiones: la primera, con fecha anterior a la de la carta de Lindano del 10 de abril, desmentía la sospecha de que Lindano no hubiese consultado el libro; en cuanto a la segunda, que debe ser posterior a esta fecha, no estoy seguro de si Montano acaba reconociendo que Lindano no había hablado en ninguna de sus obras del polémico sintagma 'a ligno'. La cuestión es que el obispo 'estuvo al principio contento, y mostraba la carta a los que él quería, y más lo que yo había declarado segunda vez, y estaba impreso'.

Desconozco los detalles del episodio del Concilio de Malinas, celebrado en Lovaina entre el 8 y el 20 de mayo de 1574 bajo la presidencia de Antonio Perrenot, cardenal Granvela. Parece que el obispo iba diciendo que se había quejado una vez más ante Montano y había conseguido de él otra promesa de retractación en aquella reunión eclesiástica. El biblista español desmiente en su carta a Esteban de Salazar que él hubiera asistido a tal congreso y que mantuviera ninguna conversación con el obispo. Arias, en efecto, no asistió a tal evento, pero sí tenemos constancia de que lo hizo Cristóbal Plantino el 16 de mayo, en nombre de don Luis de Requesens, para leer ante el concilio una carta del gobernador y entregar a las órdenes reunidas un ejemplar del nuevo Jubileo de Gregorio XIII.³⁷

Es curioso también que Montano resuma en su citada carta los años subsiguientes hasta 1579 con la siguiente frase: 'Lo que hubo siempre

supone desacreditar por completo la metodología de edición crítica de la *Políglota*; en palabras de Lindano, muchos eruditos antiguos y contemporáneos afirman, como él, 'que los judíos, por odio a Nuestro Señor Jesucristo han corrompido con impío y sacrílego celo sus ejemplares, y las palabras ambiguas las han tomado en el peor sentido, como afirma San Jerónimo, y las han interpretado en sentido impío para vilipendiar al Señor' (cf. B. Macías, *La Políglota de Amberes*, pp. 298-299).

³⁷ Éste es, en realidad, el meollo de la polémica: la postura de Lindano como filólogo bíblico se centra en un ataque visceral a los manuscritos hebreos de la *Biblia*, lo que supone desacreditar por completo la metodología de edición crítica de la *Políglota*; en palabras de Lindano, muchos eruditos antiguos y contemporáneos afirman, como él, 'que los judíos, por odio a Nuestro Señor Jesucristo han corrompido con impío y sacrílego celo sus ejemplares, y las palabras ambiguas las han tomado en el peor sentido, como afirma San Jerónimo, y las han interpretado en sentido impío para vilipendiar al Señor' (cf. B. Macías, *La Políglota de Amberes*, pp. 298-299).

fue que todos se admiraban de su condición y los más [...] se reían de sus temas'; a pesar de esta brevedad, a lo largo de los seis años entre 1574 y 1579 Lindano se subió al carro de los detractores de la *Políglota* y acosó continuamente la propia metodología crítica empleada en la gran *Biblia*. A lo largo de 1574 Lindano sigue cruzando correspondencia con eminentes hebraístas de la época, implicados también en la *Políglota*, como Genebrardo³⁸, Raphelengio y Harlemio³⁹; en esas misivas el obispo incita a sus colegas a polemizar sobre el valor y la veracidad de los originales hebreos de la Biblia. El 1 de septiembre de este año, Genebrardo, sin querer entrar en demasiadas honduras, responde a Lindano que a los judíos más bien les cabía el mérito de haber conservado intactos la mayoría de los pasajes sagrados que hablaban del ungido, prueba por tanto de que los textos hebraicos, o al menos la mayoría de ellos, no habían sido adulterados;⁴⁰ Lindano responde pocas semanas después con una larga carta donde desmenuza retóricamente largas argumentaciones en contra de lo que, de forma concisa, había alegado el orientalista francés.⁴¹

A finales de 1574 la situación debía de estar alcanzando tintes dramáticos: Arias Montano comunica a Plantino en un billete con fecha del 23

³⁸ Gilberto Genebrardo (1537-24 marzo 1597), erudito y prelado francés nacido en Riom, Auvergné. Ingresó en la orden de San Benito y hace profesión en la abadía de Maussac. Estudia en París, donde alcanza el grado de doctor en Teología el 10 de junio de 1563; es nombrado profesor de hebreo en el Colegio Real desde 1566 hasta 1591. En 1592 pasa a ocupar la sede arzobispal de Aix, pero, como partidario acérrimo de la Liga, se retira al priorato de Sémur tras la ascensión al trono de Enrique IV. Entre sus obras citamos *Isagoge rabbinica ad legenda et intelligenda Hebraeorum et Orientalium sine punctis scripta* (París, 1563), y *Alphabetum Hebraicum et indicata psalmorum primi et secundi lyrica, ad formam Pindari, strophe, antistrophe et epoda* (París, 1564). Cf. H. de Vocht, *Collegium Trilingue Louaniense* IV, 389; Chr. Saxius, *Onomasticon Literarium* III, (Utrecht, 1780), p. 502.

³⁹ Juan Willems o Wilhelmi, de Haarlem (1538), de donde viene Harlemio. Después de sus estudios en el *Trilingue*, fue nombrado profesor de hebreo en 1568. Junto a las tres lenguas, también conoció el caldeo, siríaco y árabe, lo que le convertía en un elemento importantísimo para la empresa de la *Biblia Sacra*. Ingresó en la Compañía de Jesús en 1566 y continúa sus estudios en Teología, alcanzando la licenciatura en 1571. En 1574, como rector de Teología de Lovaina, prosigue sus estudios y en 1577, a causa de la dificultad de las comunicaciones entre el norte y el sur, se queda en su primer cargo de viceprovincial para la parte norte del país. Durante esta época se recrudecen las dificultades suscitadas con los jesuitas de Amberes por el partido calvinista, que dominaba la ciudad; finalmente, los jesuitas fueron expulsados y relegados a Malinas. Harlemio consiguiera, no obstante, su evacuación a Lovaina, recibiendo la felicitación del rey y del general de la Compañía. Muere en esta ciudad el 1 de octubre de 1578, víctima de una epidemia de disentería y tífus. Cf. *Biographie Nationale* XXVII, col 338.

⁴⁰ B. Macías, *La Políglota de Amberes*, pp. 332-335.

⁴¹ B. Macías, *La Políglota de Amberes*, pp. 337-347.

de diciembre que su última carta no había sido franqueada por el obispo, lo que era prueba de abierta hostilidad.⁴² La alusión a Lindano, que con este documento aislado puede considerarse dudosa, toma más cuerpo en una carta de Genebrardo a Montano con fecha del 25 de noviembre de este mismo año, donde el filólogo francés censura con dureza al también aludido Lindano mientras anima a Montano ‘ne te deterreant aliquorum hominum uel maleuolorum uel inuidorum uel quantum ad hanc partem attinet, indoctorum aut etiam cunctis his morbis affectorum loquacitas atque ineptia’.⁴³ Tan pertinaz era Lindano en la defensa de sus posturas y en polemizar sobre ellas con los representantes de las contrarias, que Genebrardo prefiere poner fin al cruce epistolar con el obispo de Roermond, quedándose cada uno en sus posiciones, antes de llegar más lejos en las palabras; el argumento principal de Genebrardo es que los católicos debían unir sus fuerzas contra el verdadero enemigo, los herejes, y no debilitarse entre ellos.⁴⁴

El mayor fragor de la polémica Lindano-Montano tiene lugar en 1575. En abril, el biblista español está a punto de partir para Roma con la intención de lograr una interpretación más amplia del Decreto Tridentino sobre la *Vulgata*. Lindano, que ya había agotado las fuerzas dialécticas de Genebrardo, se lanza sobre otros hebraístas como Harlemio y Rafelegio. En una carta a Harlemio del 26 de febrero de 1575, Lindano elabora una prolija apología de la versión de los *Setenta* y condena todas las traducciones basadas en los originales hebreos que, por haber sido malévolamente adulterados, inducen a error a quienes los prestigian: y con mucha sutileza, Lindano insinúa entonces que para la confección de la Biblia se debió de utilizar un código hebreo corrupto (como había demostrado ya en la página 213 de sus *Meditationes in aureum illum psalmum CXVIII*), pues en el capítulo segundo del primer libro de los *Reyes* (en hebreo en el tomo IV de la *Políglota*, y en el tomo VII, que contenía la *Biblia Hebraea* de Santes Pagnino con traducción latina interlineal) los editores de la *Biblia Regia* habían confundido la letra *he* (ה) con la *thau* (ת), con lo que resultaba el vocablo *hebel* (הבל) o *confusio-nem*, en lugar del correcto *thebel* (תבל) u *orbem*. Sin embargo el error parecía ser de Lindano, como le hace ver Montano en la carta que le dirige desde Roma el 13 de noviembre de 1575;⁴⁵ en primer lugar, el

⁴² A. Dávila, ‘La correspondencia de Arias Montano’, n° 74 12 23, líneas 14-16.

⁴³ B. Macías, *La Políglota de Amberes*, pp. 348-349.

⁴⁴ B. Macías, *La Políglota de Amberes*, pp. 365-369.

⁴⁵ B. Macías, *La Políglota de Amberes*, pp. 448-455.

obispo neerlandés había leído incorrectamente el término hebreo, cuyo trazo especial podía inducir a error a los más profanos; pero —según demuestra Montano— el lapsus de lectura quedaba injustificado por dos motivos fundamentales: por un lado, la aparición del signo hebreo *daghes* descartaba la posibilidad de que se tratara de una *he*, que no puede llevarlo; por otro, en la traducción interlineal, los editores habían optado por colocar sobre la palabra hebrea el significado latino *confusionem*, también asignado a תבל, lo que habría llevado a Lindano, en una lectura rápida, a creer que se trataba del error denunciado en su libro, sin reparar en que al margen se recogía la traducción menos literal *orbem*, por la que optó en su edición Santes Pagnino.⁴⁶

Entre febrero y noviembre de 1575 despliega Lindano toda su artillería contra la *Biblia Regia*. El 31 de mayo solicita a Harlemio, en nombre de la amistad mutua y por el avance de la filología bíblica, que dedique más tiempo y esfuerzo a responder sus argumentos; en esta carta también parece Lindano conocer la marcha de Montano desde Amberes ('Amicum nostrum dominum doctorem Ariam Montanum audio in Hispaniam reuocatum; causam reditus expone [...]').⁴⁷ En efecto, Arias había partido oficialmente hacia España cumpliendo órdenes de la corte; pero en los círculos íntimos del biblista español se conocían sus intenciones de recalar en Roma y defender allí a la *Políglota* de los ataques que le venían desde los Países Bajos (Lindano) y España (León de Castro). No nos consta que sobre este particular Harlemio diese demasiada información, si es que la conocía, al obispo de Roermond; lo que sí hizo fue responder entre junio y julio con más detenimiento a la apología de Lindano de la versión de los *Setenta*: en primer lugar rebate la cuestión del *heuel* (הבּל) / *thebel* (תּבל) con las razones que he explicado en el párrafo anterior, mientras que finaliza su respuesta con el argumento de que si Lindano tiene en gran estima la traducción de los *Setenta*, sería por lo menos extraño despreciar el texto en que se basó dicha traducción.⁴⁸

El 30 de julio de 1575 vuelve a responder Lindano con una segunda apología de los 72 intérpretes;⁴⁹ Harlemio anota la carta en los márgenes

⁴⁶ Véase, en torno a esta polémica, las cartas de Harlemio a Lindano de junio-julio de 1575 (B. Macías, *La Políglota de Amberes*, pp. 394-401), Francisco Rafelengio a Montano, del 7 de octubre de 1575 (B. Macías, *La Políglota de Amberes*, pp. 444-447), Plantino a Arias Montano (A. Dávila, 'La correspondencia de Arias Montano', n° 75 10 29) y Arias Montano a Lindano, 13 de noviembre de 1575 (B. Macías, *La Políglota de Amberes*, pp. 448-445).

⁴⁷ B. Macías, *La Políglota de Amberes*, pp. 392-393.

⁴⁸ B. Macías, *La Políglota de Amberes*, pp. 394-401.

y remite una copia del texto y los escolios a Montano, que ya se encontraba en Roma: Francisco Lucas también se había implicado en la polémica; Lindano habla despectivamente de los ‘nuevos rabinos’ que ignoran el significado y la etimología de muchas palabras; incluso Baleno, profesor común de Lindano y Harlemio, había reconocido que muchos pasajes de los *Salmos* y los *Reyes* estaban corruptos no sólo en los signos diacríticos, sino también en las grafías; por lo demás, la autoridad de los *Setenta* crecía al considerarse que los traductores habían sido asistidos por el Espíritu Santo; finalmente Lindano responde a Harlemio que él alaba y adora los originales hebreos, pero no los impresos o los que todos conocen, sino aquéllos incorruptos y antiguos que estuvieron a disposición de la ‘gloriosa generación de los setenta y dos intérpretes, de donde nos transmitieron su profética traducción’.⁵⁰ Lindano no perdía ocasión para contrastar puntos de vista incluso cara a cara: a principios de septiembre visita a Plantino y se encuentra allí con Harlemio; ambos advierten al obispo del daño que con sus insostenibles argumentos está infligiendo a la república de las letras.⁵¹ En su última comunicación conservada con Harlemio, fechada el 25 de septiembre de 1575, Lindano censura que la traducción de Pagnino con sus escolios aparezca en la *Políglota* al lado de la *Vulgata* de San Jerónimo.⁵²

Mientras tanto, Montano continuaba en Roma su trabajo erudito y diplomático, confiado por completo en el buen quehacer del círculo plantiniano, bastión defensivo de la *Políglota* en el frente de los Países Bajos. Francisco Rafelengio se encarga de refutar los argumentos antihebraístas que expone Lindano en sus *Meditationes in aureum illum Psalmum CXVIII* (Colonia, 1575). La comunicación entre la imprenta antuerpiense y Montano es sumamente fluida en el mes de octubre de 1575: en la primera semana se envía a Montano el citado libro de Lindano;⁵³ antes del 15 de este mes, Plantino había enviado una carta a Lindano en la que se quejaba amargamente del daño que el obispo estaba causando a la reputación de la imprenta con sus críticas en torno a la versión de Pagnino incluida en la *Políglota*. La argumentación científica que aparece en dicha carta de Plantino procede de Francisco Rafelengio.⁵⁴ El

⁴⁹ B. Macías, *La Políglota de Amberes*, pp. 402-431.

⁵⁰ B. Macías, *La Políglota de Amberes*, pp. 426-427.

⁵¹ A. Dávila, ‘La correspondencia de Arias Montano’, n° 75 09 18.

⁵² B. Macías, *La Políglota de Amberes*, pp. 437-443.

⁵³ A. Dávila, ‘La correspondencia de Arias Montano’, n° [75] 10 15.

⁵⁴ M. Rooses - J. Denucé, *Correspondance de Christophe Plantin*, 9 t. en 8 vols (Antwerpen, 1883-1918), V, 19-25.

propio Rafelengio remite una misiva al biblista español el 7 de octubre de 1575 en la que, con cierta dureza, ataca la ignorancia de Lindano por su confusión *hebel* (הבל) / *thebel* (תבל) y otras incoherencias de sus planteamientos.⁵⁵ Plantino se mueve con una actividad frenética, puesto que él era posiblemente uno de los dos principales perjudicados por las críticas de Lindano. En una carta a Montano del 29 de octubre, escribe que ha enviado el libro del obispo y la carta que él mismo le remitió a Guy Le Fèvre, Genebrardo y Juan Isaac 'para que ellos mismos vean qué respondo, y la anotación redactada en aquel libro anglicano que con tanto ahínco alaba el mismo Lindano, para que emitan su juicio sobre él, y les pedí a todos que incluso a mis expensas o con las condiciones que quisieran nos prescribieran lo que les pareciera útil para aplastar y refutar los fundamentos y argumentos del señor Lindano'.⁵⁶

La censura de Rafelengio, base científica de la refutación de Plantino, será también recogida por Montano en la carta que escribe desde Roma a Lindano el 13 de noviembre de 1575. El tono de la misiva de Montano dista mucho de ser hostil; en los primeros párrafos, el español formula un elogio del talento y la diligencia del obispo, así como de la amistad que los une, en nombre de la cual le recomienda un joven inglés que había conocido en Roma. A continuación, Montano pasa a exponer su juicio sobre las *Meditationes in aureum illum Psalmum CXVIII* de Lindano: lo que más sorprende a Arias es el baldón que Lindano intenta colgar en la imprenta de Plantino, a pesar de la 'amistad' que une a ambos personajes; Montano mide muy bien sus palabras, hasta el punto de que 'no me atrevería a decir que lo ha hecho para difamarlo, ni consentiré que nadie lo diga, dado que me consta su candor'.⁵⁷ Con cierta malicia, Arias explica a Lindano que los propios teólogos romanos detectaron y le mostraron la confusión del obispo *hebel* (הבל) / *thebel* (תבל), cuando sabemos que la argumentación filológica fue obra de Rafelengio; con esto, Montano descargaba al círculo plantiniano de cualquier responsabilidad y aumentaba aun más la autoridad de la censura. Una prueba más de la diplomacia y malicia de Montano: escribe el español que ha intentado justificar ante los teólogos romanos el error flagrante cometido por Lindano y acaba aconsejándole que 'se abstenga de hacer afirmaciones sobre estos temas, de emitir juicios y opinar, e incluso de hacer conjeturas, en los cuales ni es más entendido que los

⁵⁵ B. Macías, *La Políglota de Amberes*, pp. 444-447.

⁵⁶ A. Dávila, 'La correspondencia de Arias Montano', n° 75 10 29.

⁵⁷ B. Macías, *La Políglota de Amberes*, pp. 450-451.

demás ni está lo suficientemente versado por una larga experiencia'.⁵⁸ En un último esfuerzo conciliatorio, Montano no quiere tocar de nuevo los puntos polémicos del Salterio Inglés y se muestra dispuesto a rectificar, como ya hizo antes, cualquier pasaje dudoso con tal que reciba una crítica argumentada.

El 12 de noviembre Plantino mantiene una pequeña conversación con Lindano e intenta de nuevo hacerle ver el daño que ha podido y puede hacer a la imprenta, 'pero lo vi tan invadido y encadenado a sus pasiones que no valió de nada aconsejarle o tratar de confundirle. De la misma forma que Genebrardo de París y Isaac de Colonia hasta ahora han pensado que él no conoce las lenguas, también ahora lo piensan a raíz de su último libro hasta tal punto que les parece indigno responder a tales argumentos'.⁵⁹ El 13 de noviembre de 1575, Arias Montano escribe desde Roma otras tres cartas, aparte de la de Lindano: a Luis Pérez, a Francisco Rafelengio y a Cristóbal Plantino.⁶⁰ En su misiva a Plantino y Rafelengio suponemos que Montano les envió su parecer en torno al libro de Lindano *Sobre el salmo 118* y a las observaciones realizadas por el cuñado de Plantino, documentación remitida algunos meses antes desde Amberes; asimismo, les encargaba a ambos que leyeran y corrigieran su carta a Lindano y se la hicieran llegar. La coordinación entre Amberes y Roma era perfecta.

Poco se sabe de la evolución de la polémica en los años subsiguientes. Ya de vuelta en España, las preocupaciones directas de Montano más tenían que ver con León de Castro, su oponente salmantino, que con Lindano. De cualquier forma, ambos émulo tenían conciencia de formar un equipo internacional contrario a los presupuestos filológicos bíblicos de Montano. El 25 de julio de 1576 Arias Montano ya está de regreso en España tras su larga estancia en Roma: el balance de sus gestiones no fue positivo, al menos en cuanto a la *Políglota*, pues las intrigas de León de Castro hicieron que la Curia Romana se pronunciase en términos poco favorables a los intereses de Montano. Durante el bienio 76-78, el teólogo de Fregenal dedicará buena parte de sus esfuerzos y preocupaciones a la catalogación y organización de los fondos de la Biblioteca de El Escorial, cargo al que se incorpora a primeros de marzo de

⁵⁸ B. Macías, *La Políglota de Amberes*, pp. 452-453.

⁵⁹ A. Dávila, 'La correspondencia de Arias Montano', n° 75 11 12.

⁶⁰ De estas cuatro cartas, sólo se conserva la dirigida al obispo de Roermond (B. Macías, *La Políglota de Amberes*, pp. 448-455).

1577,⁶¹ y al proceso inquisitorial sobre la *Políglota*, cuyo salomónico veredicto es emitido en agosto del 1577. En la primavera de 1578 consigue por fin Montano descansar en su rincón de Aracena. Ese mismo año, Lindano parte hacia Roma para exponer a Gregorio XIII el estado de los Países Bajos; el Papa lo nombra asistente al trono pontifical.

3. (1579): un intento de hacer las paces

Poco tiempo pudo disfrutar Montano del reposo. La polémica en torno a la *Biblia Políglota*, acallada en parte desde 1577 con el veredicto del padre Mariana, volvió a estallar a principios de 1579 tanto en Sevilla como en otros puntos de Andalucía por obra de unos religiosos de la orden de Santo Domingo. La reacción de Montano desde su Peña fue inmediata y efectiva: presenta una acusación formal ante el Consejo Supremo de la Santa Inquisición y solicita de nuevo la colaboración de Zayas y Felipe II.⁶²

El 8 de septiembre de 1579 se encuentra de nuevo instalado en El Escorial;⁶³ allí le esperaba otra penosa estancia, como declara abiertamente a Zayas: 'La más medrada merced que yo pienso sacar d'estos empleos míos es pérdida de tiempo y corrimiento de los que muestran querermme bien y silvos de los émulos; mas lo primero estimo más que todo, por ir tan adelante la carrera de mi vida corta y mal aprovechada'.⁶⁴

Por su parte, Lindano, tras su comisión de tres meses en Roma, embarca hacia España, llega a Valencia y recalca finalmente en Madrid. Quizá fue el azar el que hizo que se cruzaran los caminos de ambos

⁶¹ Y no con demasiado entusiasmo, como se deduce de sus propias palabras: 'Hasta agora no sé lo que el rey quiere de mí, y yo voy contemporizando y callando hasta acabar este índice que voy haciendo, para pedirle luego la licencia que me ha prometido para ir a ver a mis hermanos y tierra; y espero de concluir todo en junio, si Dios quiere, habiendo yo de hacer asiento en corte o cerca, que es lo que menos deseo' (*Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España* (Madrid, 1842-1914), donde se inserta la *Correspondencia del Doctor Benito Arias Montano con Felipe II, el secretario Zayas y otros sugetos desde 1568 hasta 1580* (tomo XLI, 137-418), carta de Montano a Zayas, 31 de mayo de 1577, pp. 345-346).

⁶² B. Macías, *La Políglota de Amberes*, docs. n° 98, 99 y 100.

⁶³ Dato que conocemos por la carta de Diego Díaz Beceril a Montano, del 18 de septiembre de 1579, *Colección de documentos inéditos*, p. 402.

⁶⁴ Carta fechada el 23 de septiembre de 1579, *Colección de documentos inéditos*, p. 406.

teólogos en aquella fecha y aquel lugar: aunque, de hecho, quien propició la entrevista entre Lindano y Montano fue el cardenal Granvela, resuelto a demostrar al neerlandés que Montano no tenía nada contra él, a pesar de que fuera diciendo ‘en Roma mal de mí, y en Valencia y por donde pasaba, y pedía a todos los que le vían de buena gana si tenían cosas contra mí, y algunos le daban cañas a las manos (ellos saben con qué celo y ánimo, y Dios mejor que todos)’.⁶⁵ Éstos son, pues, los precedentes de uno de los episodios más jugosos y, a la vez, misteriosos de la larga oposición científica entre Lindano y Montano.

El encuentro es narrado al detalle por Montano en su carta a Esteban de Salazar. Cedamos la palabra, pues, al protagonista:

[...] yo le recibí con la reverencia debida a un prelado besándole las manos, y condoliéndome de sus peregrinaciones y le supliqué me tuviese por un servidor y que jamás tuve propósito de enojarle, sino que todos éramos obligados a amarnos, y que yo había hecho lo que él me mandó, y él andaba diciendo de mí mucho mal, y viendo bien a quien lo decía y holgando con lo que contaban contra mí. Respondióme que antes pensaban todos que yo tenía enemistad con él. Yo le juré que no habría hombre que con verdad dijese haberme oído decir de él menos que bien, y en esto me declaré tanto que me dijo: ‘pues una cosa os pido, que en la primera obra que hiciéreis, profeséis mi amistad y digáis que siempre me quisisteis bien, y de esta manera cesarán los que piensan lo contrario’. Y le dije: ‘Yo se lo prometo; cese v[uestra] s[eñoría] de decir mal de mí, que con esto perderán esa sospecha los que tal piensan’. Y me dijo: ‘Dadme alguna prenda que yo muestre vuestra con que entiendan todos que nos conservamos y queremos bien’; yo le di una piedra Bezar que tenía porque son estimadas en Flandes, y nos despedimos.⁶⁶

En este punto podía haber terminado con final feliz una larga trayectoria de intrigas y disputas. Montano jura al obispo no haberle criticado jamás ante nadie y, como prenda de amistad, le regala una piedra bezar, con la que también obsequió a algunas de sus mejores amistades de Amberes, París y Roma.⁶⁷ Pero el dato más interesante de este relato es que Arias había prometido al obispo declarar públicamente su amistad y admiración hacia él

⁶⁵ Carvajal, *Elogio histórico*, col. 192 [a].

⁶⁶ Carvajal, *Elogio histórico*, cols 192 [a-b].

⁶⁷ Las piedras bezoar o bezar son cálculos que se encuentran en las entrañas de ciertos rumiantes de la India y que antiguamente eran considerados como antídoto universal. Sobre su definición y propiedades desde la perspectiva humanista puede consultarse el epítome *Aromatum et simplicium aliquot medicamentorum apud Indos nascentium Historia, primum quidem Lusitanica lingua per Dialogos conscripta*, D. GARCIA AB HORTO, *proregis Indiae Medico, auctore; nunc uero Latino sermone in Epitomen contracta, et iconibus ad uiuum expressis, locupletioribusque annotatiunculis illustrata* a CAROLO CLVSIO Atrebate

en la primera obra que publicase. Ninguno de los escritos posteriores de Montano contienen tal declaración, y nada más habríamos sabido de este episodio y de sus consecuencias inmediatas de no existir el siguiente documento original de los Archivos Generales del Reino de Bruselas.

3.1. La carta de Montano a Lindano (AGR I 115, n° 3714)

3.1.1. Edición ⁶⁹

[*Lindani manu:*] Recepta 26 septem[bris].

[*Montani manu:*] D[omino] Lindano Ruremundensi episcopo Arias Montanus s[alutem] p[lurimam].

Qua die iussus a dignitate tua sum apud ill[ustrissi]mum cardinalem una
 5 esse, ex reginae nostrae imperio domo prodire non potui, apud quam
 officium faciendum mihi fuit. Pridie uero, eadem nocte qua dignitatem
 tuam gaudens consalutaueram, praefationis nostrae in primum edendum
 graue opus caput ad meum de te iudicium atque officium erga te perti-
 nens exaravi, quod ita, ut ex incude prodierat, nunc mitto atque iudicio
 10 correctionique isti permitto mihi quamprimum remittendum cum tua
 censura. Vnum uero a dignitate tua obnixè postulo, ne cuiquam Hispa-
 norum ante uel ostendas uel de hac re uerbum facias quam a me editum
 euulgatumque fuerit; quod quoniam e re tua esse scio ut qui nostrorum

(Amberes, 1574), lib. I, cap. XLV, 'De lapide Bezar', pp. 170-171. En estas líneas se repasa el origen e historia de estos cálculos, sus múltiples propiedades y los lugares donde se encuentran. Entre las fuentes clásicas citadas, se encuentran Columela y Plinio (lib. XXIV, cap. VIII y XXVI, 11 respectivamente). Las piedras bezoar también fueron objeto de estudio de Nicolás Monardo, 'Hispalensis', cuyo trabajo fue traducido en los Países Bajos también por Carlos Clusio: *De simplicibus medicamentis ex occidentali India delatis, quorum in medicina usus est. Auctore D. NICOLAO MONARDIS Hispalensi Medico; interprete CAROLO CLVSIO Atrebat* (Amberes, 1574). Montano regalaba también estas piedras a Cristóbal Plantino, Pedro Porret, Nicolás Rasio y otros (véase A. Dávila, 'La correspondencia de Arias Montano', n°s [77 09 19-77 10 23], 80 02 22, [81 09 15-81 09 18] y [85 11 01-85 11 07]). Véase también, sobre el interés que sentía Montano por las rarezas del Mundo Nuevo y, en concreto, por las famosas piedras curativas, el trabajo de J. Gil, *Arias Montano en su entorno. [Bienes y herederos]* (Badajoz, 1998), pp. 85-88.

⁶⁹ Sólo conozco un testimonio de esta carta, el original de Bruselas al que llamo 'o'. De este documento da noticias P. O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum: a finding list of uncatalogued or incompletely catalogued humanistic manuscripts of the Renaissance in Italian and other libraries*, 6 vols (London: The Warburg Institute, & Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1965-1992). Ninguna mención de esta misiva hallamos, sin embargo, en los dos catálogos que hemos manejado del primer especialista en el tema, Ben Rekers: 'Epistolario de Benito Arias Montano (1527-1598)', *Hispanófila*, 9 (1960), 25-37; y *Arias Montano* (Madrid, 1973), pp. 201-220.

ingenia nouerim, ideo admonendum duxi. Vale, uir praesulque pien-
 15 tiss[ime], et si qua in re nobis officioque nostro uti posse intellexeris, id
 gratissimum nobis fore tibi persuade. Ex hoc Regio Coenobio D[iui]
 Laurentii. 21 settembr[is] 1579

8 caput: capud o

10 isti mut. o pro tuae

13 scio corr. o pro sciam

3.1.2. Traducción

[*De mano de Lindano:*] Recibida el 26 de septiembre.

[*De mano de Montano:*] Arias Montano saluda cordialmente al obispo de Roermond Guillermo Lindano.

El día en que me ordenó su dignidad que nos reuniéramos en casa del ilustrísimo cardenal,⁶⁹ por orden de nuestra reina no pude salir de casa, en la que tuve que realizar un servicio.⁷⁰ Pero el día antes, la misma noche en que había saludado con gozo a su dignidad, escribí un capítulo de nuestro prefacio a la primera obra seria que vamos a publicar, capí-

⁶⁹ Antonio Perrenot, cardenal Granvela (Ornans, 20 agosto 1517-Madrid, 21 septiembre 1586). Estudia Teología en Lovaina; en 1543 es consagrado en Valladolid como obispo de Arras. Tras la muerte de su influyente padre, Granvela ya se había convertido en uno de los más hábiles estadistas de sus días y fue nombrado canciller de Carlos V. En 1555, cuando Carlos V cede a su hijo el gobierno del imperio de los Países Bajos, lega también al futuro rey su hombre de confianza. La carrera religiosa de Perrenot siguió en ascenso con el nombramiento de cardenal en febrero de 1560 y de arzobispo de Malinas en marzo del mismo año. En Flandes se granjeó la antipatía tanto de la nobleza protestante como de los próceres católicos y del pueblo. Hacia 1571 Felipe II le nombró virrey de Nápoles. Tras la muerte de Pío V, la influencia de Granvela se dejó notar en la elección de Gregorio XIII, que quiso retenerlo en Roma. Éste, sin embargo, regresó a Nápoles hasta que, reclamado de nuevo por Felipe II, ejerció de primer ministro hasta su muerte. Cf. H. de Vocht, *History of the Foundation and the Rise of the Collegium Trilingue Louaniense, 1517-1550, Humanistica Louaniensia*, 10-13 (Lovaina, 1951-1955), III, 350-355; *Biographie Nationale de la Belgique* (Bruselas, 1886-), VIII, cols 197-237; *Index Biographique Français*, 4 vols (München-London-New York-Oxford-Paris, 1993) IV, 1699; *Biografische Index van de Benelux*, 4 vols (München, 1997), II, 552.

⁷⁰ La reina de España por entonces era la cuarta esposa de Felipe II, Ana de Austria, hija de Maximiliano II, primo suyo, y de María de Austria, su hermana. Ana era, por lo tanto, sobrina carnal, y segunda al mismo tiempo del monarca. El 4 de mayo de 1570 se celebró la ceremonia matrimonial por poderes y el 3 de octubre llega a España la nueva reina. Ana de Austria fallece el 26 de octubre de 1580, a los 30 años de edad, víctima de una epidemia de gripe. Es conocida la afición de la reina por la naturaleza y la tranquilidad familiar, por lo que compartió con su esposo el entusiasmo por El Escorial. Desconozco qué tarea pudo haber encargado por estas fechas al capellán del rey.

tulo que trata de mi opinión sobre ti y de mi servicio hacia ti, el cual, tal y como había salido del yunque,⁷¹ ahora te lo envío y lo dejo a tu opinión y corrección para que me lo devuelvas lo antes posible con tu censura. Mas sólo pido encarecidamente a su dignidad una cosa, que ni se lo muestres a ningún español ni que digas una palabra de este asunto antes de que lo haya editado y publicado; cosa que, pues sé que es de tu estilo, pensé que había que advertírtela como quien conozco la forma de ser de mis paisanos. Adiós, señor y prelado piadosísimo, y si sabes que puedes usar de nosotros y nuestro servicio en algún asunto, convéncete de que lo haremos con sumo gusto. Desde este Monasterio Real de San Lorenzo, 21 de septiembre de 1579.

Según las referencias de las que disponemos, la entrevista entre Montano y Lindano tuvo lugar entre el 8 de septiembre (cuando ya está instalado en El Escorial), y el 21 de septiembre de 1579 (fecha de nuestro billete). Un nuevo dato que aporta nuestra misiva es que Lindano concertó una nueva cita en casa del cardenal Granvela, a donde no pudo acudir Montano, de lo que se disculpa en las líneas 4-6. Junto con sus excusas, el biblista español remite al obispo neerlandés las primicias del prometido prefacio en que declaraba la buena relación y admiración mutua que se profesaban, solicitándole al tiempo su censura. Lindano recibe la carta el 26 de septiembre, y no nos queda constancia de si el obispo llegó a enviar la censura a Montano. Curioso, al menos, me parece el hecho de que el español suplique encarecidamente a Lindano que no muestre el prólogo ni hable con nadie de él hasta que no se publique; y, depende de cómo se inteprete, puede hasta sorprender la razón que esgrime Montano para dar este aviso, porque sabe bien que este tipo de incontinencia verbal es propia del carácter del obispo. Cuando uno se sumerge en la correspondencia de Montano, así como en sus escritos más personales, descubre a un personaje bien alejado de la imagen de cándido y simple erudito que él mismo fomentaba: Arias Montano es un personaje vivo y astuto, sensible y gracioso, no carente a veces de malicia y espíritu intrigante. A la luz de este retrato, en verdad subjetivo, el investigador puede sentir la tentación, a la que confieso verme arrastrado, de entender como profundo recelo la aparente amistad que dice profesar el extremeño

⁷¹ '[...] ut ex incude prodierat'; es decir, aún sin limar, si entendemos la expresión en el sentido del adagio de Erasmo *Adag.* 217 C: 'incudi reddere', que bebe del horaciano 'Et male tornatos incudi reddere uersus'. Cf. *Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami opera omnia. Tomus secundus, complectens Adagia* (Hildesheim, 1961).

hacia el obispo, quien, tras largos años de polémica, era una persona que le disgustaba, y que, por ello, Montano aprovechó cualquier excusa para no volver a entrevistarse con su adversario.

4. La rivalidad continúa: últimos años de Lindano (1580-1586)

Al regresar Lindano a Flandes, no sólo no dejó pasar algún tiempo para reanudar las hostilidades, sino que preparó de inmediato una invectiva contra Montano con todas las acusaciones que había podido recolectar a lo largo de su viaje por España; y, sobre todo, en relación a ‘una anotación sobre uno de los evangelistas [...] y otra sobre un profeta’: no conozco cuál puede ser el comentario conflictivo sobre el evangelista, aunque creo que debemos acotar la cuestión a las *Elucidationes in quatuor euangelia, Matthaei, Marci, Lucae et Iohannis* (Amberes, 1575). Más documentado está el tema del profeta: los *Commentaria in XII Prophetas* de Arias Montano (primera edición de 1571 y segunda de 1583) levantaron entre los teólogos españoles una polvareda que venía especialmente de dos polémicas anotaciones, Malaquías 1,11 y Habacuc 1,3. Pero en los Países Bajos Montano contaba con mejores apoyos que en España. Los censores de Lovaina no sólo no consintieron que se publicara la invectiva de Lindano, sino que incluso consideraron innecesaria la publicación del testimonio público de amistad hacia Lindano que el español había redactado.

[...] e yo envié un breve tratado a Plantino en que protestaba la amistad que digo haberle prometido a Lindano, y de camino satisfacía a aquellas obgeciones, y le dije lo enviase primero a Lovaina y lo mostrase a los censores también, el cual tratado tengo aún en borrador. Después de cuatro y aún más meses tuve aviso de Flandes que los censores no habían consentido la impresión de su invectiva, y daban las razones de ello, y que los lovanienses habían tenido por superflua la diligencia y satisfacción mía como cosa en que allá no se dudaba, y más en tiempo en que se tomaría Lindano de nuevo al vómito tantas veces repetido.⁷²

Supongo que estos hechos tuvieron lugar poco después del regreso de Lindano a los Países Bajos, esto es, entre 1580 y 1581. Las objeciones que iba propagando Lindano a los escritos montanianos eran con toda probabilidad las recolectadas en España. El pasaje de Malaquías 1, 11 (‘ab ortu enim solis usque ad occasum magnum est nomen meum in gentibus, et in

⁷² Carvajal, *Elogio histórico*, cols 192 [b]-193 [a].

omni loco sacrificatur et offertur nomini meo oblatio munda, quia magnum est nomen meum in gentibus, dicit Deus exercituum') había sido interpretado desde San Justino como un anuncio del sacrificio de la Eucaristía, aunque Montano en sus comentarios sigue su método de lectura literal y se refiere a los sacrificios judíos. Debido a las censuras inmediatas y generalizadas, en la reedición de 1583 el sabio español rectifica, y deja clara su vinculación a la arcana interpretación comúnmente aceptada.

En cuanto a Habacuc 1, 3, tratando sobre la justicia moral, Montano acotaba 'utile quoque est quod illa omnino praediti fuerint aeternas in morte poenas non timebunt'.⁷³ En torno a este pasaje, ya desde la primera edición de la obra se habían pronunciado negativamente eminentes censores y teólogos españoles: la afirmación montaniana llevaba a la conclusión de que alguien dotado por naturaleza de esa justicia moral podría salvarse sin fe y sin la gracia de Dios. El hecho de que Lindano hubiese trasladado a los Países Bajos la condena pública de este pasaje, seguramente influyó en que Montano tratara por todos los medios de aclarar la cuestión en la segunda edición de la obra. La nueva propuesta del extremo fue: 'utile quoque est ut qui ea omnino praediti fuerint, si qui tamen fuerint, aeternas in morte poenas ob eam non timebunt';⁷⁴ para desesperación del sabio español, el polémico pasaje no aparecía corregido en los primeros ejemplares recibidos de la nueva edición. Algún tiempo después, posiblemente hacia 1586,⁷⁵ Montano redacta un breve tratado en el que se defiende de las objeciones que censores españoles y el propio Lindano venían poniendo a algunos pasajes montanianos; el escrito llevaba por título *De locis apud Habacuc et Malachiam notatis*.⁷⁶

⁷³ A. Dávila, 'La correspondencia de Arias Montano', n° 83 09 22, líneas 55-56. Propongo la siguiente traducción: 'También es provechoso que quienes hayan sido por completo dotados de ella [la justicia moral], no teman el castigo eterno en la muerte'.

⁷⁴ A. Dávila, 'La correspondencia de Arias Montano', n° 83 09 22, líneas 61-62. Propongo la siguiente traducción: 'También es provechoso que quienes hayan sido dotados de ella por completo, si hay alguien no obstante que lo haya sido, no teman por su causa el castigo eterno en la muerte'.

⁷⁵ Conjeturo este lapso cronológico pues, por un lado, disponemos de dos referencias que sirven de *terminus a quo*: la más segura es la fecha de reedición de los *Commentaria* (1583). Menos sólida, aunque yo la admito como hito cronológico válido, es la referencia de Montano a las críticas del censor Enrique de Grave, que tienen lugar en abril y mayo de 1586 (véase A. Dávila, 'La correspondencia de Arias Montano', n°s 86 05 03 y 86 05 22). Conjuntando estos dos hitos, creo que el tratado debió de ser escrito con posterioridad a la primavera de 1586.

⁷⁶ Editado y estudiado por B. Macías en su trabajo '*De locis apud Habacuc et Malachiam notatis*, una obra inédita de Benito Arias Montano', *Revista de Estudios Extremeños* 51-III (1995), 647-676.

En este tratado defensivo, Montano se refiere por dos veces a la hostilidad de Lindano. Tras explicar su comentario sobre Malaquías afirma:

Atqui in his omnibus quae aduersum scripta mea comparantur, manus quidem d[omini] Henrici Grauii uideo, uocem uero plane agnosco reuerendissimi Lindani, cuius ego iracundiam inuitus subiui dum pro ueritate ac publico usu codici cuidam ex Anglia delato Psalterii Hebraici incorrupti auctoritatem nullam esse ostenderem. Cuius ego uiri docti ac pii, et in Catholica Ecclesia episcopatum gerentis, et dignitatem colere et gratiam conciliare mihi hactenus studui. Idque illius benignitate concessum optaui, cui non tam illius codicis laus quam uera ipsa ratio aestimanda fuerat. Verum quidquid ille aduersum me nomenque meum egerit, nullo alio pacto quam obseruantia beneuolentiaeque erga se mea uindicatum mihi fore ut intelligat cupio.⁷⁷

Al nombre de Lindano aparece asociado el de Enrique de Grave: tras la reconquista de Amberes a manos de las tropas españolas en el verano de 1585, el teólogo de Lovaina plantea a Plantino ciertas objeciones a algunas obras impresas durante el período de dominación calvinista, entre ellas los *Commentaria in XII prophetas* y el *Iosuae*;⁷⁸ parece que de Grave, haciéndose seguramente eco de los pasajes polémicos censurados en España y por el propio Lindano, mostró especial hostilidad contra los *Commentaria*, pues pensaba que habían sido reimpresos como en la primera edición y sin el permiso de Montano. Plantino solucionó el problema enviando al censor un ejemplar corregido por la mano de Arias, con lo que demostraba que la segunda edición era bien distinta a la primera.⁷⁹

Tras justificar su lectura de Habacuc 1,3, Montano trae de nuevo a colación el nombre de su émulo neerlandés: ‘Y lo mismo que respondí

⁷⁷ ‘En cualquier caso, en todo esto que se me va acumulando contra mis escritos veo en efecto la mano del señor Enrique Gravio, pero reconozco con claridad la voz del Reverendísimo Lindano, cuya ira me he granjeado, a mi pesar, por haber demostrado en aras de la verdad y la utilidad pública que cierto códice, procedente de Inglaterra, que contiene el Salterio hebreo incorrupto, carece por completo del valor que le atribuye. Yo, por mi parte, he procurado hasta el momento respetar la dignidad y granjearme el favor de este hombre sabio y piadoso que ostenta la dignidad episcopal en el seno de la Iglesia Católica. Y esto he deseado alcanzarlo de su benignidad, pues no debió atender tanto a la fama de aquel códice como a la razón misma. Sin embargo, cualquier acción que él haya emprendido contra mi persona o contra mi nombre, quiero que entienda que no va a obtener por mi parte más respuesta que nuestro respeto y benevolencia hacia su persona’. Edición y traducción de B. Macías en ‘*De locis apud Habacuc*’, pp. 669-671.

⁷⁸ *De optimo imperio in librum Iosuae commentarium* (Amberes, 1583).

⁷⁹ Se puede seguir este proceso en las cartas editadas en A. Dávila, ‘La correspondencia de Arias Montano’, n^{os} 86 05 03 y 86 05 22.

y demostré ante el Inquisidor General [en torno al citado pasaje], se lo declaré, si no me falla la memoria, al Reverendísimo Lindano'. El obispo continuaba la guerra en la primavera de 1586; Plantino comunica en una interesante carta a Montano que ha recibido una misiva de Lindano con la siguiente solicitud: 'si conoce vuestra merced algún sitio donde esté en venta la *Biblia* editada en Alcalá, me haría un gran favor comunicándomelo: doctísimos señores se sorprenden en todo el mundo de que esta *Biblia* discrepa de la vuestra en no pocos pasajes'.⁸⁰ Extraña y conflictiva se nos muestra la actitud de Lindano, que pide favores e información a quienes intenta destruir con sus afanes. Plantino se lamenta — y hasta se horroriza — en esa misma carta de la soberbia y altanería de Lindano.

En 1587 Lindano es nombrado obispo de Gante, sede vacante después de la muerte de Cornelio Jansenio (1575). En el colmo del cinismo, pues no fue poco el daño que infligió a la imprenta plantiniana, Lindano maquina imprimir todas sus obras y solicitar la impresión a Plantino. El tipógrafo de Amberes le responde que en aquellos momentos, 16 de septiembre de 1587, no podía imprimir nada de su bolsillo, 'pero que estaría preparado para imprimir a cuenta de otros todo lo que se me encargara aprobado según la ley y provisto de privilegios'.⁸¹ El caso es que entre las obras que quería imprimir Lindano aparecía un tratado titulado, según Plantino, *De Pelagianismis B. A. M.*; en mi edición interpreto las iniciales como las de Benito Arias Montano, en caso genitivo. Según esta lectura, hemos de suponer que Lindano se había dedicado a compendiar todos los deslices montanianos que apuntaban a la herejía de Pelagio, de algunos de los cuales tenemos noticias precisamente en relación con los *Commentaria in XII prophetas*: así, Hernando del Castillo advierte a Montano el 17 de junio de 1573 que al afirmar en torno al capítulo segundo de su comentario a Oseas que la primera fe que hay en el hombre es en parte natural y en parte infusa, y que posteriormente, cuando ha sido probado en esta primera fe, recibe otra sobrenatural, de origen divino, parece beber de Pelagio, quien defendía que 'initium fidei est ex nobis, sed consummatio fidei est a Deo';⁸² por otro lado, una de las principales objeciones de la Inquisición al polémico pasaje de Habacuc era que 'si el hombre puede poseer esta justicia filosófica sin la fe de

⁸⁰ A. Dávila, 'La correspondencia de Arias Montano', n° 86 05 03, líneas 28-29.

⁸¹ A. Dávila, 'La correspondencia de Arias Montano', n° 87 09 16, líneas 39-45.

⁸² B. Macías, *De locis apud Habacuc*, p. 650.

Cristo, de modo que cumpla con el derecho consuetudinario (*omnia praecepta morum*) y con las leyes de la naturaleza, esto se aproxima a la herejía pelagiana, la cual sostiene que el hombre puede cumplir todos sus mandamientos divinos sin la gracia de Dios'.⁸³ Quizás este tratado *De Pelagianismis* es la invectiva de la que habla Montano que andaba preparando Lindano desde su vuelta de España en 1580.

Pero ya se sabe que genio y figura hasta la sepultura. Pocos días antes de morir, hecho que tuvo lugar el 2 de noviembre de 1588, Lindano mantuvo una entrevista con Plantino que resume muy bien tanto su carácter como la tormentosa pero voluble relación que mantuvo con la imprenta amberense y su protector Arias Montano. Escribimos las palabras del propio impresor: 'Hace algunas semanas emergió de esta cárcel corporal y tenebrosa el señor Lindano, otrora obispo de Roermond y ahora de Gante, quien pocos días antes, encontrándose en Amberes, me citó formalmente y casi de mala gana me condujo a su casa que aquí tiene en propiedad como obispo de Gante, y tras terminar el almuerzo me apartó de todos los testigos y tuvo conmigo unas palabras sobre mi protector [Montano], sobre la *Biblia Regia*, sobre León [de Castro] y algunas otras cosas a las que, al responderle una y otra vez y sin miedo lo que Dios me sugería de improviso, pareció enmudecer y quedarse algo estupefacto o encolerizarse porque no le confiara nada o poco de las cosas que decía que yo también veía. Quiso despedirme con su indulgencia y me confió algunas obras suyas para imprimirlas, prometiéndome que haría los gastos, cosa que al anticipársele la muerte no hizo debido a la rapidez con que ocurrió'.⁸⁴

Poco se detiene Montano en esta fase de la polémica al narrarla en la citada carta a Esteban de Salazar. Todo lo resume con la predicción de que por mucho que lo intentara evitar, Lindano 'se tornaría de nuevo al vómito tantas veces repetido'.⁸⁵ Pocos datos más sobre esta polémica quedan por hilvanar de entre los documentos a los que he tenido acceso. La perspectiva que esta síntesis ofrece al estudioso es la de una rivalidad de origen científico avivada por la arrogancia intelectual y el narcisismo de muchos de los que nos dedicamos a la investigación; el fuerte carácter de Lindano y la encubierta malicia de Montano poco contribuyeron a limar asperezas y llegar a difíciles consensos. Lo cierto es que el pulso

⁸³ B. Macías, '*De locis apud Habacuc*', p. 658.

⁸⁴ Plantino a Montano, en A. Dávila, 'La correspondencia de Arias Montano', n.º [88 12 13-89 01 07], líneas 5-13.

⁸⁵ Carvajal, *Elogio histórico*, col. 193 [a].

que mantienen Lindano y Montano durante la segunda mitad del XVI es el mismo que enfrenta a dos posturas metodológicas ante el estudio y el análisis de la Biblia; y, en verdad, tal y como evolucionaban los tiempos, quienes como Montano defendían las fuentes hebreas y la interpretación literal frente a la Vulgata y las lecturas amparadas por Roma, se encontraban en una posición más débil que las de los pertinaces perseguidores de la herejía. A la espera de nuevos documentos como el que nos han brindado los Archivos Generales del Reino de Bruselas, en este trabajo espero haber recorrido los momentos cruciales de la polémica Lindano-Montano y haber analizado con claridad tanto los principales puntos de conflicto como las actitudes de los dos protagonistas.

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Dirk SACRÉ

INTRODUCTION

Our European libraries are well furnished with the works of Erycius Puteanus (Venlo, 1574 — Leuven, 1646); this means that the man was successful in his age and that he had won the esteem of his contemporaries. In our century, however, he has been relegated to oblivion. Several reasons may explain this. This humanist's Latin is often more difficult and more affected than that of Justus Lipsius (Overijse, 1547 — Leuven, 1606), his predecessor at Leuven university. Puteanus produced masses of mostly brief works (he was very proud of the number of his works and therefore issued, almost a quarter of a century before his death, a booklet containing his bibliography to date and a list of works he intended to write). The total number of letters he dispatched or received is unknown; it is estimated at some 20.000 (many of which lie unpublished in various European libraries), whereas the correspondence of Lipsius amounts to 'only' 4.300 (preserved) letters. Further it is beyond doubt that his contribution to the textual criticism and hermeneutics of the ancient writers is not comparable to that of Lipsius. Late humanism, a priori considered as rather unimportant, has not enjoyed a large popularity on the part of classical and Neo-Latin scholars, and for a long time has shared the neglect that once befell the Latin authors of late antiquity. This is especially obvious when one reads Théophile Simar's *Etude sur Erycius Puteanus*¹, which dates from 1909 but is still the only standard work on the humanist. Simar, who was one of the rare scholars who feel no sympathy for the figure they are working on, considered Puteanus a vain man whose works mainly consisted of word spinning.

Almost a century later, the time has come to restore the balance and to do justice to Puteanus through a fresh examination of his published works and an exploration of the unpublished material. Scholars of the

¹ (1574-1646) considéré spécialement dans l'histoire de la philologie belge et dans son enseignement à l'université de Louvain (Louvain, Paris, Bruxelles, 1909).

end of the twentieth century are aware of the fact that if Puteanus was perhaps not a leading classical philologist or antiquarian, his qualities might be found in other fields; they realise that they should try to examine why he was popular in his day and what he himself tried to achieve. A comparison with Lipsius is inevitable, too, because Puteanus as a Leuven professor burdened with the prestige his predecessor had enjoyed, felt obliged to style himself as an *alter Lipsius* or an *alter a Lipsio* ("Lucet ille, audebo sublucere" he once wrote). But perhaps Puteanus's interests lay elsewhere and times had changed. It is striking that our humanist was a belletteristic writer, much more than Lipsius had been: if Lipsius wrote a brief *Somnium* on textual criticism, his pupil Puteanus wrote a large, still readable, novel criticizing gluttony and dipsomania, a Menippean satire that was published more than eight times in a period of twenty years. Whoever starts browsing through his vast correspondence will be enchanted by the elegance of his style — for in my opinion, as a writer Puteanus was at his best in his familiar letters- and will realize how he was a central node in a network of scholars and authors. His students in Milan and later in Leuven must have been captivated by his eloquent lessons; the practice of rhetoric was capital in his eyes, his training impressive. His *Palaestra bonae mentis*, a kind of academy in which the youth learned to express itself in fluent and elegant Latin, the sessions of which took place in the *Collegium Trilingue* and in the Leuven castle of which Puteanus was a governor, attracted dozens of students, among them many foreigners, especially Polish noblemen. There are other aspects of his activities which lie hidden in his numerous *opuscula* and deserve to be investigated. Let me mention only one. A few months after Lipsius's death, Puteanus, in the stronghold of Latin, the *Collegium Trilingue*, extolled the Dutch language in his (Latin) inaugural address to the students and authorities of Leuven university (1607). Moreover he played an important role as a patron of the Dutch muse and as a promoter of literature in the vernacular, and in addition tried his hand at Dutch poetry himself.² There are some similarities between Puteanus and his Leiden colleague Daniel Heinsius († 1655). Evidently Puteanus, a man with pedagogical gifts and an eloquent pen, was fascinated by the beauty of Latin and of other languages; he tried to achieve a thing of beauty in

² Cp. now Erycius Puteanus (Honorius van den Born), *Sedigh Leven, Daghelycks Broodt* (1639). Ingeleid, uitgegeven en toegelicht door H. Dehennin, *Littéraire tekstedities en bibliografieën*, 1 (Gent: Koninklijke Academie voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde, 1999).

his own writings, but sometimes went too far in his love of eloquence, searching for the brilliant word at the expense of the idea. Under his influence, the *Collegium Trilingue* during the last age in which it still flourished, switched from classical scholarship to belles-lettres and practical oratory in Latin; that evolution was tied up with his Leuven successor, the playwright and orator Nicolaus Vernulaeus († 1649).

In order to foster the study of Puteanus, it was decided to convene an international colloquium under the auspices of *Orbis Neolatinus*. *Vlaamse Vereniging voor de Studie van Humanisme en Neolatijn*, the *Seminarium Philologiae Humanisticae* of the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, and the *Sectie Latijn en Grieks* of the Universiteit Antwerpen (UFSIA). The colloquium, prepared by an Organizing Committee under the direction of Prof. Dr. D. Sacré (Leuven/Antwerpen) and consisting of M. de Schepper (Brussels), Prof. Dr. J. IJsewijn (Leuven), Prof. Dr. H. Meeus (Antwerp), Dr. F. de Nave (Antwerp) and Prof. Dr. R. De Smet (Brussels), and sponsored by the *Fonds voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek-Vlaanderen* and the Antwerp and Leuven Universities, took place at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven and the Universiteit Antwerpen (UFSIA) from 7 to 9 November 1996. More than 25 colleagues discussed various aspects of Erycius Puteanus' life and times, his activities, writings, doctrines and learned friends.³ For the sake of Puteanus and of the study of Leuven and European humanism, I am glad that these long-awaited *Acta Puteanaea (selecta)* now appear in print.

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³ Some of the papers were not intended for publication, other ones have been published elsewhere; Antonio Iurilli's 'Erycius Puteanus: dalla Biblioteca Ambrosiana alla Lovaniense', *Accademie e biblioteche d'Italia*, 65 (1997), no. 3, 5-22, deserves special mention.

Wilhelm RIBHEGGE

COUNTER-REFORMATION POLITICS, SOCIETY AND CULTURE
IN THE SOUTHERN NETHERLANDS, RHINELAND AND
WESTPHALIA IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE 17TH CENTURY

When Emperor Charles V abdicated as Emperor and Duke of Burgundy at Brussels in 1556, the whole of Europe and most of the countries he had ruled were divided or doomed to division. After his election as Emperor in 1519 and his confrontation with Luther in Worms two years later, he fought a lifelong struggle against this outcome. Eight years after his abdication, the Council of Trent ended and the Europe of Christendom had become Europe of Protestantism and Catholicism. The Treaty of Augsburg of 1555 had combined confessionalism with territorial rule and under the principle of "*cuius regio, eius religio*" established religious peace in Germany for more than half a century. But, by the same principle, confessionalism and politics were indissolubly combined.

Political confessionalism was Europe's first experience of ideology in politics. While in Germany the principle of confessional politics became the ground for peace, in France the same principle resulted in the Massacre of St Bartholomew's Eve in 1572 and religious and political civil war for nearly half a century. In Catholic Spain and Protestant England confessional politics led to the origins of the modern nation state. Scandinavia was to follow suit. In the Netherlands the uprising of the seven Northern provinces started the division of the country and in the end was to create another nation state, the Dutch Republic. In the Southern Netherlands, which were under Spanish rule, and in the neighbouring territories of the Rhineland and Westphalia as well as in Bavaria, confessional politics worked against the nation state. These territories were to become the strongholds of the Counter-Reformation in Europe north of the Alps until the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 consolidated and pacified the confessional division of Europe. It was in this Counter-Reformation milieu that Erius Puteanus was brought up and in which he remained to the end of his life in 1646.

The following paper does not intend to be a contribution to Puteanus' biography itself. I shall delineate the political, cultural and social background which formed the outer framework of his biography.

As a reaction to Spanish military politics in the Netherlands, the seven Northern provinces declared their independence in 1581. In some way this action fixed the borderline between Reformation and Counter-Reformation in North-western Europe. Disputes about the conversion of the Elector and Archbishop of Cologne, Gebhard Truchseß, to Protestantism in the 1580s seemed to undermine one of the last strongholds of Catholicism in the regions of the Rhineland and of Westphalia. If Cologne collapsed and went over to Protestantism, Germany was to become a predominantly Protestant country. Even the city of Aachen, which had become a home for Protestant refugees from the Netherlands and which, like Cologne, was one of the last imperial cities which had remained Catholic, was preparing to cross the confessional border. Counter-Reformation reaction to this situation led to the intervention of Spanish troops from the Southern Netherlands in Northwestern Germany. When Truchseß was deposed by a papal decree Ernest of Bavaria, one of the sons of the Wittelsbach dynasty of Bavaria, which was the outpost of the Catholic Counter-Reformation in Southern Germany, became Elector and Archbishop of Cologne. As Truchseß had not renounced his rights as prince-bishop both parties, Protestant and Catholic princes, continued their petty war of succession for some years. Truchseß had some followers in the mountainous regions of the Sauerland, in those territories of the Electorate of Cologne which were east of the Rhine. But in the end the Counter-Reformation coalition with active Spanish military help left the field victorious. The Cologne conflict became a landmark in the relations between Catholics and Protestants in Germany. For the first time the continual progress of Protestantism in Germany seemed to be stopped, though by power politics. After that date, the Catholic Wittelsbach dynasty held the post of the Elector of Cologne for over the next one hundred and fifty years. The new Elector Ernest of Bavaria combined the Archbishopric of Cologne with the Westphalian prince-bishoprics of Paderborn and Münster as did his nephew Ferdinand of Bavaria who ruled the Cologne see from 1612 to 1650. In France, Henry of Navarre had ended the religious civil war with the edict of Nantes in 1598. It gave freedom to the Calvinist Huguenots and at the same time it secured that France remained a Catholic country. So at the end of the sixteenth century the borderline between Reformation and Counter-Reformation in Europe north of the Alps was fixed.

This borderline, however, was precarious and it was not left undisputed. The resulting disputes were the origin of the Thirty Years War. But during these frightful years of war, Europe began to distance itself from the principle of confessional politics. The experience of the mixture of religion, politics and war led to the conclusion to separate the spheres of religion and politics. This achievement has become one of the most precious values of modern European political culture up to the present day. The European states and nations resolved to emancipate themselves from the bounds of universal religious institutions. In 1648, the settlement of the Peace of Westphalia marked the end of the Middle Ages and of the universalist world of Emperor Charles V. Among the few who clearly discerned what had happened was the pope. At first he hesitated to approve or disapprove. But in the end, his verdict was a definitively declined of the Peace of Westphalia. The pope's verdict reverberated even three hundred years later in a letter from Pope Pius XII to the bishop of Münster on the occasion of the 300th anniversary of the Peace of Westphalia.

The political structure of Counter-Reformation Europe, which was as in other places in the terms of Max Weber a "patrimoniale Herrschaft", was held together by family ties. The Southern Netherlands were ruled from 1598 to 1621 by the Archdukes, by Albert of Austria, the son of the Habsburg Emperor and Isabella, the daughter of Philip II of Spain.¹ Owing to his dynastic strategy, Duke Albert of Bavaria (1550-1579), who transformed Bavaria into the most important stronghold of Catholic Germany, envisaged his eldest son, William, as his successor as the Duke of Bavaria (1579-1597) and another son, Ernest, for ecclesiastical charges. From 1583 on, Ernest accumulated in due course the bishoprics of the lower Rhine and Westphalia, even though the Council of Trent had strictly forbidden the practice of accumulating ecclesiastical sees. Duke William found an ally in the bishop of Würzburg, Julius Echter von Mespelbrunn (1573-1617) to strengthen Catholicism in neighbouring Franconia. The Catholic Electorates of Mainz and Trier completed the tapestry of Catholic territories in the south and west of Germany, while the Palatinate with the University of Heidelberg became a stronghold of

¹ Cf. Hugo de Schepper - Geoffrey Parker, 'The formation of government policy in the Catholic Netherlands under "the Archdukes", 1596-1621', *The English Historical Review*, 62 (1976), 241-254; James D. Tracy, 'With and without the counter-reformation: the Catholic Church in the Spanish Netherlands and the Dutch Republic, 1580-1650', *The Catholic Historical Review*, 71 (1985), 547-575.

German Calvinism and the Swabian cities and territories were outposts of Lutheranism in Germany's Southwest. The Catholic Wittelsbach predominance in the bishoprics of the Rhineland and Westphalia was consolidated when Ferdinand, the brother of Duke Maximilian (1597-1651), both sons of Duke William, succeeded to his uncle Ernest as Elector of Cologne and holder of the bishoprics of Münster and Paderborn. Both Wittelsbach brothers reigned for the whole period of the Thirty Years War and were renowned for their catholic militancy. Only in the dukedom of Cleves-Berg in the lower Rhine neighbouring the Netherlands was the confessional future undetermined. The policy of the Dukes of Cleves, influenced by the Erasmian spirit, had avoided any definite decision between the frontiers of Reformation and Counter-Reformation. Finally, in 1609/14 the regulation of the succession for this dukedom divided the whole Rhenisch-Westphalian territory in two, allotting the northern territories of Cleves and Mark to the Protestant Elector of Brandenburg and the southern territories of Berg and Jülich to the count of Neuburg-Palatine who had converted to Catholicism to keep the confessional balance right. Thus an imminent war of succession could be avoided.

As the political structure of the Counter-Reformation territories was only loosely knit and in some way merely casual², there were nevertheless inner forces which reconstructed the unity of the Catholic world of Europe and provided its cultural profile for centuries to come. The enforcement of the decrees of Trent caused a reorganization of the church system and a tendency towards centralization and bureaucratization within the Roman curia. The inherent anti-feudal and anti-national implications of the Catholic reform conflicted with the interests of European monarchies and aristocracies and this explains their initial hesitancy in complying with the Roman reform programme. Counter-Reformation Rome founded new congregations out of the cardinalate which were charged with supervising and fostering the religious life. The diplomatic system of nuncios was reorganised as an intermediary station between Rome and the national and regional episcopates and even as an instrument of church control. One of the most important nuncios was that of Cologne, comprising Germany and the Netherlands. In 1598 its district was divided and a further nuncio in Brussels was established in

² Cf. Jörg Engelbrecht, *Landesgeschichte Nordrhein-Westfalen* (Stuttgart, 1994), pp. 147-161.

recognition of the importance of the southern Netherlands as the outpost of Counter-Reformation in North-western Europe and for the Catholic "missions" to Protestant England, the Dutch Republic and Scandinavia.³ A further innovation was the erection of seminaries for the training of priests and the improvement of clerical spirituality. The publication of the Roman Catechism, the Roman Breviary and finally under Clement VIII of the new version of the Latin Vulgate had a centralizing effect. The modernising tendency within the post-Tridentine church is often underestimated. One of its most enduring measures, even nowadays, was the calendar reform of Pope Gregory XIII of 1582, which Russia, for example, accepted only after the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 as a kind of late tribute to the Counter-Reformation.⁴

The most effective measures of Catholic renovation, however, were not introduced by the bureaucracy of the Roman cardinalate, but by the voluntarism of individuals and the members of the new religious orders, the Jesuits, the Capuchins, the Theatines and the Oratorians. In the cities, the new female order of the Ursulines established schools for young bourgeois women.⁵ One of the outstanding personalities of the Catholic reform movement was Carlo Borromeo who left the curia to reform his diocese, the Archbishopric of Milan. Milan, at the time of Borromeo under Spanish rule, was to become an Italian lighthouse of Catholic Reform radiating even into the Netherlands and Lower Germany.⁶ Puteanus was sent by his teacher Lipsius to Milan to be introduced to the rhetoric and rituals of Catholic humanism and Peter Paul Rubens went from Antwerp to Northern Italy to be introduced into the elements of baroque culture, architecture and painting. The biographies of both Puteanus and Rubens indicate the cultural interchange between the Counter-Reformation culture in Italy and Northern Europe. It is improbable that this interchange would have worked without Spanish political dominance in the Netherlands, Milan and Italy.

³ Klaus Jockenhövel, *Rom-Brüssel-Gottorf. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der gegenreformatorischen Versuche in Nordeuropa 1622-1637* (Neumünster, 1989).

⁴ John W. O'Malley (ed.), *Catholicism in Early Modern History. A Guide to Research* (St. Louis, Mo., 1988); Hermann Tüchle (ed.), *Reformation und Gegenreformation, Geschichte der Kirche*, vol. 3 (Zürich, 1965), pp. 155-281.

⁵ Anne Conrad, *Zwischen Kloster und Welt. Ursulinen und Jesuitinnen in der katholischen Reformbewegung des 16./17. Jahrhunderts* (Mainz, 1991).

⁶ John M. Headley — John B. Tomaro (eds.), *San Carlo Borromeo: Catholic Reform and Ecclesiastical Politics in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century* (Washington, D.C., 1988).

Recent studies of the sixteenth century have concentrated on problems of popular and elite culture and the process of confessionalisation.⁷ The practice of Counter-Reformation, however, does not really fit into these categories as they leave out the impetus of the new Catholic spirituality and the charisma of the personalities who were involved. Most important impetus for the creation of a new cultural life in the Southern Netherlands, Rhineland and Westphalia came from the Jesuits. But it is difficult to discern whether they reformed the regional elites or the broader classes of society. In fact, they did both. Of course, the proceedings of the Jesuits were well planned, organized and instrumental. The first outstanding Jesuit from the lower Rhine was Petrus Canisius, born in Nijmegen, who had studied in Cologne and was influenced in his youth by the spirituality of the *devotio moderna* and the Carthusians of Cologne. In 1544, he founded a Jesuit community in Cologne which run since 1557 the traditional gymnasium of the "Tricoronatum". After a two-year stay in Italy where he attended the Council of Trent, Canisius was charged by Ignatius in 1549 at the age of 28 with the founding of Jesuit settlements in Germany. His reforming activity lasted for nearly fifty years. He founded Jesuit colleges in Bavaria, Prague and Vienna, he was for some time the rector of the University of Ingolstadt, court preacher in Vienna and Salzburg, cathedral preacher in Augsburg where 90 percent of the populace was Protestant, and he propagated the enforcement of the decrees of Trent in Germany. Following Luther's example, he wrote catechisms for clerics and laymen. When he started his work, the Catholic population of Germany was judged to be about 10 percent. When he died in 1597 in Freiburg, Switzerland, the confessional world north the Alps had changed.⁸

The first appearance of Spanish Jesuits in the Southern Netherlands, backed by the King of Spain, Philip II at the time of the rising conflict

⁷ Cf. Robert Muchembled, *Kultur des Volkes — Kultur der Eliten. Die Geschichte einer erfolgreichen Verdrängung* (Stuttgart, 1982); Geoffrey Parker, *Europe in Crisis 1598-1648* (Glasgow, 1984), pp. 294-320; Heinz Schilling, 'Confessional Europe', in Thomas A. Brady — Heiko A. Oberman — James D. Tracy (eds.), *Handbook of European History 1400-1600*, vol. II (Leiden - New York - Köln, 1995), pp. 641-681; Kaspar von Greyerz (ed.), *Religion and Society in Early Modern Europe* (London, 1984); Peter Burke, 'Popular Religion. An Overview', in Hans J. Hillerbrand (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, vol. 3 (Oxford, 1996), pp. 295-299.

⁸ John Patrick Donnelly, 'Peter Canisius', in Hans J. Hillerbrand (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1996), pp. 253-254; Engelbert M. Buxbaum, *Petrus Canisius und die kirchliche Erneuerung des Herzogtums Bayern 1549-1556* (Rom, 1973); James Brodrick, *Saint Peter Canisius, S.J., 1521-1591* (Chicago, 1962).

with the northern provinces was naturally met with distrust by the cities and estates of the provinces. The first Jesuit colleges were founded in the 1560s in Dinant, Saint-Omer, Cambrai, Douai, and Liège. In the 1570s, the founding of colleges in Antwerp, Bruges and Maastricht followed. The patriotic movement aroused by the Spanish Pacification of Gent in 1576 forced the Jesuits to leave the country for nine years. The second approach of the Jesuits under the direction of Olivier Mannaerts was more successful. Jesuit colleges and attractive schools blossomed everywhere and the bourgeois youth of the cities was won for the Catholic Reform. Jesuits engaged in the battle of theological controversy, but had to experience the censure of the universities of Louvain and Douai. They turned to the sources of the christian fathers of antiquity, whose lives they edited followed by the famous series of "The lives of saints" ("Acta Sanctorum") which gave Catholic Reform a deeper historical background. Other activities were directed to the broader public in the urban centres of the Low Countries. Flemish Jesuits like Frans de Costere and Jan David produced popular religious and polemical writings, among them David's "The Christian Beehive" (1600) and "The Flower Garden of the Church's Ceremonies" (1607).⁹

The Jesuits favoured the veneration of St. Mary and initiated the founding of Marian sodalities among the lay people in the cities as well as pilgrimages to places of the veneration of St. Mary ("Notre-Dame"). These activities together with the Corpus Christi processions became highly popular with the guilds of the cities and gradually this Catholic popular culture of religious feasts created a kind of national identity in Belgium, distancing itself from the iconoclasm and religious sobriety of the Calvinists in the Dutch Republic.¹⁰ The Jesuits followed a strategy to transform the traditional popular religious culture in the Rhineland and Westphalia and they favoured High German to the regional dialect of Low German. In the diocese of Münster, the small town of Telgte became a popular centre of Marian pilgrimages from all over the diocese. This practice was systematically initiated by the local Jesuits of Münster in collaboration with the prince-bishop.¹¹ The centre of pilgrimages to St. Mary in the lower Rhine became Kevelaer near the Counter-Reformation stronghold of

⁹ William Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus* (St. Louis, 1986), pp. 140-141.

¹⁰ Jean-Marie Mayeur et al., *Die Geschichte des Christentums. Religion-Politik-Kultur*, vol. 8: *Die Zeit der Konfessionen (1530-1620/30)* (Freiburg, 1992), p. 501.

¹¹ Werner Freitag, *Volks- und Elitenfrömmigkeit in der frühen Neuzeit. Marienwallfahrten im Fürstbistum Münster* (Paderborn, 1991).

Geldern. The pilgrimages to Kevelaer went back to the initiative of the bishop of Roermond in 1620 who cooperated with the new congregation of the Oratorians. Even more than the pilgrimages to Telgte, the pilgrimages to Kevelaer have been popular from that time to the present.

When the Jesuit province of Belgium was divided in two in 1612, 720 Jesuits, holding twenty-eight colleges, lived there. The period of the Thirty Years War was favourable to the Jesuits in the Spanish Netherlands because they were not directly afflicted by warfare as the neighbouring regions of the Rhineland and Westphalia were. The number of Jesuits in Belgium rose to 1700 around the year 1640.¹² During the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, history was discovered as a mighty weapon to influence the mentalities and the consciousness of their contemporaries. It was in this strain that the Belgian Jesuits produced the triumphant *Imago primi saeculi*, a voluminous portrait of 952 pages about the first century of the Jesuits, in Antwerp in 1640, which was a far cry from the humble and pious origins of the Jesuit order in Europe and in the Netherlands as well.

The establishment of Jesuit settlements in the Rhineland and Westphalia occurred in several waves. The first Jesuit college in Trier was founded by the Elector in 1561 in order to run the local university against the initial opposition of the local magistrate. In the same year, a Jesuit college which ran the local Gymnasium was founded in Mainz. Jesuit colleges followed in Speyer in 1567. A second wave in the 1580s led to the founding of colleges in Paderborn (1580) and Münster (1588), both of which ran the local cathedral schools. The Paderborn prince-bishop Dietrich von Fürstenberg, who had been raised by the Jesuits in Cologne and was a personality of outstanding literary qualities, brought about the development of the Paderborn school into an academy. It was the first university in Westphalia. In 1590, a Jesuit establishment was founded in Bonn, and in 1591 in Neuss. The next wave was in the first half of the seventeenth century with the founding of Aachen 1603, Falkenhagen in 1604, Düsseldorf in 1619, Emmerich in 1603, Xanten in 1609, Osnabrück in 1625, Siegen in 1626, Coesfeld in 1627, Düren in 1628 and Büren in 1651.¹³

¹² Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, p. 228.

¹³ *Rheinische Geschichte*, ed.. Franz Petri u. Georg Droege, vol. 2: *Neuzeit* (Düsseldorf, 1976), p.187; *Monastisches Westfalen. Klöster und Stifte 800-1800* (exhibition catalogue) (Münster, 1982), pp. 225-233; Alois Schröer, *Die Kirche in Westfalen im Zeichen der Erneuerung (1555-1648)*, Bd. 2: *Die Gegenreformation in den geistlichen Landes-herrschaften* (Münster, 1987), pp. 4-11.

The Latin schools in Westphalia were run by the new orders of Jesuits and the Capuchins. With the Jesuit Church of St. Peter in Münster and Mariä Himmelfahrt in Cologne, both constructed by the same architect in a mixture of gothic and baroque styles, and the Jesuit baroque church of St. Andreas in Düsseldorf, the Counter-Reformation left its memorial in the townscape of those cities.¹⁴

In his history of the Dutch Republic Jonathan Israel emphasizes the connections between the Counter-Reformations in the Southern Netherlands and in the Northern Rhine area and Westphalia: "There too a new culture was in the making since the 1580s, a rolling back of the tide of Protestantism and effective re-Catholicization of the populace with the aid of educational tools and cultural resources imported from Italy and south Germany." Though the Tridentine Decrees had been promulgated at Münster in 1571, "the real start of the re-Catholicization programme came with the arrival of the Jesuits in 1588 and their take-over of the principal schools." Referring to the detailed research of Ronald Hsia Po-chia on Münster Israel points out: "Although most of the Jesuits active in Münster were local men, the 'Little-Rome' they created there brought about major changes in the cultural profile of Westphalia. They inculcated a political and social outlook in the sons of the Catholic nobility and merchant class who flocked to them from all over north Germany and the north-east Netherlands, hostile to toleration and the civic privileges and freedoms around them in an attitude militantly confessional and favourable to the new Catholic princely absolutism of the north-west German ecclesiastical states."¹⁵ The insight of the Jesuits into the working mechanisms of society and of its age-structure enabled them to instigate the first European youth movement, one might say. In this way, the Jesuits were modernizers.

Jesuit education widened the horizon of the pupils from a mere local or provincial outlook to national and European perspectives.¹⁶ The Jesuit

¹⁴ Cf. Rudolf Wittkower — Irma Jaffe (eds.), *Baroque Art: the Jesuit Contribution* (New York, 1972); Klaus Müller, 'Unter pfalz-neuburgischer und pfalz-bayerischer Herrschaft (1614-1803)', in Hugo Weidenhaupt (ed.), *Düsseldorf. Geschichte von den Ursprüngen bis ins 20. Jahrhundert*, vol. 2: *Von der Residenzstadt zur Beamtenstadt (1614-1900)* (Düsseldorf, 1990), p. 16.

¹⁵ Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic: its raise, greatness and fall 1477-1806* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), p. 417.

¹⁶ R. Pochia Hsia, *Society and Religion in Münster 1535-1618* (New Haven and London, 1984), p. 154.

Latin school drama was a special means to achieve this new orientation.¹⁷ The militant Counter-Reformation prince-bishop of Münster (1650-1678), Christoph Bernhard von Galen, who considered himself the governor of an outpost of Rome in a Catholic oasis surrounded by a vast desert of Protestantism in Northwestern Germany and Holland¹⁸, had been educated in his youth at the Jesuit school of Münster and later studied in Mainz, Cologne, Louvain and Bourges. The missionary work of the Jesuits, like that of Francis Xavier even inculcated cosmopolitan interests in the Jesuit pupils. Two former Jesuit students of Cologne, the young Rhenish noblemen Friedrich von Spee and Adam Schall, rivalled each other to be sent on missionary work to China. Schall succeeded and became renowned as a missionary and astronomer to the imperial court of China.¹⁹

The Reformation and Counter-Reformation developed the printing press into a highly effective instrument of influence on the public mind. There was an increasing flow of books, though predominantly on matters of religion and moral conduct, but also on administration, law and secular matters. Centres of Counter-Reformation printing were Antwerp, Cologne and Münster.²⁰ Henri Pirenne comments on the role of the Jesuit writers in his "Histoire de Belgique": "La production littéraire des Jésuites belges de 1600 à 1650 environ a réellement de quoi surprendre l'imagination. Elle rappelle par son abondance celle des

¹⁷ Jean-Marie Valentin, 'Gegenreformation und Literatur: das Jesuitendrama im Dienst der religiösen und moralischen Erziehung', *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 100 (1980), 240-250; Jean-Marie Valentin, *Le théâtre des Jésuites dans les pays de la langue allemande (1554-1689): salut des âmes et ordre des cités*, 3 vols. (Bern and Frankfurt a. M., 1978); Barbara Bauer, *Jesuitische 'ars rhetorica' im Zeitalter der Glaubenskämpfe* (Frankfurt, 1986), underlines, however, those aspects of the Jesuit and Protestant school-humanism which held both in common.

¹⁸ In a report on the situation of the Münster diocese of Mai 3, 1653, composed for the occasion of a "visitatio liminum" in Rome, Galen termed his diocese as a bulwark of the Holy Church in Germany: "Hic episcopatus in extremis imperii finibus situs undequaque acatholicis regionibus cinctus", and: "Sanctae Ecclesiae propugnaculum in Germania" (cf. Alois Schröer (ed.), *Die Korrespondenz des Münsterer Fürstbischofs Christoph Bernhard v. Galen mit dem Heiligen Stuhl (1650-1678)* (Münster, 1972), p. 194). Cf. Josef Schmidlin, 'Christoph Bernhard v. Galen und die Diözese Münster nach seinen Romberichten', *Westfalen*, 2 (1910), 1-17; Wilhelm Ribhegge, 'Gesellschaft, Kultur und Politik im Fürstbistum Münster im 18. Jahrhundert', in *Johann Conrad Schlaun 1695-1773. Architektur des Spätbarock in Europa (Katalog)* (Münster, 1995), pp. 43-83.

¹⁹ Karl-Jürgen Miesen, *Friedrich Spee. Priester, Dichter, Hexen-Anwalt* (Düsseldorf, 1987), pp. 71-81.

²⁰ *Rheinische Geschichte*, 2, pp. 190-192; Bertram Haller, '500 Jahre Buchdruck in Münster. Ein historischer Überblick', in *500 Jahre Buchdruck in Münster* (exhibition catalogue) (Münster, 1991), pp. 8-46.

humanistes du XVI^e siècle, et s'explique en somme par les mêmes causes. L'enthousiasme pour l'idéal de la Renaissance comme l'enthousiasme pour l'idéal catholique ont développé, de part et d'autre, la même ardeur et le même besoin d'action et de propagande."²¹ Elaborate frontispieces and title pages adorned the books to keep the Catholic world unified and alive in the people's imagination as did the books edited by the presses of Amsterdam and Leiden for the Protestant world. The Counter-Reformation was directed towards a broader populace and therefore, in Germany and in France, and to a lesser degree in the Southern Netherlands, religious books were increasingly printed in the vernacular. The elites visited foreign schools and universities, predominantly within their own confessional framework, and were raised and read books in Latin and other languages and they kept a European outlook. The lower classes within the regions of Northwest Europe drifted apart from each other, however, and formed their own secluded milieu of communication in everyday life as well as in religious matters and aspirations.

Printing facilitated the writing of history. Church, court, regional and local as well as confessional history of saints and martyrs, became an effective instrument in forming new identities. Puteanus himself is a good example of the practice of secular historiography. Once again the Jesuits had the most productive authors in this field. In 1588 in Douai, which had become a refuge for Catholic exiles from England, Thomas Stapleton wrote his book on the *Tres Thomae*, the three Thomases, referring to the apostle Thomas, the archbishop of Canterbury and martyr Thomas Becket and as the most outstanding example Thomas More, the former chancellor of Henry VIII, who went to the scaffold for his loyalty to the Catholic church. Stapleton's book on *Tres Thomae*, especially his biography of Thomas More, shows that history was not only apologetic. The real experience of contemporary history in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries cried for historical and scholarly explanation. In hindsight it is too easy to dismiss these histories as generally biased by confessional or other secondary motivation. Living in the history-ridden twentieth century, we are well aware of the underlying problem of experiencing history and in one's writing about it.

²¹ Henri Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique, IV: La révolution politique et religieuse — Le règne d'Albert et d'Isabelle — Le régime espagnol jusqu'à la paix de Munster (1648)* (Bruxelles, 1927), p. 455; cf. J. Andriessen, *De Jezuiten en het samenhorigheidsbesef der Nederlanden 1585-1648* (Antwerpen, 1957).

The school-humanism of the Counter-Reformation as well as that of the Reformation, appearing sometimes rather dull and monotonous lacked the original intellectual spirit of Erasmian humanism. It achieved, however, the popularization, regionalization and institutionalization of education. As a result, education became well founded throughout Europe. Without the petty-humanism of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, the age of enlightenment would not have dawned. In his youth, Descartes had been educated by the Jesuits. Further pillars of this new and broader popular educational system were the new libraries with public access. Puteanus pleaded for the founding of a library at Louvain. In his treatise *Auspicia* published after the opening of the Louvain library, he praised Germany, as "the kingdom of the printing press", for its network of academies combined with libraries and its efforts in providing new libraries: "In Germania vero, typographorum regno, tot ubique Bibliothecae, quot Academiae sunt: reliquae Urbes, ut Academiae videantur, Bibliothecas liberali aemulatione construunt."²²

The writing and printing of books was part of the new baroque culture in architecture, painting and, though not so monumental, in the illustration of books. Throughout the baroque culture, different estates and professions, lay and cleric, worked together in a kind of "Gesamtkunstwerk": princes and bishops, aristocrats, urban magistrates, guilds and craftsmen as well as the local religious orders and sodalities were united. The new Jesuit churches, which at first were constructed in the traditional gothic style, were built in the seventeenth century as baroque monuments within the cities of Antwerp, Brussels, Louvain, Cologne and Düsseldorf. Rubens was engaged to adorn the Jesuit church of his home town, Antwerp. The courts of the Archdukes in Brussels, the Elector of Cologne in Bonn, — and due to a lack of finances to a smaller degree — the prince-bishops of Münster and Paderborn and the dukes of Jülich-Berg in Düsseldorf supported the new tendency toward baroque culture.

The most flamboyant and outstanding example of the Catholic baroque culture in Northwestern Europe was realized in the work of Rubens. Thomas Glen provides an informative description of his work in his study on "Rubens and the Counter-Reformation".²³ The intensely colourful,

²² *Eryci Puteani auspicia biliothecae publicae lovaniensis* (Lovanii, Typis Everardi de Witte, 1639), p. 30. See H. J. de Vleeschauwer (ed.), *Le traité Auspicia bibliothecae publicae lovaniensis d'Erycius Puteanus* (Pretoria, 1962).

²³ Thomas L. Glen, *Rubens and the Counter-Reformation. Studies in His Religious Paintings between 1609 and 1620* (New York and London, 1977); cf. F. Baudouin, *Pietro*

dramatizing, realistic and in some way “expressionistic” paintings of religious scenes on broad canvasses were the reaction of the Catholic baroque to the Calvinistic iconoclasm of the past decades in the cities of the Netherlands, among them Antwerp. This cultural renovation followed an expressive programme, which the professor at Louvain, Jean Molanus, formulated in his book *De picturis et imaginibus sacris* in 1570 and the Jesuit J. Nadal in the book *Evangelicae historiae imagines*, which was published by the Plantin press in Antwerp in 1593. Rubens returned from Italy to Antwerp in 1609, just as the Twelve Years Truce of the South with the Dutch Republic was in the beginning. In the following decade he produced, influenced by Italian Renaissance and baroque art, some of his most impressive religious paintings dealing with scenes of the Holy Scripture and the lives of the Saints. His style combined intense religious feeling with a cosmopolitan humanist attitude. Glen explains the immediate success of his work in the Netherlands: “The enthusiastic reception of Rubens’ religious pictures was to a great extent made possible simply because of new attitudes toward art and religion in Antwerp and throughout the Catholic Netherlands; that is, the complete devotion of rulers, clergy and citizens alike to the aims of the Catholic Reformation. Italian, particularly Roman, religious painting of the time was concerned with the defence and propagation of the Catholic faith. Thus, for the first time, Italian or ‘modern’ religious art had special meaning for all levels of Brabant society; for inherent in such painting was a universal message proclaiming some aspect of the Catholic Reformation.”²⁴ And Pirenne on Rubens: “Sans doute, c’est avec raison qu’on l’a appelé le peintre par excellence de la Contre-Réforme. Il est le plus grand des décorateurs de l’Église catholique, mais on ne peut le considérer exclusivement comme un peintre religieux.”²⁵

Certainly, the vast scope of Rubens’ work as of baroque art itself cannot be reduced to confessionalism. The terms confessionalism and confessionalization are nowadays very popular in studies of this period.²⁶ In

Paolo Rubens (Königstein, 1977); Christopher White, *Peter Paul Rubens* (Stuttgart - Zürich, 1988); Martin Warnke, *Peter Paul Rubens. Leben und Werk* (Köln, 1977); Mark P. Morford, *Stoics and Neostoics. Rubens and the Circle of Lipsius* (Princeton, N. J., 1991).

²⁴ Glen, *Rubens and the Counter Reformation*, p. 14.

²⁵ Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique*, 4, p. 470.

²⁶ Cf. Wolfgang Reinhard, ‘Reformation, Counter-Reformation and the Early Modern State: a Reassessment’, *Catholic Historical Review*, 75 (1989), 393-404; Wolfgang Reinhard - Heinz Schilling (eds.), *Die katholische Konfessionalisierung* (Gütersloh and Münster, 1995); Heinz Schilling, ‘Confessional Europe’, in *Handbook of European History 1400-1600*, II, 641-681.

his book on *The Counter-Reformation* the Protestant Reformation historian Arthur G. Dickens has pointed out, however, that the impulses created by the Counter-Reformation in religious and moral life, literature, art and education transcended confessional boundaries.²⁷ The new confessions had more in common than the official confessionalist propaganda of the age was allowed to admit. But they were united, too, in the practice of the dark sides of the age: witch-craze and witch-hunting. There exist conflicting theories about the causes of the phenomenon of witch-craze.²⁸ But certainly, it cannot be denied that there are interconnections between the intensification of popular religious life through the Reformation and Counter-Reformation and the explosion of witch-craze in some European countries, as though, not in all, during the same age. Counter-Reformation countries like Bavaria, Franconia, Belgium and the Rhenish and Westphalian territories of the Elector and Archbishop Ferdinand of Cologne, took the lead in the persecution of witches.²⁹ Even the French political theorist Bodin believed in witchcraft and the practice of demonology.

There was, however, rising criticism of the witch persecution. An outstanding example of this was the German Jesuit Friedrich von Spee. Born in Kaiserwerth near Düsseldorf and educated at the Jesuit Tricoronatum in Cologne, he entered the Jesuit order in 1610. The first stations of his carrier were Trier and Würzburg. He became lecturer at the Jesuit university of Paderborn and was engaged in Catholic missionary work among the Protestant population of Eastern Westphalia. In 1631 in the nearby Protestant town of Rinteln Spee's *Cautio criminalis* was published, a severe and detailed legal and moral criticism of the practice of witch trials and torture as part of the criminal proceedings against witches.³⁰ Even nowadays the humane spirit of this book and the civil

²⁷ A. G. Dickens, *The Counter Reformation* (London, 1992).

²⁸ Geoffrey Scarre, *Witchcraft and Magic in 16th and 17th Century Europe* (London, 1987); Brian P. Levack, 'The great witch-hunt', in *Handbook of European History 1400-1600*, vol. II, pp. 607-640.

²⁹ Wolfgang Behringer (ed.), *Hexen und Hexenprozesse in Deutschland* (München, 1993); Henk van Nierop, 'Popular Religion in the Low Countries', in Hans J. Hillerbrand (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, vol. 3 (Oxford, 1996), pp. 312-314.

³⁰ *Cautio criminalis seu de processibus contra sagas liber auctore incerto theologo orthod.* (Rintelii MDCXXXI = Facsimile: Rinteln, 1971); Spee's *Cautio Criminalis* contradicted influential treatises on the legal persecution of witches of the Trier suffragan bishop Peter Binsfeld (*Tractatus de confessionibus Maleficorum et Sagarum, an, et quanta fides ijs adhibenda sint* (Trier, 1589); German translation: "Tractat von Bekantnuß der Zauberer vnnd Hexen. Ob vnd wieviel denselben zu glauben. Anfänglich durch

courage of its author are deeply impressive. Spee was rebuked by his order but not compelled to leave the Jesuits. He died in Trier in 1635 on duty in a hospital caring for soldiers infected by the plague. Spee's *Cautio criminalis* was a landmark in the beginning of the enlightenment process against the witch-craze.

Friedrich von Spee became famous, however, for quite another achievement: his contribution to religious poetry in the German language. Some of his baroque hymns became very popular among Catholics and later on with Protestants; they have even found their place even in the most recent editions of the official "Gesangbücher", the prayer-books of both German churches. Among Spee's hymns is the popular Christmas song "Zu Bethlehem geboren". His book of religious poetry *Trutz-Nachtigall* and his pastoral treatise *Güldenens Tugendbuch*³¹, display a high degree of sensitivity of the German language, by which he appears as a direct descendent from Luther³², and a virtuosity in expressing religious belief and excitement in a plain, smooth and calming language, sometimes nearly childlike, with carefully elaborated poetic images and with scenes directed toward men and women alike. In Spee's poetry the Counter-Reformation baroque literature and the origins of modern German national culture met each other.³³

Spee's *Cautio criminalis* and his religious poetry were products of an age of war and violence. It was the Germany of the Thirty Years War where Spee resided his entire adult life. In his literary work, however, violence was answered by sense and sensibility. This fact indicates that

den Hochwürdigen Petrum Binsfeldum, Trierischen Suffraganien, vnd der H. Schrifft Doctorn, kurtz vnd summarischer Weiß in Latein beschrieben. Jetzt aber allen Liebhabern der Warheit, vnd Gerechtigkeit zu gutem, verteutscht" (Trier, 1590) and of the Flemish Jesuit Martin Delrio, *Disquisitionum magicarum libri sex* (Louvain, 1599). Cf. Miesen, *Friedrich Spee*, pp. 129-137.

³¹ *Trutz-Nachtigall*. Historisch-kritische Ausgabe, hrsg. Theo G. M. van Oorschot (Bern, 1985); *Güldenens Tugend-Buch*, Historisch-kritische Ausgabe, hrsg. Theo G. M. van Oorschot (München, 1968).

³² In his introductory "Several Notes to the Reader" ("Ettliche Merckpünctlein für den Leser") to "Trutz-Nachtigall" Spee vindicates the use of the German language in religious poetry: "Vnd ist die Meinung des Auctors darauff gangen, daß auch Gott in Teutscher Sprach seine Sängern, vnd poëten hette, die sein Lob, vnd Namen eben also künstlich, vnd poëtisch als andere in anderen Sprachen, singen, vnd verkünden köndten." (Friedrich von Spee, *Trutz-Nachtigall*. Kritische Ausgabe nach der Trierer Handschrift, hrsg. Theo G. M. van Oorschot (Bern, 1985), p. 5).

³³ Cf. Werner Lenk, 'Die nationale Komponente in der deutschen Literaturentwicklung in der frühen Neuzeit', in Klaus Garber (ed.), *Nation und Literatur im Europa der frühen Neuzeit* (Tübingen, 1989), pp. 669-687; Dieter Breuer, 'Deutsche Nationalliteratur und katholischer Kulturkreis', *ibid.*, pp. 701-715.

one should be hesitant in applying generalizing terms and categories like confessionalism or absolutism to this age too easily, because they sometimes leave out more than they really explain. The baroque scenery and life in the countries of the European Counter-Reformation were a most complex phenomenon.

Finally, there rests a striking paradox within this Counter-Reformation world. Its blatant triumphalism contrasts the fact that its own age was an age of troubles and sometimes disaster. After the rebellion in the Netherlands and the conclusion of the Twelve Years Truce in 1609, a precarious peace in the Netherlands had been established. In the South, the Archdukes guaranteed this settlement. But when Archduke Albert died in 1621, the Southern Netherlands were ruled again directly from Spain. Against the evident interests of the Netherlands, the militant "falcons" at the royal court in Spain, who came to power after the death of King Philip III of Spain, refused to prolong the truce. This decision meant, as Hugh Trevor Roper has shown, that the local conflict which originated with the Bohemian rebellion of 1618 widened from 1621 on into a European conflict, namely the Thirty Years War.³⁴ In this situation, the painter Rubens converted to diplomacy in trying to secure peace for his country.³⁵ In his later years, his grandiose painting "The Consequences of War" on a canvas of three and a half meters breadth and two meters height delivered an everlasting expression of the experiences and aspirations of his times. He did not hesitate to give his own comment to the painting in a letter to a friend on March 12, 1639: "The violence of the arms", he said, "destroys all kind of arts symbolized by a woman protracted to the ground, of family life and fertility symbolised by another woman with her child, and of the building and construction of cities, symbolised by an architect. Europe herself accompanied by a small angel holding a globe under the cross which represents Christendom is shown as a sorrowful lady clad in black, deprived of her jewels, suffering from robbery, dishonesty and misery".³⁶

War and politics were indissolubly connected. Was it in the end not the triumph of the Reformation or Counter-Reformation but the triumph of Machiavellian politics and atheism? The age was a great intellectual challenge to everyone who believed himself commissioned to set the

³⁴ Hugh Trevor-Roper, 'The Outbreak of the Thirty Years War', in Id., *Renaissance Essays* (London, 1985), pp. 275-294.

³⁵ Cf. Geoffrey Harris, 'Rubens in Court', *Renaissance Studies*, 9 (1996), 292-298.

³⁶ White, *Rubens*, p. 230.

world in order. Certainly, it was a challenge to the Jesuits and the ideology of the Counter-Reformation. How did they react? In 1624 the Flemish Jesuit Carlo Scribani, who was closely connected to the court of Brussels, published a book on the Christian Politician, *Politico-Christianus*. Rubens created the title page, showing on the left a female figure representing Christian politics and on the right as her counterpart the figure of Abundance with her cornucopia.

Scribani, born at Brussels in 1561 and nephew to the bishop of Antwerp, van der Beke, studied like many other young Catholics of the Netherlands during the civil war at the Jesuit college of Cologne. There he entered the Jesuit order. He became acquainted with the Italian Cardinal Maffeo Barberini, who since 1623 was Pope Urban VIII. Scribani was a friend of Puteanus and they exchanged letters.³⁷ Scribani's "Christian Politician" was dedicated to King Philip IV and obviously tried to influence Spanish politics in the Netherlands. Scribani considered himself a Netherlandish patriot. He favoured a Catholic regime and the sovereignty of the state with a tendency toward absolutism. He also accepted the necessity of a powerful state and the theory of just war, but was critical of the Spanish use of violence toward the Netherlands. Sovereignty could not be based on mere dominance and fear of the subjects. It needed voluntary consensus between the sovereign and the people. The aim of Christian politics was to secure the welfare and the enrichment of the people. This was the traditional political philosophy of the cities of the Netherlands as it could be found in Erasmus' *Institutio principis christiani* of 1516. In Scribani's political theory, there was no place for rebellion or political opposition. The conservative tendency is obvious. But he was vague on heresy and politics against heretics and he did not favour religious war.

Even more conservative and partly triumphalist was the conception of the Christian state, which the German Jesuit Adam Contzen elaborated in his "Ten Books on Politics" (*Politicorum libri X*), published in Mainz in 1621. Ten years Scribani's junior, Contzen was born in Monschau near Aachen. Since his youth he had been familiar with conflicts between Catholics and Calvinists as they occurred in the imperial city. Like Scribani, Contzen was educated at the Jesuit college in Cologne

³⁷ *Brieven van Carolus Scribani S. J. (1561-1629)*. Edited by L. Brouwers (Antwerp, 1972), pp. 73-75 and 150-54. Cf. Bireley, *Counter-Reformation Prince*, p. 273, note 42; L. Brouwers, *Carolus Scribani S. J. 1561-1629: Een groot man van de Contra-Reformatie in de Nederlanden* (Antwerp, 1961).

and later entered the Jesuit order. The first stations of his career were Münster, Cologne, Würzburg and Mainz, where he was appointed professor of controversial theology in 1612. In his book *De pace Germaniae* of 1616, he pleaded for a peaceful solution to the problems arising from German confessionalism.³⁸ In his "Ten Books on Politics", however, which was published after the Habsburg victory in the battle of the White Mountain and the defeat of the Elector of the Palatinate, whose title was then transferred to Maximilian of Bavaria, he changed his mind. Arguing against the Calvinist theologians of the Palatinate university of Heidelberg in the neighbouring region of the Upper Rhine, he took a more militant Catholic stance.³⁹ His lengthy "Ten Books" were a kind of encyclopedia, containing 837 folio pages and dealing broadly with the topics of secular and ecclesiastical politics and administration, political behaviour, war and peace, state finances, bureaucracy, education, agriculture and political economy. For him, the state was the sovereign, which guaranteed even the Christian life of the inhabitants of his commonwealth, a task which only to a lesser degree could be left to the ecclesiastical hierarchy and the clerics themselves. As with Scribani, there is a tendency towards absolutism and a strict refusal of any form of rebellion or opposition to the sovereign. Contzen preferred pragmatism to utopianism. Though the title of his book imitated that of Lipsius, with whose *Politicorum libri sex* Contzen was familiar,⁴⁰ he did not refer to the classical authors, but took his examples from the reality as he found it in the Germany of his times. Robert Bireley, in his study *The Counter-Reformation Prince. Anti-Machiavellism or Catholic Statecraft in Early Modern Europe*, has given a detailed analysis of Contzen's "Ten Books": "Despite his wide reading and interests, his world was that of the German territorial states and cities, and the Holy Roman Empire.

³⁸ *De pace Germaniae libri duo* (Mainz, 1616). Cf. *Rheinische Geschichte*, vol. 2, p. 185.

³⁹ Cf. Johannes Burkhardt, *Der Dreißigjährige Krieg* (Frankfurt a. M., 1992), p. 129. The celebrations of the one hundredth anniversary of Luther's 95 theses of 1517 in 1617 were used to enforce confessional identity. As a catholic response to these celebrations, Contzen wrote a satire: *Jubilum jubilorum jubilaum Evangelicum et piaae lacrymae omnium Romano-Catholicorum* (Mainz, 1618).

⁴⁰ Justus Lipsius, *Politicorum sive civilis doctrinae libri sex* (Leiden, 1589), cf. Michael Stolleis, 'Lipsius-Rezeption in der polisch-juristischen Literatur des 17. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland', in Id., *Staat und Staatsräson in der frühen Neuzeit. Studien zur Geschichte des öffentlichen Rechts* (Frankfurt a. M., 1990), p. 246. For a general view, see Wilhelm Kühlmann, *Gelehrtenrepublik und Fürstenstaat. Entwicklung und Kritik des deutschen Späthumanismus in der Literatur des Barockzeitalters* (Tübingen, 1982).

Much of his programme for state building comes out of the German states and was meant for them, whereas his vision of the Counter-Reformation encompassed the whole Empire... A nascent German patriotism can be heard in his reference to "German fidelity" and his hostility to the encroachment of foreign fashions." Contzen was no militarist, but he accepted war as a fact as did Lipsius and Grotius.

For Contzen "piety or religion was thus the first characteristic of a powerful state".⁴¹ In "The Mirror of Court" he developed a kind of guidebook for the Christian courtier and politician.⁴² He argued against the philosophy of Machiavellism: "Without religion the moral order in the state would collapse."⁴³ He did not espouse religious toleration and in his political novel "Abissinus", he advocated the extermination of witchcraft.⁴⁴ His views on the relation between church and state were those of a Catholic version of Erastianism. The state could not leave religion to the church alone. This argument coincided with the interests of the Counter-Reformation princes. In 1623, Contzen was appointed confessor to the newly nominated Elector Maximilian of Bavaria in Munich. He gained influence at the Wittelsbach court during the following years. He died in 1635. Contzen's answer to the challenges and evils of his times was the proposal of a powerful confessional state to promote the bonum commune and the happiness of the citizens. The Catholic militancy of the "Ten Books" was no obstacle to its influence even among Protestant political writers such as Conring in Helmstedt.⁴⁵ Bireley comments: "The volume fit the Counter-Reformation, and Reformation emphasis on disciplined population. Contzen made a convincing argument for the compatibility of Christian morality with effective politics. His argument on the basis of intrinsic pragmatism was forceful. He recognized the need for power in a state and pointed out effective, moral methods for its acquisition and maintenance. In particular he stood out as an early mercantilist".⁴⁶

Scribani's and Contzen's stance on Christian politics was echoed in the book of the Spanish diplomat, Diego Saavedra Fajardo, entitled

⁴¹ Bireley, *Counter-Reformation Prince*, p. 143.

⁴² *Aulae speculum sive de statu, vita et virtute aulicorum et magnatum* (Köln, 1630).

⁴³ Bireley, *Counter-Reformation Prince*, p. 143.

⁴⁴ *Methodus civilis doctrinae seu Abessini regis historia* (Köln, 1628). Cf. Wolfgang Behringer (Hg.), *Hexen und Hexenprozesse in Deutschland* (München, 1988), p. 412.

⁴⁵ Michael Stolleis, 'Glaubenspaltung und öffentliches Recht in Deutschland', in Id., *Staat und Staatsräson in der frühen Neuzeit*, p. 294.

⁴⁶ Bireley, *Counter-Reformation Prince*, p. 161.

“The Idea of a Politico-Christian Prince”, written in Spanish, which was published in 1643.⁴⁷ Saavedra had been a diplomat in Rome, and since 1633, he was the Spanish Representative to the court of Maximilian of Bavaria in Munich, where he was to co-ordinate the Wittelsbach and Habsburg interests as the leading Catholic powers in the Thirty Years War. In Munich, he came into contact with Adam Contzen. During his journeys through Germany he witnessed the horrors of the war which he openly described in the “Politico-Christian Prince”. He “charged both sides with atrocities against friend and foe alike that outdid anything of which the Spaniards might have been guilty in the New World.”⁴⁸ At the beginning of the Peace of Westphalia proceedings Saavedra was charged with the post of the Spanish plenipotentiary to Münster for two years. On his way to Münster, he stayed at Brussels in 1643 and got into contact with Erycius Puteanus with whom he exchanged letters which he reprinted in the “Politico-Christian Prince”.⁴⁹ There was a Latin translation of the “Politico-Christian Prince” by Saavedra himself, which was published one year after his death in 1649, and there were also Italian, German, Dutch, French and English translations. The book became popular in Europe and was read across the borders of confessionalism.⁵⁰ Like Hugo Grotius’ *De jure belli ac pacis*, Saavedra’s “Politico-Christian Prince” prepared the way for the Peace of Westphalia, Spain’s acceptance of the independence of the Dutch Republic and the ideological ground for a new framework of European statecraft after the times of confessional politics. In 1648 Counter-Reformation Europe did not accept tolerance, but at least had established confessional pluralism and refrained from any kind of religious war.

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⁴⁷ *Diego Saavedra Fajardo: Empresas políticas: Idea de un príncipe político-cristiano*, 2 vols. Edited with an introduction by Quintín Aldea Vaquero (Madrid, 1976).

⁴⁸ Bireley, *Counter-Reformation Prince*, pp. 192-3. For the debate between the militant and moderate political advisers within the Catholic camp during the Thirty Years’ War, see Robert Bireley, ‘The Thirty Years’ War as Germany’s Religious War’, in Konrad Repgen (ed.), *Krieg und Politik 1618-1648. Europäische Probleme und Perspektiven* (München, 1988), pp. 85-106.

⁴⁹ Bireley, *Counter-Reformation Prince*, p. 273, note 42.

⁵⁰ Bireley, *Counter-Reformation Prince*, pp. 193-4.

Andrzej BOROWSKI

ERYCIUS PUTEANUS AND THE POLISH LITERARY CULTURE OF THE 17TH CENTURY

The influence of Eerrijk van Put on Polish writers and statesmen of the Polish Commonwealth in the 17th century should be regarded as part of an important phenomenon in European culture of his time — i. e. the peregrination of Central European students to Leuven. From the Polish point of view this subject has been explored only occasionally and the results of the investigations have been published very briefly in only two papers.¹ Today, after a lapse of almost eighty years since the initial studies were done, it is time to correct several common opinions and to enrich our general view of the relations between the university of Leuven and the Polish intellectual culture of the 17th century with several new facts and ideas.

First of all we are lucky enough to have at our disposal the complete critical edition of the relevant “*libri studiosorum*” of the university of Leuven, which gives us much detailed information about students coming there from various provinces and lands of the Polish Commonwealth in the 16th and the 17th centuries.

Second, our view on Baroque culture in Poland has been modified as well. We no longer see the Latinity of Polish culture of the 16th and the 17th centuries as conflicting with local national trends and the maturing national consciousness of the Polish nobility — the process which manifested itself in such a paradox as the Latin, i.e. universal provenience of the “Sarmatian” myth that expressed the mature national consciousness of Polish 17th-century nobility. The Baroque in Polish literary culture emerged naturally from its Renaissance undercurrent. Therefore we do no longer regard the period of Puteanus’s contacts with Polish students (1608-1646) as a decadent stage of Polish humanist culture. Contrary to

¹ Stefan Rygiel, *Puteanus und die Polen*. Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde genehmigt von der philosophischen Fakultät der Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin (Berlin, 1913); Stanisław Kot, ‘L’Université de Louvain et la Pologne’, *Le Flambeau*, I. Novembre 1927.

the traditionally accepted stereotype of the “counter-Reformation” decadence of that time, we have rather to recognize the development and broad propagation of literary culture in Poland. Its prosperous condition in the first three decades of the 17th century was represented by such a prominent figure as M. K. Sarbiewski (1595-1640), well known to his Belgian friends in Antwerp as “Horatius Sarmaticus” or Puteanus’s contemporary Daniel Naborowski (1573-1640), the remarkably educated pupil of Galileo Galilei and gifted poet-translator of Petrarch.

Due to many favourable circumstances and traditions dating back to the late Middle Ages, the cultural and literary links between the Commonwealth of Poland and Belgium started in the Renaissance with manifold intellectual contacts with the humanistic centres of the South Netherlands. Investigating these contacts from the point of view of the geography of culture, one comes to the obvious conclusion that their main trends were neither accidental nor established under the influence of contingent factors such as short-lived fashion, personal contacts or narrow business interests.

The cultural influence of the South-Netherlandish intellectual and artistic centers on the culture of the Polish kingdom during its first three centuries is a well-known phenomenon. This phenomenon, or rather a chain of events and influences that constituted it during these ages, should be regarded as a factor shaping the tradition labelled in Polish culture and the nation’s collective memory as “the iter Belgicum”. Here I am not seeking to identify the medieval sources of the cultural contacts established in the following centuries. It is obvious that the first chapter, one of the most important in the history of the Middle Ages in Poland, left durable cultural associations and became at the same time a landmark on the map of cultural contacts of Poland with Europe. The influence of the Meuse-Schelde area, especially that of Liège, manifested itself particularly clearly in the development of Polish handicrafts since the 12th century in such Polish centres as Gniezno, Kalisz, Kraków or Płock. It appears therefore that in the Middle Ages it was Meuse art which played a seminal role for Polish culture in its rediscovery of our common ancient Mediterranean heritage. During the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance new institutions of spiritual and intellectual life in the Southern Netherlands attracted the attention of intellectual circles in central Europe.

By the end of the 15th century it was the university of Leuven which was becoming increasingly attractive for students and intellectuals

coming from the eastern parts of Europe, especially from Bohemia, Silesia, Prussia and Livonia. The "album studiosorum" of the university registered about 20 such itinerant students coming there from Wrocław (Breslau), Reval, Taliin, Riga, Olomuc, Gdansk or Dorpat between 1458 and 1492. In the next century the names of visitors from Silesia, Prussia and Pomerania increased notably. At the same time new 'nations' turned up in Leuven. The first Polish student, Georgius Votton "de Calisia" (Kalisz i. e. from Great Poland), was enrolled in 1519, followed by compatriots such as Martinus Slap "a Posnania" (the same region) and many others.²

Speaking of the provenience of Polish students in Leuven, we have to bear in mind the fact that the Polish Commonwealth of the 16th century was a multinational state of Poles (actually of Polish nobility calling themselves "natio Polonorum"), Lithuanians, and Ruthenians. Lithuanian and Ruthenian nobility enjoyed the common privileges of the Polish noblemen, the true and full citizens of the Commonwealth. Therefore they sometimes used to call themselves "natio Polonorum" too. They spoke Polish and Latin, although they made use of their maternal languages in their contacts with their plebeian compatriots. Unlike in some other European countries, it was the nobility of Polish Commonwealth who cultivated the Polish language. Nevertheless it was Latinity which

² *Matricule de l'université de Louvain*, publiée par le chanoine E. Reusens, vol. I: 1420 (origine) — 30 août 1455, (Bruxelles, 1903) [including two students from Prussia and one from Livonia]; *Matricule de l'université de Louvain*, publiée par Jos. Wils, vol. II: 31 août 1453-31 août 1485 (Bruxelles, 1946) [four students from Silesia, one from Bohemia, two from Prussia, ten from Livonia. There are several aberrant identifications, such as "Vratislavia" — glossed as "Bratislava — Tchécoslovaquie, capitale de Slovaquie" (!) [p. 45]; *Matricule de l'université de Louvain*, vol. III: 31 août 1485-31 août 1527, publiée par A. Schillings (Bruxelles, 1962) [one student from Poland, two from Gdańsk — then in the Kingdom of Poland, twelve from Livonia, two from Silesia, one from Pomerania, one from Bohemia]; *Matricule de l'université de Louvain*, publiée par A. Schillings, vol. IV: février 1528 — février 1569 (Bruxelles, 1961) [fifteen students from the Duchy of Prussia and Polish Prussia, five from Pomerania, five from Silesia, four from Poland, one from Lithuania]; *Matricule de l'université de Louvain*, publiée par A. Schillings, vol. V: 19 février 1616-3 février 1651 (Bruxelles, 1962) [twenty-seven students from Poland — it is characteristic of the Lithuanian and Ruthenian visitors that they had themselves enrolled as "Illustissimus Dominus Stanislaus de Olesko Danilowicz, palatinides Russiae Polonus" or "Christophorus et Casimirus Sapieha fratres Poloni". There were also two students from Prussia, four from Bohemia, one from Hungary, one from Livonia]. NB: the "liber quintus" from the period "août 1569 — février 1616" is missing; *Matricule de l'université de Louvain*, publiée par A. Schillings: fin février 1651 — fin août 1683 (Bruxelles, 1969) [twenty students from Poland (and Lithuania), ten from Bohemia, six from Silesia, one from Prussia]. In the seventh volume of the *Matricule* (Brussels, 1974) there are only two Polish students from Warsaw.

remained the most important component of their intellectual education, since rhetoric and historical training was regarded as the indispensable condition for any social advancement and political career.

I wish to highlight the long duration of the contacts between the cultural centers of the two countries and the distinction typical both of the Netherlands (taken initially as a whole) and the Kingdom of Poland, i. e. the distinction of transmitting cultural models from the West to Central and East Europe. These models, in our case, were the "Latinity" of thought and of speech and the "classical" patterns of humanity expressed particularly in the "bonae litterae" i. e. in poetry as well as in rhetorical prose.

The main institution playing an important role in this exchange of ideas and patterns of culture was the university. The medieval university of Cracow was regarded mainly as the educational centre that supplied the king's chancery with well-educated civil servants. This idea of the university was expressed plainly by the founder of the university of Cracow, king Casimirus the Great, in the charter of foundation in 1364:

Sitque ibi scienciarum prevalentium margarita, ut viros producat consilii maturitate conspicuos, virtutum ornatibus redimitos, ac diversarum facultatum eruditos; fiatque ibi fons doctrinarum irriguus, de cuius plenitudine hauriant universi liberalibus cupientes imbui documentis.³

The idea expressed in the quoted passage, however medieval, was still alive as a very characteristic motif of Polish culture in the first four decades of the 17th century. What attracted those numerous Polish migrant students visiting Leuven during this relatively short period, was certainly the European renown of the university, famous for its professors of law, history and rhetoric — one could say simply for its *studia humaniora* in general. Actually, it was not the humanism of the contemporary intellectual elites of northern Europe, nor philology itself, which engaged the attention of the Polish pupils of Justus Lipsius, Nicolaus Vernulaeus and Erycius Puteanus. It was the pragmatic attitude of the Polish nobility which motivated those numerous young scholars coming to Leuven from various regions of the Republic of Poland throughout the 16th and the 17th centuries. Those students were indeed not humanists. Their only aim was to prepare themselves for political activity in their native country.

³ *Humanizm i reformacja w Polsce*. Wydali Ignacy Chrzanowski i Stanisław Kot (Lwów-Warszawa-Kraków, 1927), p. 1.

This pragmatic attitude seems to be particularly typical of the intellectual relations between the University of Leuven and Poland from the very beginning, i. e. from the last decades of the 15th century. They were initiated by Jan Łaski sr (about 1455-1531), one of the most eminent Polish statesmen and diplomats of the first half of the 16th century, who later became Archbishop Primate of Poland. Łaski made his first voyage to the Southern Netherlands, a voyage dictated by strictly religious matters, in his capacity as chancellor to the king, Jan Olbracht. Although he must have belonged to the administrative and intellectual elite of the country (we know that the royal chancery was the other main centre of intellectual life apart from the university), Jan Łaski sr had no literary interests in the humanist sense. He is known as the compiler of Polish legal acts *Commune inclyti Poloniae regni privilegium* (Kraków, 1506) rather than as a student of *bonae litterae*. The voyage gave him an opportunity to get acquainted with the economic prosperity and the political state of affairs in the Southern Netherlands, which might have particularly interested Łaski, a politician and a diplomat. One could conclude that although Łaski's *iter Belgicum* did not result in any literary work of art, the general interest in Southern Netherlandish intellectual centres (such as Brussels, Gent, Leuven and Antwerp) remained from then on a steady element of Polish culture. Łaski's nephews Hieronim, Stanisław and Jan, who visited the country in the 1520s, were by no means there accidentally. Jan Łaski jr (known later in northern Europe as Joannes a Lasco, 1499-1560), his uncle's favourite, spent some time in Leuven, where he even set up house about 1540. We would, however, look in vain for the name of Joannes a Lasco in the university records, as he was active only outside the universities in intellectual circles for a few months in the year 1540-1541.

The other centre of great importance in Leuven was the Collegium Trilingue. One of its professors, Jan van den Campen, strongly supported by his patron, the Polish ambassador to the emperor's court Joannes Dantiscus, came to Poland for a short time on his way to Italy and launched Hebrew studies in the university of Cracow.

This very practical approach of Poles visiting Leuven from the beginning of the 16th century helps us to understand the way the next generations of Polish students benefited by their stay in the town. Their studies lasted usually one year and were sometimes crowned with the publication of a treatise or a speech previously delivered. During such a rhetorical performance a Polish student strove to systematize his knowledge (both

rhetorical and political or historical) and to practice the skills useful in his future political career rather than to study thoroughly one, usually philological, subject. This approach, though deplorable perhaps from the point of view of the humanist tradition, commands our respect, especially if we observe the efficiency with which the professors carried out their didactic duties. Answering these practical requirements of his students, Erycius Puteanus founded his *Palaestra bonae mentis* which was intended to serve a double purpose: to give the students a chance to practise their rhetorical skills and, secondly, to enable students to systematize their knowledge quickly and efficiently using for this purpose literary texts such as Latin tragedies written by Puteanus's colleague Nicolaus Vernulaeus or handbooks of ancient history, and legal and political doctrines. The literary erudition of the Polish students was meant to be completed with the topics of "pagan" and Christian literature, as useful at that time as a dictionary of quotations may be useful for a politician or an advertising manager of today. There is a striking resemblance between this syllabus and that of the Jesuit colleges (*Ordo studiorum*), therefore the charges of superficiality made by the professors of Leuven and Cracow universities in their concerted attacks on Jesuits (planned but never fully realised) seem to be rather exaggerated.⁴ Finally, after 1660 Leuven university lost its importance for the Polish cultural area; the standard of teaching rapidly deteriorated. This was not the result of a "Jesuit plot" but of the fact that the epoch of practising the authentic "trium linguarum" philology belonged to the past. A similar process could be observed in Poland after the Swedish invasion (the so called "deluge" 1655-1660). All the colleges, both Jesuit and Protestant, that survived the disaster became centres of "Baroque humanism" as they met the expectations of the contemporary Polish "intelligentsia" better than the university of Cracow.

Such was the cultural background of Puteanus's enormous popularity among his Polish students and their aristocratic families, for Puteanus

⁴ The rector of the University of Cracow, Krzysztof Najmanowicz, in his letter to his colleague, the rector of Leuven University, accused the Jesuits of "not giving the students Aristotle, Plato or any other distinguished philosopher to read, but only dictionaries, compilations or commentaries thirty years old, full of this fashionable nonsense, sentimental epigrams and whatever the simple and coarse Minerva ("crassa Minerva") favours"; I quote in my own translation after Kot, *Humanizm i reformacja w Polsce*, p. 40. It is difficult to resist the impression that "dictionaries and compilations" were not so much favoured by the "coarse Minerva" as by the fathers who invested in the education of their sons, expensive at that time (1627).

was mainly a teacher of Poland's recent, ascending aristocracy: Jerzy Ossoliński, Albrecht Stanisław Radziwiłł, Jerzy Lubomirski. It was a rather costly investment to become a private student in the famous Puteanus *contubernium*. Nevertheless, such a capital expenditure did pay. One of Puteanus's pupils, Jerzy Ossoliński (1595-1650), later a well-known diplomat, became Great Crown Chancellor of the Kingdom of Poland in 1643. In his autobiography, written in Polish, he recalled his studies in Leuven in 1613: "Je pris d'abord un professeur de philosophie, avec lequel *privatim* je repassai tout le cours de philosophie pour cette année, et le reste de la metaphysique. J'avais aussi un autre professeur privé, mais en commun avec beaucoup de condisciples, qui nous expliquait le *Institutions* de Justinien et qui dirigeait souvent nos discussions, ce qui était fort utile. Quant aux professeurs publics, j'en suivais deux, Gerardus Corselius *jurisconsultus clarissimus* et Erycius Puteanus, qui à cette époque in *Collegio Trilingui historicam lectionem profitebatur*, traitant en même temps de l'histoire de Quinte Curce. [...] La *Palestra Bonae Mentis* était une de ses inventions. Tous les jeudis, il y avait déclamation sur un sujet donné, *ut plurimum in ethicis sive politicis in utramque partem*, d'où la jeunesse tirait grand profit, en ce qui concerne l'éducation oratoire."⁵

Here again we find the same "fast- food" technology of university education so popular among youth travelling abroad in 17th-century Poland.

Other eminent students of Puteanus were Krzysztof Opaliński (1609-1655), famous poet and orator, and his brother Łukasz (1612-1662), a poet, historiographer and statesman. The brothers went to Leuven for three years (1626-1629) and both were strongly influenced by Puteanus's neo-stoicism and his philological classicism. Puteanus's influence on their intellectual formation is to be traced in such works as the *Satires* of Krzysztof Opaliński, who mentions Puteanus in his poems by name: "I know how to compose orations quoting other famous orators. I have read Lipsius, even Puteanus." (*Satires II*, 7).

A much more important result of Puteanus's influence on Krzysztof Opaliński's writings was the neo-Stoic concept of human life and philosophy of the state. In 1645 Krzysztof Opaliński as a royal ambassador came once again to Antwerp on his way to France. There he was met by

⁵ Jerzy Ossoliński, *Autobiografia* (Lwów, 1876), p.19. Quoted after Kot, *Humanizm i reformacja w Polsce*, p. 37.

his old friends: “Everybody *venerantur, applaudunt*. Particularly the old acquaintances. The Jesuits are almost delirious with joy — *salutare numen venerantes*.” — he wrote to his brother. Here he purchased numerous work of art which were brought to his native land (including a painting by Rubens, unfortunately burnt recently in a fire in the cathedral of Kalisz).

Another student, Stanisław Kobierzycki, was the author of the work *De luxu Romanorum* (1628), printed in Poland twice, a most significant result of his studies at Leuven.

Puteanus’s acquaintance with Polish magnates and aristocrats resulted in his sending his son Justus to Poland in 1636 and then to Lithuania. Puteanus’s sister, a Carmelite nun known as mother Christine a S. Michaelae, came to Cracow in 1612 to organize a convent there. She died in Cracow in 1626 as a well known and eminent prioress.

Puteanus’s philological skills were employed sometimes in quite extraordinary ways. In 1626 he was commissioned by the Spaniards to read a secret correspondence written in code by Christoph Radziwiłł to the French court. Radziwiłł’s plot against the Polish king Sigismund III was exposed and Puteanus, who broke the code, was to be rewarded by the Polish monarch.⁶

Puteanus, as seen by his Polish contemporaries, was not a humanist nor writer of the calibre of his great predecessor Justus Lipsius. The reception of his writings and his ideas belongs to a broader trend in the Polish literary culture of the first half of the 17th century — Lipsianism. Puteanus was an outstanding educator of exceptional talent, a great manager of modern humanistic education. He was also a teacher of the intellectual and political elite of the Polish Commonwealth in the epoch when literary education became indispensable. Therefore we can regard the role he played in the further “europeanisation” of Eastern Europe of the 17th century as rather crucial.

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⁶ S. Kot, ‘Stosunki Polaków z uniwersytetem łowańskim’, *Minerwa Polska*, 1/3 (1927), p. 20.

Ramunė DAMBRAUSKAITĖ

PUTEANUS' CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE DIGNITARIES OF THE GRAND DUCHY OF LITHUANIA

*"fama virtutis ac prudentiae tuae
longe lateque diffusa virorum Reipublicae
nostrae clarissimorum elogiis celebratur..."*¹

This quotation, taken from a letter written by Leo Sapieha (1557-1633), Chancellor and Grand Hetman of Lithuania, one of the most illustrious statesmen of 16th-17th century Lithuania, to Erycius Puteanus, the successor of Justus Lipsius in the chair of history and Professor at the *Collegium Trilingue* in Leuven, may very well serve as an epigraph to my paper. It illustrates that E. Puteanus was very well known and had a good reputation among the Lithuanian and Polish nobility of the 17th century. Indeed, a conspicuous number of the sons of the highest nobility of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania came for their academic education and humanistic training to Puteanus' institution, the so called *Palaestra Bonae Mentis*², in the first half of the 17th century. The purpose of my paper is to present the extant correspondence between Puteanus and the dignitaries of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and his correspondents (i. e. those who either sent their sons or came to study at the University of Leuven themselves).

During the 16th century this University was a strong center of Humanism and literary studies, first under the leadership of Erasmus of Rotterdam and later under the leadership of Justus Lipsius. At the beginning of the 17th century new scholars came to teach at the University,

¹ Leo Sapieha to Erycius Puteanus in a letter from Warsaw 1625, in *Erycii Puteani Elementa Basilica: quibus educatio principis continetur...* (Lovanii: typis C. Coenesteynii, 1626), pp. (37)-(38).

² J. IJsewijn 'Mathias Casimirus Sarbievius. Ad Amicos Belgas', in E. Ulčinaitė (ed.), *Mathias Casimirus Sarbievius in cultura Lithuaniae, Poloniae, Europae. Materies conventus scientifici internationalis anniversario quadringentesimo a die natali Poetae dedicati Vilnae, 19-21 Octobris, A.D. MCMXCV*, Senosios literatūros studijos (Vilnius: Institutum litterarum ethnographiaeque Lituaniae, 1998), pp. 28-29.

including such prominent personalities as Nicolaus Vernulaeus, Valerius Andreas, Erycius Puteanus, who all brought European fame to the Academy. It became an important education center for Polish and Lithuanian students at the beginning of the 17th century.³ Therefore, Nicolaus Radivilus and Stanislaus Albrechtus Radivilus (future Chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and author of historical memoirs), were among the first students of Puteanus in 1609.⁴ During 1608-1612 four sons of Nicolaus Sapieha, Palatine of Witebsk — Nicolaus, Christophorus, Fridericus and Alexander Casimirus — attended the lectures given by Puteanus.⁵ There are two letters written by Puteanus and addressed to the four Sapiehas which will be explicitly discussed later on.⁶ The fame of Leuven University was so great that in 1625 it attracted a number of members of the Sapieha family to come there for their academic education, including Alexander and Albrechtus, the sons of the Palatine of Witebsk; Casimirus and Thomas, the sons of the Palatine of Nowgorod; and last but not least, Christophorus Nicolaus and Casimirus Leo⁷, the sons of the aforementioned Chancellor and Grand Hetman of Lithuania Leo Sapieha. These facts provide a basis to assert that Puteanus might have maintained friendly relations with the Sapiehas, a Lithuanian aristocratic family, which brought forth many famous statesmen, military leaders and clergymen. Moreover, some members of Sapieha family received the titles of count or even prince from the Holy Roman Emperor. During the 16th-17th centuries the Sapiehas were zealous defenders of Lithuania's independence⁸, occasionally to the point of undermining its union with Poland.⁹

³ S. Rygiel, *Puteanus und die Polen...* (Berlin, 1913), p. 8.

⁴ S. Kot, 'Stosunki Polaków z uniwersytetem Lwowskim', *Minerva Polska*, 3 (1927), p. 211. About St. Albrechtus Radivilus also see E. Kotlubajus, *Radvilos* (Vilnius, 1995), p. 184.

⁵ S. Kot affirms that they spent there only years 1610-1611 (see Kot, 'Stosunki', p. 211), but there is a letter by Puteanus written to Fridericus and Alexander Sapieha, who was still studying in Leuven, January 17, 1612 (in E. Puteanus, *Epistolarum reliquiae* (Lovanii: ex officina Flaviana, 1612), epist. LX, pp. 72-73). See also Rygiel, *Puteanus und die Polen*, p. 25.

⁶ The other letter addressed to Nicolaus and Christophorus Sapieha is published also in E. Puteanus, *Epistolarum reliquiae*, epist. XXXI, p. 35.

⁷ S. Kot, 'Stosunki', p. 215.

⁸ *Encyclopedia Lituanica* (Boston, Mass., 1976), V, 57.

⁹ On July 1, 1569 Poland and The Grand Duchy of Lithuania concluded the Union of Lublin, according to which Lithuania had to become "one, united, and indivisible body" (*unum et indivisum corpus*) with Poland, but in fact the two countries continued to be separated by a clear frontier, retained a separate administrative and judicial system, their own

Travelling and studying at various European universities was a characteristic feature of the time. One can question why the studies at the University of Leuven were so popular among the sons of Lithuanian and Polish nobility. The whole of educated Europe was impressed with Puteanus' stylistic talent, literary abilities and publicistic gift.¹⁰ However, according to S. Kot, the reason of popularity of his teaching which attracted the dignitaries of Lithuania and Poland was based on a pedagogical model which differed from that of the Jesuits. The noblemen highly regarded the practical-political education of Puteanus, who followed a humanistic curriculum because it prepared the youth for public political life.¹¹ That was its advantage over the philological-poetical method of teaching in use at Jesuit schools. Puteanus referred to ancient historians and moralistic philosophers, and he taught his students virtue and eloquence on the basis of their texts. According to him, rhetoric, political history and moral philosophy were the tools which could satisfy students' aspirations "ad splendorem, ad prudentiam, ad virtutem".¹² It should be noted that only those Lithuanian and Polish dignitaries who were dissatisfied with the Jesuits' formal method of teaching and who were faithful defenders of absolute monarchy, sent their sons to be educated at the University of Leuven.¹³

As it has been mentioned before, there were two letters written by Puteanus to the sons of Nicolaus Sapieha, Palatine of Witebsk, published in Puteanus' *Epistolarum reliquiae*. The first one (epistola XXXI, p. 35), written on January 23, 1611 from Leuven to Paris, was addressed to Nicolaus and Christophorus Sapiehas. This letter is a teacher's polite answer to a letter sent by his students, which seems to have been written on their arrival in Paris after their studies in Leuven¹⁴ (the original letter is unknown to me). The former letter is an expression of Puteanus' gratefulness to his students for their affection. It also contains a kind of criticism against some teacher

code of law (in case of Lithuania, the Lithuanian Statute), their own treasury and army. The Act of Lublin did not succeed in fully realizing its goal, primarily because of efforts of the Lithuanian nobility to protect the autonomy of their country and maintain their concept of self-government. But Lithuania was greatly weakened by the union, while Poland gained a more notable position in Eastern European politics. Cf. *Encyclopedia Lituanica* (Boston, Mass., 1973), III, 426-429.

¹⁰ See Kot, 'Stosunki', p. 209.

¹¹ See Kot, 'Stosunki', p. 222.

¹² See Kot, 'Stosunki', p. 209.

¹³ See Kot, 'Stosunki', pp. 221-222. See also E. Ulčinė, 'Opera et necessitudines Iusti Lipsii in Lithuania saeculis XVI-XVII', in *Acta selecta Octavi Conventus Academicae Latinitati Fovendae*, ed. by J. IJsewijn et al. (Romae, 1995), pp. 405-414.

¹⁴ See Rygiel, *Puteanus und die Polen*, p. 25.

or professor whose lectures were attended by the young Sapiehas. On the other hand, the criticism is expressed in a purely humanistic way using metaphors and without mentioning any names: "Frigent nonnulli; et nunc ille, cuius ardorem admirati estis, nondum liberalitate sua dignas litteras censuit: nondum induci potuit, ut solida Aeternitatis vota aestimaret." Could it possibly be Professor Marvilius, whom Nicolaus Sapieha mentioned in a letter from Paris, dated 1609, where he wrote that he and his brother were studying "institutiones et exercitia stili" with Marvilius, and also "ethicam, politicam et jurisprudentiam".¹⁵ It is difficult to prove if Marvilius was the person mentioned in Puteanus' letter without having any other material available. Puteanus writes about himself too, citing his continued assistance to help the young people of his homeland. He hopes that "the darkness of the times could be conquered", hereby probably making an allusion to the political situation in the Low Countries¹⁶ and finishes his letter exhorting his former *alumni* to cherish virtue.

Nicolaus Sapieha (1581-1644), the elder brother, studied the art of warfare abroad, and afterwards he began his military service in the army of the German Emperor.¹⁷ Later, working as a diplomat and Member of Parliament, he could use his talent of eloquence¹⁸. Several of his speeches deserve to be mentioned here, viz. orations delivered in 1634 in Vilnius to glorify Vladislaus IV, King of Poland and Duke of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and conqueror of Moscow.¹⁹

Christophorus (1590-1637), the younger brother, became a *pocillator* of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.²⁰

On January 17, 1612 Puteanus wrote a letter to the two younger brothers, Fredericus and Alexander Casimirus²¹, who came to study in Leu-

¹⁵ *Sapiehowie. Materiały historyczno-genealogiczne i majątkowe* (Petersburg, 1890), I, 216. In that case if Nicolaus and Christophorus Sapieha were in Paris in 1609, it can not be that they attended the lectures of Puteanus in 1609, as Rygiel, *Puteanus und die Polen*, p. 25 affirms.

¹⁶ See *The New Encyclopædia Britannica* (Chicago, 1993), XI, 154-155.

¹⁷ *Lietuvių enciklopedija* (Boston, 1961), XXVI, 471.

¹⁸ S. Rygiel, *Puteanus und die Polen*, p. 27.

¹⁹ J. Ostrowski Daneykowicz, *Swada polska i łacińska* (Lublin, 1745), vol. I. *Swada oratorska seymowa*, pp. 113-115.

²⁰ *Sapiehowie. Bibliografia odnosząca się do Sapiehów z wieku XVI, XVII i XVIII*, ed. S. Estreicher (Kraków, 1928), p. 74.

²¹ See Puteanus, *Epistolarum reliquiae*, epist. LX, pp. 72-73. This letter (with a few added sentences) was also published as a preface *Praefatio LXXVII. in Lusum Oratorium Philippi Beroaldi, ad Fredericum et Alex. Casimirum Sapiehas Fratres*. I have consulted the edition in E. Puteanus, *Pompa prosphonetica, sive praefationum syntagma...* (Lovanii: ex officina E. de Witte, 1639), pp. 220-221.

ven. In that letter Puteanus gives recommendations to his students to read the didactic and moralizing book by Philippus Beroaldus *Eloquentiae Ludus*²², which consists of two parts: 1) *De philosophi, medici et oratoris praesentia*; 2) *De scortatoris, aleatoris et ebrii foeditate*. The teacher characterizes the edition as “primum stilo tolerabilis, deinde argumento curiosus, denique exemplo utilis est”, thus the students should read it to be able to distinguish good from evil, to praise good people and to condemn the wicked. This advice is followed with praise of his addressees for their eminent eloquence, and their future deeds, great speeches, noble life and dignity, splendor among the *Patriae Proceres*. The main pedagogical principle of Puteanus — virtue and eloquence as the highest dignity of a man — finds its reflection in this letter, too. Moreover, it welcomes the young Sapiehas to derive this knowledge at his *Palaestra Bonae Mentis*. He would be happy if his students returned to Lithuania as honest, educated and eloquent citizens. In their turn, the Sapiehas, who were to become famous in their homeland, were expected to justify the teacher's promises and to study hard, being devoted to him.

Alexander Casimirus Sapieha (?-1619) became *succamerarius Witebsensis* and *maggiordomo* of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.²³

Fredericus Sapieha (?-1626)²⁴, the youngest of four brothers, became *succamerarius Volodimiriensis*, and his oration delivered in Polish at the Senate on the occasion of his appointment to this post was well known and published afterwards.²⁵

More than a decade after the four sons of the Palatine of Witebsk finished their studies in Leuven, another Sapieha (sc. Leo Sapieha, Palatine of Vilnius), probably the most eminent member of the family, decided his two sons to be educated by Puteanus. On March 20, 1625 he wrote a letter to Puteanus²⁶, praising the latter's virtue, intelligence and erudition. In that letter Leo Sapieha announces his decision to send his sons to Leuven and entrust them to Puteanus' care.

²² Philippus Beroaldus, *Eloquentiae Ludus* (Lovanii: Flavius, 1612).

²³ Sapiehowie. Bibliografia odnosząca się do Sapiehów z wieku XVI, XVII i XVIII, p. 2.

²⁴ Sapiehowie. Bibliografia odnosząca się do Sapiehów z wieku XVI, XVII i XVIII, p. 225.

²⁵ Mowa W. Jmści Pana Fryderika Sapiehy Wojewodzica Witebskiego po wykonanay przysiędze na Podkomorstwo Włodzimierskie za przywilejem Królewskim, dziękując Nobilitati na Seymiku pro collatis suffragiis na ten urząd. In: *Swada Polska Ostrowskiego* (Lublin, 1745), I, 371.

²⁶ See the first footnote for the details of the edition.

Erycius Puteanus answered the letter of the Palatine of Vilnius²⁷ on July 14, 1626. He made excuses to the Palatine for delay in answering the letter, and in his own turn praised Leo Sapieha for his virtue and humanity, and his sons Christophorus Nicolaus and Casimirus Leo for their diligence (“ut ingeniosissimi, ita diligentissimi sunt, et cum ingenti fructu in litterarum et eloquentiae studiis versantur”). The Leuven Professor replies that he cares for the Polish-Lithuanian Republic and even for its King by educating the young people of their country: “Sane in filiis SAPIEHA Rempublicam mihi commendasse visus est: ego in SAPIEHA utilem me Reipublicae praestiti.”

Christophorus Nicolaus and Casimirus Leo had been studying in Leuven under the tutelage of Puteanus²⁸ approximately for three years and the latter received 400 talers for their education.²⁹

The dedication letter dated 22 July 1626 (Leuven, *The Castle*)³⁰ to Christophorus Nicolaus and Casimirus Leo Sapiehas was included in the second edition of Puteanus' dissertation *Institutio principis* (1622), now entitled *Elementa basilica* (1626). It is a typical example of a dedicatory letter, ample in expression of praise. Here Puteanus explains the reasons that prompted him to write the book *Elementa basilica*. On the other hand, the dedication itself stresses the importance of the education of Sovereigns, providing the example of the young Sapiehas as the embodiment of piety, temperate behavior and talent, as well as that of their grandfather Leo Sapieha who is called the King (“si nomen usurpare licet, Regem!”). The latter comparison is made referring to Aristotle's *Politeia*, where continuous military leadership connotes kingship. A historical event (i.e. a battle between the army led by Leo Sapieha and the Swedes³¹) is briefly described by Puteanus in the letter aimed also to praise the Grand Hetman of Lithuania. The Leuven professor finishes the dedication asking to accept his book as an expression of benevolence, and states that every ruler can be educated after the example of the two Sapiehas at the present moment.

²⁷ E. Puteanus, *Epistolarum selectarum apparatus miscellaneus et novus; officia familiaria, negotia, studia continens. In centurias distributus* (Coloniae: sumptibus S. Paulli, 1663), centuria IV, epist. XVIII, pp. 320-321.

²⁸ See Kot, ‘Stosunki’, p. 215.

²⁹ Archives générales du Royaume à Bruxelles (Ms. 1911, p. 5, June 19, 1630); cf. Rygiel, *Puteanus und die Polen*, p. 40, footnote 91.

³⁰ I have consulted the edition in E. Puteanus, *Pompa prosphonetica*, praefatio XL, pp. 114-117.

³¹ As Grand Hetman (1625), he took on the task of stopping the Swedish advance from Livonia and Prussia into Lithuania. He succeeded in achieving a truce (1627) and signing the peace of Altmark (1629). Cf. *Encyclopedia Lituanica*, p. 60.

Christophorus Sapieha (1607-1631) was 18 years old when he came to study to Leuven³² together with his younger brother and master Hieronymus Piestrecius.³³ The young man showed his literary skills and talent for historiography. He wrote in Latin a historiographical work on the Russian Tsar Pseudo-Demetrius (Dimitrij) no longer extant.³⁴ There is a letter from Puteanus to Christophorus in Leuven (dated March 17, 1627)³⁵ where the teacher praises that work of his student: “ingeniose... ac nitide narrata... pulcherrima Narratio est”. Christophorus defended his dissertation *Theses Politicae*³⁶ in the *Collegium Trilingue* in 1627. He also translated the works of Livy into Polish³⁷ and studied the art of warfare. Unfortunately he died at a young age, having the position of *notarius Magni Ducatus Lithuaniae*.³⁸ A. A. Misztolt S.J., author of a famous book on the history of the Sapieha family, wrote: “Lovanii, discipulus Puteani, absque Praeside conclusiones Politicas publice defendit. Ipse Puteanus magister... ad illum conversus dixit: *Aliam tibi quere Palaestram, haec mea te non capit*”.³⁹

Casimirus Leo Sapieha (1609-1656) studied at Vilnius Academy and continued his studies in Munich, Leuven — (Misztolt wrote in his *Historia illustrissimae Sapiehanae domus*: “Decimo sexto aetatis anno, Peregrinationis Christophori Fratris ad externos socius, et Virtutum aemulus, sub inclytis magistris, Puteano et Vernuleo, juventutem

³² Rygiel, *Puteanus und die Polen*, p. 39 writes that Christophorus was only 13 years old, but according to the other sources he came to study in Leuven in 1625, i.e. being 18 years old. See Kot, ‘Stosunki’, p. 215.

³³ See the dedication letter in *Elementa Basilica*.

³⁴ An impostor appeared in Poland in the year 1601 who announced himself to be Dimitrij, the son of Ivan the Terrible, and claimed the throne. There was a conspiracy organized against Tsar Boris Godunov in Russia and some of the nobility of the Polish-Lithuanian Republic, including Leo Sapieha, conspired with the plotters. When Tsar Boris died in 1605, Dimitrij succeeded to the throne. The latter perished in 1606 and another impostor appeared some time later and claimed himself to be the miraculously rescued Dimitrij. Thus, he was known as Dimitrij II. He also received support from some of the Polish noblemen, including the Sapiehas. Cf. Z. Kiaupa, J. Kiaupienė, A. Kuncevičius, *Lietuvos istorija iki 1795 m.* (Vilnius, 1995), pp. 334-345.

³⁵ E. Puteanus, *Epistolarum selectarum*, epist. XXXVIII, p. 336.

³⁶ *Theses Politicae ex Aristotelis libris de Republica a Christophoro Nicolao Sapieha, Palatini Vilmensis filio. Publice, et in Palaestra Bonae Mentis propositae* (Lovanii: typis C. Coenesteynii, 1627).

³⁷ Ks. Olszewski, *Grono winne pod zodyakiem Sapieżyńskim w młodym wieku dojrzałej cnoty* (Wilno, 1632).

³⁸ A. A. Misztolt, *Historia Ill-mae Domus Sapiehanae...* (Vilnae: typis Universitatis S.I., 1724), pars III, pp. 48-52.

³⁹ Misztolt, *Historia Ill-mae Domus Sapiehanae*, III, p. 49.

excoluit...⁴⁰⁾ — and afterwards he learned the art of warfare under the tutelage of Spinola.⁴¹ Moreover, he did some travelling in Italy and was elected to the Supreme Tribunal on his returning home, appointed Marshal of the Court (in 1638) and Vice-Chancellor of Lithuania (in 1643).⁴² He showed his diplomatic skills when he conducted negotiations with Moscow and prepared a peace treaty in 1634. He spoke seven languages fluently and impressed his contemporaries with his oratorical ability.⁴³ Sapieha donated his rich library to the Academy of Vilnius and financed the establishment of the Departments of Civil and Canon Law.⁴⁴

It is also worth mentioning the dedication (or preface) *Ad civem et virum bonum* in the book *Doctrinae politicae fontes*⁴⁵ by Puteanus. In the dedication Puteanus praises Christophorus and Casimirus Sapieha for their extraordinary abilities, their zeal for study, and their virtue. Their names are mentioned twice and it reflects the spirit of a panegyric. The correspondence and its historical background discussed above prove that there existed strong cultural ties between the nobility of Lithuania and Erycius Puteanus, one of the most prominent humanists of 17th-century Europe. It also influenced the cultural life of the 17th century in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

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⁴⁰ Misztótt, *Historia Ill-mae Domus Sapiehanae*, p. 55. According to Rygiel, *Puteanus und die Polen*, p. 39 Casimirus Leo Sapieha was only 11 years old then.

⁴¹ *Sapiehowie. Materiały historyczno-genealogiczne i majątkowe*, p. 14.

⁴² *Encyclopedia Lituanica*, p. 57.

⁴³ *Encyclopedia Lituanica*, p. 57.

⁴⁴ *Phoenix Orbis Lituani, Ill-mus D. D. Casimirus Leo Sapieha... Iuris utriusque in Alma Academia Vilmensis Fundator...* (Varsaviae, 1666).

⁴⁵ *Doctrinae politicae fontes ex Aristotelis libro I. et II. De Republica... ab E. Puteano Bamelrodio descripti...* (Lovanii: apud C. Coenesteynium, 1627). It might be of interest to mention that I have used the book (Shelf mark: BAV 70.6.14 in Vilnius University Library) donated by Casimirus Leo Sapieha (which contains an inscription made by hand in the title page: "Bibliotheca magna. Collegii Vilm. Societ. IESU dono Ill'mi D'ni Casimiri Sapieha Procancell. MDCL").

Jeanine DE LANDTSHEER

ERYCIUS PUTEANUS'S *CAECITATIS CONSOLATIO* (1609)
AND CONSTANTIJN HUYGENS'S *OOGHENTROOST* (1647)*

The idea of this article was suggested in a publication by Maurits Sabbe who draw attention to the connection between Puteanus and Huygens in one of his studies.¹ According to him Huygens was left with something very durable out of his acquaintance with Puteanus, namely the basic concept for his *Ooghentroost*. Both authors reached for their quill to comfort a friend who went blind; both seemed to be developing their arguments along the same paths. Sabbe drew some preliminary conclusions, pointing out that the subject needed further research. In this contribution I go first into the background of both *consolationes* — when and why they were written — and examine the relations between their authors. In a second part I will make a summary of both works with their principal arguments. Finally, I will draw a comparison between them.

1. The Background of Both *Consolationes*

1.1. *Puteanus and his Caecitatis Consolatio*

In 1609 Erycius Puteanus published his *Caecitatis Consolatio* with the Leuven printer Gerardus Rivius.² It is a booklet of 86 pages in 12°, com-

* I am greatly indebted to Marc Laureys (Bonn) and to Hugo Dehennin (Leuven) for the correction of my English.

¹ See M. Sabbe, *De Moretussen en hun kring* (Antwerp, 1928), pp. 103-111 (esp. pp. 109-110).

² *Eryci Puteani Caecitatis Consolatio ad Ampliss[imum] Virum Guil[ielmum] Cripium Cancellarium Geldriae* (Leuven, 1609), further on abbreviated as *Caec. Cons.* Gerardus Rivius († Leuven, 1634) was active as a printer, a bookseller and an editor in Leuven from 1598 until 1620. Cf. A. Rouzet, *Dictionnaire des imprimeurs, libraires et éditeurs belges des XVe et XVIe siècles dans les limites géographiques de la Belgique actuelle* (Nieuwkoop, 1975), p. 190.

plemented with fragments of Claudianus Mamertus's *De Statu Animae*³ and of Cicero's *Tusculanae Disputationes*⁴ — both on blindness —, and with the *De Caecitate Oratio* by the French humanist Jean Passerat.⁵

The *Consolatio* was written for Puteanus's friend, the jurist and politician Willem Crip (The Hague, 1535 — Beurden, 25 January 1610).⁶ He became Pensionary of Delft, counsellor of the Supreme Council of Mechelen and from 15 September 1582 on chancellor of the Sovereign Court of Gelderland, then residing in Roermond. Willem Crip himself had some merits as a humanist: he wrote four Latin epigrams for Janus Dousa⁷ and prepared a new edition of Janus Secundus's poems⁸ along with a *Praefatio* in elegant Latin prose. Foppens also mentions *Eiusdem elegans exstat libellus pro consolatione caecorum*, information also used by A.J. van der Aa. Yet, I could not find a single trace of such an edition, so I presume that Foppens might have mixed up the author and the person the consolation was written for.

Puteanus's *Consolatio* informs us that Willem Crip's sight was deteriorating some four years before his death, and that the Leuven physician Thomas Fienus⁹ diagnosed that he was suffering from a cataract:

³ *Caec. Cons.*, pp. 87-91 and explanatory notes pp. 91-96. Claudianus Mamertus († 474) was bishop of Vienne and a friend of Sidonius Apollinaris who urged him to edit his *De Statu Animae*. Cf. RE [= *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, ed. G. Wissowa — K. Ziegler (neue Bearbeitung) (Stuttgart, 1893-1980)], III, 2, 2660-2661; M. Schanz — C. Hosius — G. Krüger, *Geschichte der Römischen Literatur bis zum Gesetzgebungswerk des Kaisers Justinian*, Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, 8, 4 vols (Munich, 1959-1967 [= 1914-1935⁴]), II, 547-550.

⁴ *Caec. Cons.*, pp. 97-102.

⁵ *Caec. Cons.*, pp. 105-126. The French humanist Jean Passerat (Troyes, 1534 — Paris, 1602) was considered one of the best Latin scholars of his age. He taught rhetoric and Latin poetry at the Collège de France, see *L'Europe des Humanistes (XIVe-XVIIe siècles)*, ed. by J.-F. Maillard, J. Kecskeméti and M. Portalier ([Turnhout]: Brepols, 1995), p. 337. Rather young, an accident when playing fives bereft him of one of his eyes. In 1597 a brain haemorrhage left him half paralysed and completely blind. In this year his *De Caecitate Oratio*, a booklet of twelve folia in 8° was edited by Patisson in Paris.

⁶ On Willem Crip, cf. NNBW [= *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, red. P.C. Molhuysen — P.J. Blok, 10 vols (Leiden, 1911-1937)], 8, 339; J.F. Foppens, *Bibliotheca Belgica*, 2 vols (Brussels, 1739), 1, 397; A.J. van der Aa, *Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden* (Amsterdam, 1969 [= Haarlem, 1852-1878, 27 vols]) 2, 261.

⁷ The four *Epigrammata* are incorporated in Janus Lernutius's *Delitiae poetarum Germanorum huius superiorisque aevi illustrium* (Frankfurt, 1612).

⁸ Janus Secundus, *Opera nunc secundum in lucem edita* (Paris, 1561).

⁹ Thomas Fienus (Fyens) (Antwerp, 1567 — Louvain, 1631) studied in Leiden and from 1590 on in Bologna. In 1593, the year he promoted as a doctor in medicine, he occupied a chair at Leuven University, and later on became personal physician of the

Non extinctum illud oculorum tibi lumen, sed lenta dumtaxat suffusione sive *cataracta*, ut medici appellant, impeditum. Nubecula e defluente humore concrevit, uveam tunicam saepsit, rerum species interceptit. Perita manu tolli nunc etiam vitium posse, idem ille, noster et Aesculapii amor, adseverat qui praevidit et in turbidula ante triennium acie periculum notavit. Clarissimus THOMAS FIENUS est, ille non minus felix peritusque in depellendis morbis quam accuratus et diligens ut investiget causas.¹⁰

Browsing through Puteanus's letters, I found that his *Consolatio* was available in the late summer of 1609, for on 12 September 1609 he presented his treatise to Johannes Robertius, rector of the Jesuit college of Paderborn.¹¹ The letter to Crip accompanying the gift of the book has not been dated.¹²

Although Puteanus meant the treatise specifically for Willem Crip, he dedicated the booklet to the Sovereign Court of Gelderland, for — as he explained in the dedicatory letter — Crip, as the president of the Council is as the head of a body, so when the head is afflicted, the whole body will suffer.

1.2. Constantijn Huygens and Puteanus¹³

Huygens's contacts with the South were not limited to his private life. As a diplomat he was sent on many embassies to the Spanish court in Brussels and accompanied Prince Frederik Hendrik on his campaigns as

archdukes Albrecht and Isabella. He declined an invitation from the University of Bologna and preferred to remain in Leuven. He was considered an excellent physician and was famous for his knowledge on chirurgy. Cf. BN [*Biographie nationale* (Brussels, 1866-)] 7, 47-49; V. Vermeesch, *Thomas Fienus, een bio-bibliografische studie (1567-1631)* (unpublished diss. K.U.-Leuven, 1991).

¹⁰ *Caec. Cons.*, p. 80.

¹¹ *Epist.* 1, 50 in *E. Puteani Epistolarum Atticarum missus secundi in centurias tres divisi* (Köln, 1617), pp. 113-114; (Köln, 1636), pp. 62-63. For Johannes Robertius (St-Hubert, 1569 — Namur, 1651), see DBS [= A. de Backer — C. Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 12 vols (Brussels, 1890-1932)], 6, 1900-1906.

¹² *Caec. Cons.*, pp. 128-130; *E. Puteani Epistolarum Atticarum missus secundi in centurias tres divisi. Quibus accedit centuria singularis et nova* (Köln, 1636), pp. 340-341 (= *Epist.* 4, 4).

¹³ See on this subject Sabbe, *De Moretussen*, pp. 103-108; Id., 'Constantijn Huygens en Zuid-Nederland', in *Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie* (Brussels, 1925) (especially pp. 20-27 on Huygens's relationship with Puteanus); H.H. Knippenberg, 'Erycius Puteanus en Constantijn Huygens, twee vrienden in oorlogstijd', in *Studiën, tijdschrift voor godsdienstige wetenschap en letteren* ('s-Hertogenbosch, 1940), 133.

his secretary. On one of these occasions, Huygens made his first contact with Erycius Puteanus. At the end of 1630 he came into possession of a bundle of Puteanus's letters, which had been intercepted by soldiers of the North. Huygens took care to send everything back to the rightful owner, adding some Latin verses¹⁴ dated on 6 December 1630. Some weeks later,¹⁵ Huygens let Puteanus know that Valerius Andreas's *Bibliotheca Belgica* had informed him of the titles of his correspondent's numerous works.¹⁶ From then on, both authors maintained a regular correspondence, sending each other their publications, asking for comment on future editions, or treating more practical problems as providing a passport for some of Puteanus's acquaintances, or helping Puteanus's sons out of trouble with Dutch soldiers. A lot of those contacts are limited to only a few lines.

In the letters, Puteanus's *Caecitudinis Consolatio* is not mentioned, since the booklet was published in 1609 and the correspondence between the two humanists did only start in 1631. Neither did Huygens discuss his own *Consolatio* with Puteanus, for when he composed his poem at the end of 1646, Puteanus had already met with his Lord.

1.3. *The Genesis of the Ooghen-troost*¹⁷

Huygens completed the original version of his *Ooghen-troost* on 5 January 1647. He composed this poem of 430 verses for an old girlfriend, Lucretia van Trello¹⁸ — some eight years his elder —, who had

¹⁴ The first letter preserved, dated on 2 January 1631, is the one in which Puteanus expressed his gratitude towards Huygens's cares, cf. *De Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens (1608-1687)*, ed. J.A. Worp, vol. 1, Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, 15 ('s-Gravenhage, 1911), p. 308, no 570 and Huygens's answer, no 571, dated January 1631 (the exact day went lost). Another version of Puteanus's letter can be found in *Eryci Puteani V. Cl. ad Constantinum Hugenum et Danielem Heinsium, Viros Nobiliss., Epistolae* (Leiden, 1647), p. 3.

¹⁵ On 6 March 1631, cf. *De Briefwisseling*, 313, no 584.

¹⁶ Cf. *Valeri Andreae Desseli Bibliotheca Belgica: De Belgis vita scriptisque claris. praemissa ... descriptione* (Leuven, 1643²), p. 208 (Puteanus's *Caecitatis Consolatio* is no. X of *Philologica, Philosophica ac Miscellanea*).

¹⁷ Cf. C.W. de Kruyter, *Constantijn Huygens' Ooghentroost. Een interpretatieve studie* (diss., Meppel, 1971); *Constantijn Huygens' Ooghentroost*. Uitgegeven naar de autograaf en de drukken, ingeleid en toegelicht door F.L. Zwaan (Groningen, 1984) [further on abbreviated as Zwaan].

¹⁸ Lucretia van Trello (c. 1588-1663) was one of the four daughters of Charles van Trello (officer and commander of Loevestein, later on bailiff of Utrecht and commander of Herentals) and Clara Persijn. She was buried in the Oude Kerk in Delft on 17 April 1663. Cf. *De Briefwisseling*, 1, p. 166, n. 1. Huygens dedicated some of his poems to Lucretia, cf. Zwaan, pp. XXI-XXIII.

become blind in one eye. The title has a double meaning: whereas the modern reader will only understand it as ‘*comfort for the eye* (that soon will be deprived of sight)’, Huygens’s contemporaries also knew it as a small plant, applied in cases of eye diseases.¹⁹ Immediately after sending this consolation, Huygens thought of reviewing and editing his text. This resulted in a poem of 1002 verses, with a slightly changed title: *Euphrasia. Oogentroost aen Parthenine*, Parthenine being a neologism builded on the Greek παρθένοϛ, virgin and thus referring to Lucretia who remained unmarried. Huygens not only added a considerable number of verses;²⁰ when he prepared his manuscript for the printer, he also inserted numerous quotations taken from Latin and Greek authors,²¹ and out of biblical sources. The book was available in the early spring of 1647, for in a letter dated on 4 May 1647²² Jacobus Revius thanked Huygens for sending it. On 12 May the French philosopher René Descartes showed his appreciation for Huygens’s *Euphrasia* pointing out that according to his views, Huygens’s poem was superior to its many sources. He also praised the satirical character of the work, but this will be explained further on:

pour vous remercier de vostre belle Euphrasia, dont i’ay trouvé la robe beaucoup meilleure que la bordure, et i’ay remarqué qu’avec la modestie d’un escrit consolatoire, vous avez meslé adroitement toutes les graces de la satire.²³

2. A Summary of Both Works

2.1. Puteanus’s Caecitatis Consolatio

Puteanus’s *Consolation* has no clear-cut or strictly logical structure, but is rather composed as one of Seneca’s dialogues or longer letters to

¹⁹ *Euphrasia* with its Latin name. G.J. Knijff, physician in Utrecht, described it poetically as *Nubifugoque oculis Euphrasia lumine lustrans*, cf. *Goylandia*, pp. 80-81.

²⁰ Zwaan, p. XV.

²¹ As Lucretia van Trello did not know Latin or Greek, one may presume that those references were not included in the original.

²² See *De Briefwisseling* ..., 4, 402, no 4583. Jacobus Revius (1588-1655) was rector of the Staten-College (the College for Theology) in Leiden since 1641. Cf. *De Briefwisseling* ..., 3, 265, n. 1.

²³ See *Correspondence of Descartes and Constantijn Huygens* (ed. L. Roth) (Oxford, 1926), pp. 251-253. With *robe*, Descartes means the poem itself; with *bordure* he refers to the many quotations inserted on each page under the actual text, cf. Zwaan, XXIV.

Lucilius, in a mere succession of ideas and arguments circling around the main themes that blindness is no evil, that being blind offers a protection against sorrows, affects, bad influences, and that most seeing people are blind for what is really important, namely the well being of the immortal soul. Puteanus actually informs Crip at the beginning of his *opusculum* that, because of his affection for him, he will offer his friend a remedy for his sorrow, at least if he is still needing comfort. He prefers to do that with some simple and kind words, rather than with a learned and long-winded discourse.

Alloqui igitur quid ni te audeam, ego pietatis adfectu tuus, et remedium non morbo sed dolori adferre, siquae reliquiae sunt, illae brevi et amico magis, quam docto et laborioso sermone profligandae?²⁴

According to Seneca's example, Puteanus illustrates his ideas with comparison and metaphor. Quite frequently, he will introduce quotations from Latin or Greek philosophers — mostly Cicero, Lucretius, Seneca, Plutarch —, or he will simply give a paraphrase of their ideas. The style can be considered an harmonious blend of Cicero and Seneca. The latter's so characteristic *brevitas* is lacking, even if the sentences are not so elaborate as Cicero's; otherwise the ideas are constantly strengthened with *antithesis* and *inversion*. Puteanus's rhetorical training shows in the frequent use of bi- or tripartite sentences, rhetorical questions, *sententiae*.

In his *dedicatio*, Puteanus gives a broad outline of his treatise: his first reaction was one of grief, but after examining the evil, he came to the conclusion that not only the so-called evil needed no tears, but even was no evil at all. Thus Puteanus took it upon himself to write a consolation to raise up the one who judged his fortune as a misfortune, compelled by common opinion. Here we meet one of Cicero's arguments: distress is only the *idea* (*opinio*) of an occurring evil, based on the opinion of 'Everyman', and we consider it a duty to feel grief.²⁵

Neque officere aut obtenebrare Caecitas poterit, illa a Deo propitio magis quam irato immissa. Bonam viro bono esse, clarum scripto isto feci, sed postquam planxi. Sic primo ac repentino mali nuncio cessi meumque publicis lacrymis dolorem sociavi. Quis culpet? Laesa ipsa Patria videbatur oculisque destituta, in patria ego qui, etsi Lare et munere secretus, voto tamen et obsequio vester sum, animoque vivo ubi primam vitae usuram hausi, lucis et telluris. Sic igitur tamquam praesens ingemui; mox, consumptis primis suspiriis, expendere

²⁴ *Caec. Cons.*, 13

²⁵ *Cic. Tusc.* 3,74.

malum ipsum coepi an dolorem mereretur. Breviter: repperi malum non esse, et CONSOLATIONEM scripsi, ut praecipue eum erigerem qui fortassis ex aliorum opinione vulnus suum aestimabat, deinde, ut vos quoque, Viri Amplissimi, eiusdem corporis membra, quos eadem offusae sortis nebula involvebat.²⁶

Also interesting to get a survey of Puteanus's arguments is the *Παραμυθητικόν*, the poem of condolence, written in iambic dimeters, added at the end of his treatise.²⁷

I will now summarize Puteanus's treatise by pointing out the principal elements of his train of thought.

The *consolatio* opens with the statement that most of our sorrows come forth from a wrong opinion. In every misfortune, some sound thinking and preparation is needed:

In rebus humanis quidquid triste et acerbum est, Vir Amplissime, aut iniquitas opinionis facit, aut impostura adauget. Mala sua quisquis intelliget, etiam feret; intelliget autem mala non esse quae putat, si velum illud persuasionis tollet et circumlitum a vulgi vocibus terrorem. ... Ratione igitur et praeparatione quadam opus, in omni tempestate mali, illa ut vera trutina expendamus quae ferenda sunt, hac ut excipiamus iam praevisa et feramus quae corrigi aut vitari non possunt.²⁸

Of course, every mortal being values his eyes highly, loves the enjoyment of light and will be scared by the mere mention of darkness. We even discern between good and evil in terms of light and dark, and will use the name 'light' for what is dearest to us. But in so speaking, continues Puteanus, I am only using common talk, and I am yielding to grief just to catch it and take it away, I will provoke the hidden sorrow, to eradicate it, root and branch. He continues:

Caeci sumus, si boni non sumus, si a virtutis via declinamus. Caeci sumus, si praeter oculos in homine nihil aestimamus. Caeci si ob horrorem Caecitatem pertimescimus; caeci si a die et luce vitam censemus.²⁹

²⁶ *Caec. Cons.*, 5-7.

²⁷ Cf. *Caec. Cons.*, 103-104: there is no need for tears of grief; blindness is a kind gift of God and not unfair or unjust as long as the eyes of the mind are used. Wise men see even with unseeing eyes. Not seeing keeps one free from jealousy and untroubled. Only the mind, which sees God, is able to perceive.

²⁸ *Caec. Cons.*, pp. 11-12.

²⁹ *Caec. Cons.*, pp. 13-14. We corrected *ob horrorem Caecitatem* out of *ob Caecitatem horrorem*, according to Puteanus' *Cautiuncula*, with some *corrigenda*, cf. *ibid.*, 155.

And he concludes that those who are deploring the loss of Crip's eyes are only sharpening his bereavement; they are fashioning just to have a reason to mourn. Often they will even increase their feelings, because they can not be seen.

Then Puteanus comes to his next point, to prove that blindness cannot be considered as an evil: 'Nam inter mala caecitatem non esse, faxo caecis et Homericis plane oculis liqueat', and he continues: when you examine the nature, the origin, the quality of your blindness, you will actually find nothing deserving any peculiar sorrow:

Caecitas est, id est animi a rebus vanis, variis, fortuitis, uno verbo, externis subductio. Communi luce privatus es, et quid nisi picta quadam calamitatis scaena? Imo luce privatus es, sed vivis tamen et sapis. Vin' dicam quid sit? Luce non indiges. Et quid refragaris aut opponis? Naturae hoc negotium est, sed a Deo.³⁰

This is followed by a quotation from Seneca: 'Optimum est pati quod emendare non possis, et Deum, quo auctore cuncta proveniunt, sine murmuratione comitari'.³¹ Next Puteanus uses a commonplace: 'Solus hanc aerumnam non sustines, nec aerumnam quidem. Caeci omni aevo fuerunt, omni erunt, nec ideo re aut nomine infelices'.

He reassures his friend that he will remain the same, even now that he is wrapped up in the protecting cloak of darkness, and will seize peace and security, just as Ulysses went to Alcinoüs' palace, enveloped by Minerva's cloud or as Aeneas, who came to Dido's palace unobserved, thanks to the protecting cloud of his mother Venus:

Tuus eris quotiescumque voles, et tutissimo hoc tenebrarum velut amictu saeptus, tamquam Ulysses regiam subibis Alicinoi, tamquam Aeneas Didonis, id est sine impedimento securitatem et tranquillitatem capesses. Quae in Heroibus illis densati aëris caligo, in te Caecitas est, sed Veneris opera et Minervae. Ulyssem Minerva duxit, Venus Aeneam.³²

There is no need either to be afraid of the name itself, nor to consider himself miserable for being called blind or deprived of his eyes. This is proved by some Roman cognomina:

Te vero ... nomen ipsum terreat, miserumque putes caecum orbumque luminibus dici. Nequidquam: etiam qui non tales, usurparunt. Apud

³⁰ *Caec. Cons.*, pp. 17.

³¹ *Sen. Ep. ad Luc.* 107, 9.

³² *Caec. Cons.*, pp. 19.

Romanos quidem (humilia exempla negligo) Caeci, Caecilii, Orbilii
(sic enim derivo), imo Scipiones fuere, et quae lumina Urbis!

This last name is explained by a quotation from Macrobius: Cornelius jr guided his unseeing father and was as his stick, hence the *cognomen* Scipio.³³

Next, Puteanus develops an important argument, namely that none are so blind as the ones who will not see, and that the body is a prison for the mind:

quam multa in rebus his humanis, quae ne oculatus quidem videt!
Pessima videntium Caecitas est, et quotum ea quemque non premit!
In clarissimis hallucinamur, in facillimis labimur, in planissimis
impingimus: si recte calculum ponis, ubique Caecitas est. Animum
ipsum carcer ille corporis saepsit tenebrisque velut vinclis strinxit,
miserum quidem, quamdiu liberari nequit, nisi miseriorem etiam quod
oculorum beneficio miseriam deprehendat.³⁴

This is proved by further quotations from Seneca's *Consolatio ad Marciam* and *Letter 79* to Lucilius. There is no reason why Crip should blame his blindness (Puteanus uses the word *tenebrae*, because he will be playing with its different meanings), for we are all living in darkness, not knowing which way to go. In short, depraved feelings and vulgar emotions are darkness for every human, evil deeds are as a kind of blinkers, or as screens for the eyes. Still worse: in those circumstances, we will be led by common opinion, not by sound judgement.³⁵ But 'quia illustrem virtutibus mentem habes, facili radio omnes istas corporis tenebras dispellis'.³⁶

Moreover, darkness and shadow are not necessary negative: some shadows are even indicating the presence of some divinity,³⁷ something sacral and further, writers, especially poets, prefer shady woods to compose their poems.

In some ways, Crip's life has changed indeed: he will no longer be going home alone, but will be led; he will now only hear the ones he

³³ Macr. 1, 6: 'Non aliter dicti Scipiones, nisi quod Cornelius, qui cognominem patrem, luminibus carentem pro baculo regebat, Scipio cognominatus, nomen ex cognomine posteris dedit'.

³⁴ *Caec. Cons.*, pp. 21-22.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 23-24.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

³⁷ With a reference to Sen. *Ep. ad Luc.* 41, 3.

was able to see before; he will have to take the food, go to a bed that he cannot see anymore, but if he really thinks about it, the only offence he will find, is coming up to the unusual. According to common opinion, it is a grief not to see the ones you love; yet, he can still embrace them and can be seen by them. His wife will be more precious, as she will substitute his eyes. She for her part will show greater devotion, as her husband is lacking his eyes. Crieip will find his eyes in her, she has lost hers in his. Sleep will come easier in his permanent darkness and without any impressions that must be dispelled with poppy-syrup. Nature will go its way, unencumbered by bright light or torches, and when Crieip is recovered, his mind will arise of the clouds of sleep and resume its tasks.³⁸ Furthermore, as winter is a necessary part of the year, so is old age inherent in life, old age meaning grey hair, wrinkles, troubles with the eyes. Puteanus continues:

Sic paullatim ad se homo ducitur, ut meliorem illam partem aestimet qua vivit, et qua victurus etiam cum desierit. Omnis in penetrali thesaurus locatur, atqui animus thesaurus est, et in corpore latet, aeternus in caduco fragilique. In tali autem vitium aliquod cur doleamus? Domum facile quisque negligit quam mox relicturus est. Confringat tempestas tegulas imbricesque, imber parietes lavet; inquilinus sum et migro, imo hospes et proficiscor. Convaso supellectilem, compono sarcinulam ut quae mea transferam et evadam. Haec domus, hoc hospitium corpus est, in quo quidquid praeter animum alienum est, iniuriae aëris obnoxium et aevi.³⁹

The eye proves the frailness of the body; it can be lost by illness, or even in sleep or in a dream.⁴⁰ Yet, blindness has been favourably disposed towards Crieip, by giving some warnings and coming up gradually, so that Crieip was able to come to terms with it.⁴¹

Next, Puteanus resumes the outspokenly Stoical thought that it is good to know oneself in every possible circumstance, to know what is proper and what is alien to oneself, and that only the former is constant and solid. Once one is convinced that only the mind is proper to a human being, one will easily contempt illness and even death, one will be capable to cope with every misfortune. The loss of his sight allows Crieip to behave as the truly wise, namely to distinguish between perish-

³⁸ *Caec. Cons.*, pp. 26-27.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.

⁴⁰ With a reference to Plin. *Nat.* 7, 50.

⁴¹ *Caec. Cons.*, pp. 31-32.

able and eternal, and to contemplate Divinity. The sequel is a strong reminder of Seneca:

Quo oculi non perveniunt, mens penetrat atque tum, sua et rebus terrenis altior, serio despicit quodcumque angustiae oculorum admirantur aut ambiunt, facile contemnit quodcumque illae pavent. Ridet iniurias, contumelias, omnemque humani furoris stultitiam. Spondeat Fortuna prospera, non movetur; minetur adversa, negligit. Caecum numen mens oculata calcat.⁴²

Puteanus concludes: 'Sic vero ut animus se contempletur, oculis non indiget; sibi ipsa oculus est'. Moreover, the bereavement of his eyes goes without suffering, without excruciating pains.

With a quotation from Cicero's *Tusculanae*,⁴³ Puteanus then develops the theme that, unlike the other senses, the eye has no direct delight from seeing, hence no grief from its deficiency.⁴⁴ The mind, picking up whatever we perceive, does not distinguish between light and darkness; moreover, the night has its own delights. This is illustrated by a reference to the philosopher Antipater of Cyrene⁴⁵ who, deploring his blindness, mockingly asked some female friends if they really thought that the night was offering no pleasures at all:

Id lepido atque libero responso Antipater ille Cyrenaicus mulierculis persuadere conatus quae Caecitatem eius deplorabant: 'Quid agitis?', inquit, 'An vobis nulla voluptas videtur esse nocturna?'.⁴⁶

After a digression on the Blemmyae, a legendary Ethiopian people without head, with mouth and eyes on their breast,⁴⁷ Puteanus assures his friend that blindness is favorable to tranquillity, is even desirable, for the mind is no longer withdrawn by calamities or wickedness. The tortures of worries and illness, even disgrace break surreptitiously into us through the eyes; seeing not only makes us unhappy, but also evil; not seeing, on the other hand, makes us good and happy.

Tranquillitati amicam Caecitatem dixerim et inter prima vota habendam, ut a funestis atque etiam scelestis animus abducatur. Per oculos

⁴² *Caec. Cons.*, pp. 34-35, cf. *Sen. Ep. ad Luc.* 41, 4-5.

⁴³ *Cic. Tusc.* 5, 111.

⁴⁴ *Caec. Cons.*, pp. 36-37: 'Ut igitur veram oculorum fruitio voluptatem in se non habet, sic nec dolorem privatio'.

⁴⁵ Antipater of Cyrene was a disciple of the Socratic Aristippus (RE 1, 2, 2515, no 25). The anecdote is mentioned by Diog. Laert. 2, 86 and *Cic. Tusc.* 5, 112.

⁴⁶ *Caec. Cons.*, pp. 37-38. The anecdote is mentioned by Diog. Laert. 2, 86.

⁴⁷ *Plin. Nat.* 5, 8, §46; *Isid. Orig.* 11, 3, 17. See *Caec. Cons.*, pp. 38-39.

enim curarum aegritudinumque quaedam cruces, tum ipsa quoque flagitia se insinuant, nec infelices tantum videndo reddimur sed mali, ut contra non videndo boni beatique.⁴⁸

This theme is meditated upon in the next pages.⁴⁹ Among the vices, caused by the eyes, Puteanus merely names avarice, luxury and crudelity, before coming into passion and hate. He assures Crip that this has nothing to do with him, as his mind is untroubled by perturbations. Yet, he urges his friend to make peace with his only son.⁵⁰

After that digression,⁵¹ Puteanus resumes his catalogue of vices, finding their origin in the eye: jealousy, spite, fascination are discussed. He draws special attention to jealousy by referring to the misfortunes of Io, daughter of Inachus. Jupiter, who was madly in love with her, but had to find a way to deceive his spouse, transformed her into a heifer. Juno, however, saw through his scheme. She asked her husband to let her have the pretty animal as a gift. He had to agree, whereupon Juno left Io in the care of the hundred-eyed Argus. Jupiter ordered Mercurius to lull Argus to sleep and to kill him. Juno, of course, became hopping mad and sent a horse-fly to pester the miserable girl-heifer. Finally her husband soothed her anger; Io, who had sought refuge in Egypt, resumed her true form and was worshipped as a goddess, for she was identified with Isis.⁵² According to Puteanus's curious interpretation, Jupiter is the mind, the divine principle that mingles with the body. Men abuse their mind, intoxicated from their affections, and take on the form of a cow, a beast. Thus they are brought from the divine (Jupiter) to the perishable (Juno), and are besieged by a host of vices (Argus with his hundred eyes as hundred temptations), leading the mind from vice to vice. Mercurius (reason) will close the eyes and smother the temptations. The horse-fly (Juno's fury) stands for the flagellating conscience that keeps urging. So men are restored to virtue and happiness, the liberators of the soul. Freed and merry they will triumph over their calamities.⁵³

⁴⁸ *Caec. Cons.*, p. 40.

⁴⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 41-46.

⁵⁰ Willem Crip Jr was the author of *Vita S[ancti] Gerlaci* (Köln, 1607), an epitome of an anonymous biography from c. 1230. When he died suddenly, he was working on *De Praeeminentia Regis Catholici Hispaniarum*, cf. Foppens, *Bibliotheca Belgica*, 1, 397. He is often confused with his father. No further information exists on the conflict Puteanus is referring to.

⁵¹ *Caec. Cons.*, pp. 47-50.

⁵² Isis is usually represented as a heifer or as a women with a cow's ears and horns.

⁵³ *Caec. Cons.*, pp. 55-56. The adventures of Io are described by Ovid. *Met.* 1, 568-750. Puteanus is quoting some of his verses.

Iupiter Mens est quae divina origine corpori sociata humano velut in nebula mortalitati miscetur. Homines abusi mente et voluptatibus ebrii iuencam aut potius belluam induunt, qua quidem ratione a divinis et caelestibus (hic Iupiter est) ad vana et peritura (haec Iuno) translati, toto flagitiorum agmine velut Argo obsidentur.

*Centum luminibus cinctum caput Argus habebat.*⁵⁴

Centum oculi, centum illecebrae sunt, corruptelae, pestes et voluptatis negotium agunt; miseram ac deformem mentem haut aliter quam iuencam habent, de scelere in scelus ducunt, per sensuum illa, ut sic dicam, prata. Venit Mercurius, id est Ratio, Argum conficit, in longum oculos soporem ducit, cupidines extinguit aut frenat. Oestrum tandem sive furor a Iunone immissus, flagellantis conscientiae vibex est qua mortales urgemur, et sic divinis iterum igniculis excitati, virtuti et felicitati postliminio reddimur, et de tota liberi laetique calamitate triumphamus.

Now Puteanus is coming to his final point: Crip has to number his blindness under his fortunes, as worthy of his wisdom, as appropriate to literature, to politics, to his office: 'Reliquum est ut in bonis Caecitatem tuam numeres, tamquam Sapientia dignam, Litteris, Rebus atque ipsi adeo Muneri tuo aptam'.⁵⁵

Only few people are able to philosophize, for most of them not even learned to long for it. They feel quite comfortable with their vices; yet some of them made a pretence of being philosophers, substituting virtue for deceit, instruction for cunning. Real thinkers will live and find happiness without seeing:

Hoc est vivere, partem illam colere qua vivis, illam qua supera, infera, medioxuma accedis et penetras, qua rerum fines transcendis, aeternitati occurris, numen invenis. Sed citra caelum etiam quaeri Deus voluit, neque tamen cognosci, imo vel eo ipso cognosci quod magnam naturae partem abscondit. *Neque enim* (lubet Senecae verbis sententiam producere, lib[ro] VII Nat[uralium] Quaest[ionum]) *omnia Deus humanis oculis nota fecit.*⁵⁶

The contemplation of his Creator is for a human being the absolute maximum of happiness; this is true philosophy. By taking away his eyes, Nature made Crip most suited to it. Mankind will even neglect, flee, despise the eyes, so as not to weaken the keenness of the mind by outer appearance. This thought is illustrated with a very curious example, namely that of the philosopher Democritus of Abdera, who deprived

⁵⁴ Ov. *Met.* 1, 625.

⁵⁵ *Caec. Cons.*, p. 56.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 59. The quotation is Sen. *Q. N.* 7, 30, 3.

himself of his eyes in order to concentrate on the inner world only.⁵⁷ According to an anecdote, rejected, however, by Plutarch,⁵⁸ he destroyed his sight by fixing his eyes on a red-hot mirror, so that the reflecting heat ruined them. Crip, on the contrary, received his blindness spontaneously, by a gift of nature: 'Habes quod in Caecitate tibi gratuleris: accepisti beneficium quod Democritus quaesivit, nec accepit sed rapuit'.⁵⁹

Then he passes to literature pointing out, of course, Homer as the greatest example of a blind author:

Quia de litteris ago, Patrem litterarum ducere in exemplum quidni lubeat? Homerum enim Melesigenem,⁶⁰ illustre omnis Antiquitatis miraculum, Caecum fuisse nomen indicat, et quid ille tamen non vidit, atque ideo quia non vidit? Pinxisse, non scripsisse putes omniscium opus.⁶¹

A lot of other famous blinds of Antiquity are enumerated in *praetereundo*⁶² before Puteanus returns to his own age by mentioning Marcus Antonius Bonciarius,⁶³ famous professor of Latin, living in Perugia and almost entirely blind since 1592.

Finally, Puteanus comes to Crip's office as chancellor of the Sovereign Court of Gelderland: 'Nec video ego quid in publico munere tuo (hoc reliquum est) iam videre non possis'.⁶⁴

Iustitia is always represented with blind eyes or with a blindfold; Crip is now most strongly resembling her. He never paid attention to presents and menaces, to tears or intimidations; now he is blind, and his eyes are giving over, where they were never useful. One can not pre-

⁵⁷ Cic. *Tusc.* 5, 111; H. Diels, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* (Berlin, 1903), 2, 89, A27.

⁵⁸ Plut. *De Curios.*, 521d.

⁵⁹ *Caec. Cons.*, p. 63.

⁶⁰ 'Born at the Meles', a river in Ionia, in the neighbourhood of Smyrna, on the bank of which it is said that Homer was born, cf. Plin. *Nat.* 5, 29, 31, §118; Stat. *Silv.* 2, 7, 33; 3, 3, 60.

⁶¹ *Caec. Cons.*, pp. 63-64.

⁶² This is a paraphrase of Cic. *Tusc.* 5, 113.

⁶³ Marcus Antonius Bonciarius (Perugia, 1555 — *ibid.*, 1616) studied in Rome with Muretus. From 1592 on, he taught at the convent of St. Catherine, unto his death. Cf. *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* (Rome, 1960-), 11, 676-678. Both Lipsius and Puteanus were among his correspondents. The latter wrote him a letter about the edition of the *Caec. Cons.*, cf. *E. Puteani Epistolarum Apophoreta. Centuria IV et Recens* (Leuven, 1612), pp. 77-78 (= *Epist.* 1, 64). Also in *Epistolarum Atticarum* (1617), pp. 140-141 and (1636), pp. 76-77.

⁶⁴ *Caec. Cons.*, p. 67.

sume that blind people are unfit for public service. This is illustrated with some examples out of Roman history: praetor Caius Aufidus and Caius Drusus,⁶⁵ Appius Claudius⁶⁶ who persuaded his concitizens to turn down Pyrrhus' propositions of peace.⁶⁷ Even lawyers as Ulpianus admit that a blind person is able to exercise an official duty. Puteanus will prove this point with an example from Seneca rhetor, about Lucius Caecilius Metellus, who rescued the palladium from the burning temple of Vesta in 241 B.C.⁶⁸ Puteanus compares Metellus with Crip:

Quod in Metello Sacerdotium, in te Dignitas: ille Vestae, tu Iustitiae Mysta; magno ausu Palladium ille servavit, tu consilio Rempubicam in longo et atroci incendio rerum. Verbo absolvam: munere dignus es in quo oculos consumpsisti.⁶⁹

Even in his private life, Metellus was exemplary and lived according to the *mos maiorum*. In the same way, Crip is strong because of his authority, his wisdom, his knowledge and eloquence in council as well as as chancellor.⁷⁰ According to Ulpianus, a blind person can proceed with the office he is exercising, but can not aspire to a new one.⁷¹ However, as Crip is already exercising the highest duty, he can not aspire more.

In his conclusion, Puteanus repeats that blindness has a certain beauty and majesty. Crip's eyes are not deformed bleared. Maybe Fienus can still help him out of his blindness. Crip can live as he always did, and neglect the light, so as not to appear to be needing it. Thus he will be worthy of wisdom, suited to literature, useful to his country, to whose profit he has devoted his eyes. He can count his eyes among fame and glory, to begin a new life, happier and more illustrious now that he is blind.

2.2. Summary of the Ooghen-Troost

The poem, both in its original and in the elaborate, printed version, has a clear and simple composition in three parts.

⁶⁵ Cf. for both Cic. *Tusc.* 5, 112.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* 5, 112 and Val. Max. 8, 13, 5.

⁶⁷ *Caec. Cons.*, pp. 69-73.

⁶⁸ Livy, *Per.* 10. The declamation schools invented the story that he was blinded afterwards for having set his eyes on the image. Cf. Sen. *Contr.* 4, 21.

⁶⁹ *Caec. Cons.*, p. 76.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 78: Ulpianus igitur: *Sed melius est, ut dicamus retinere quidem iam coeptum Magistratum posse, adspirare autem ad novum penitus prohiberi.*

In his introduction,⁷² Huygens points out that he will address Lucretia (or Parthenine), the friend of his youth, in all seriousness, according to her situation, now that she is blind in one of her eyes. As all afflictions, however, come from the Lord, his creatures can only sigh, but have no right to oppose or even to ask why.⁷³ This thought is repeated a bit further on, now with an explicit reference to Seneca's *Epistulae* 107, 9, quoted also by Puteanus:⁷⁴

Leert suchtende belijden
dat Hem de roeij toe komt, en u de schuld van 'tlijden,
en, of 't u erger ging, 'tvat heeft geen woord in 'tvat
om seggen waerom doet de Pottebacker dat?⁷⁵

Learn, sighing, how to admit
that the rod is His, yours yet the blame of suffering,
and even if it should be worse for you,
the vessel yet has no claim
to say: why is the Potter acting thus?

Throughout this section, Huygens presents God as the Potter, Lord and Master of the jars he produces. He modelled them and can also deform or break them.⁷⁶

As Huygens is suffering from an eye himself, he knows what he talks about. God can deprive both Huygens and his addressee of their eyes; they have to come to terms with that fate. Complaining will not help.⁷⁷ Even when their eyes were to recover, they would not come across greater virtue, justice, love or peace. They have read through the book of the world; it is time now to focus on their inner life:

Soud' niet des Hemels gunst ons hebben willen krencken
om binnewaerts te sien en, met de ramen toe,
der stormen en 'sgeruchts der straten even moe,⁷⁸
ons goedjen t'overslaen, [...] ⁷⁹

Was not Heaven's favour intending to offend us,
to make us look inwardly and — all shutters firmly closed —,
weary both of tempests and of the street's turmoil,
overlook our poor possessions, [...]

⁷² Zwaan's edition, ll. 1-140.

⁷³ *Ooghen-troost*, ll. 8-14 (= Zwaan, pp. 6-7).

⁷⁴ Cf. *supra*, n. 31.

⁷⁵ *Ooghen-troost*, ll. 26-30 (= Zwaan, p. 9).

⁷⁶ This image is a reference to *Vulg. Rom.* 9, 21.

⁷⁷ *Ooghen-troost*, ll. 43-49 (= Zwaan, p. 12).

⁷⁸ The closed windows meaning the eyes, the tempests and the streets' turmoil meaning the worldly life.

⁷⁹ This is to overlook our poor possessions. Cf. *Ooghen-troost*, ll. 66-69 (Zwaan, pp. 15-16).

This thought is concluded with an admonition of preparing oneself to death, by referring to two biblical themes, the parable of the five wise and the five foolish virgins, and that of the Lord who comes as a thief in the night.⁸⁰

We have our eyes in common with the animals, but God provided our soul with a much better light. Wise men do not need binoculars or spectacles to sharpen their sight; they can moan the loss of an eye, but will concentrate their mind on God and his works for the rest of their life.⁸¹ God will favour him by revealing him in advance the eternal light.⁸² The following verses are interesting too, for Huygens refers to the Greek philosopher Democritus, who blinded himself in the hope of getting a better insight in the nature of things, a quotation also occurring in Puteanus's consolation:⁸³

De lust van dat gesicht heeft blinder menschen hand
haer' glazen in doen slaen; sij hebben 'tlieve pand
van kijkken aen haer selfs moordadelick ontstolen,
sij hebben in haer selfs haer' ijdelheid ontscholen,
en in die donck're school meer wetenschaps geleert
dan daer sij, met den naem van wereld-wijs vereert,
Natuers geheimeniss geloofden te begrijpen.⁸⁴
The longing for that sight made blinder men
to ruin their eyes; they even murderously stole
that sweet gift of seeing and unveiled in them their vanity,
and learned more wisdom in that darkened school,
than where they, honoured with the name of world-wise,
believed to grasp Nature's secret.

This reference to Democritus is generalized to all pagans, who were searching for something new, without finding the way. They had only a vague notion of something more, but did not find the path that Christians perceive so well.

Huygens closes his introduction by inviting Lucretia to join him in his discovery that there exists a far greater number of people that although seeing physically, are mentally blind. He is convinced that this will

⁸⁰ Cf. *Vulg. Matth.* 25, 1-13 and *Vulg. Matth.* 24, 42-44; *Thess.* 5, 2; *2 Petr.* 3, 10.

⁸¹ *Ooghen-troost*, ll. 74-86 (Zwaan, pp. 17-18).

⁸² *Ooghen-troost*, ll. 86-90 (Zwaan, pp. 18-19).

⁸³ See *supra*, n. 58.

⁸⁴ *Ooghen-troost*, ll. 91-97 (Zwaan, pp. 19-20). Although Huygens is quoting explicitly the blinding of Democritus, Zwaan omits this in his comment. For him the *blind* are restricted to the *heathen* (with reference to *Vulg. Ps.* 22, 14), an explanation that does not account for ll. 90-91, and even for ll. 95-97.

bring them to thank God for having deprived them of an eye, but not without giving them brightness.⁸⁵

In the main part of his poem,⁸⁶ Huygens gives a catalogue of all kinds of people, who are blind according to him. In the original, as he sent it to his friend, he merely enumerates the different types, fourteen in total, who are either dominated by affects as avarice, luxury, ambition, passion, envy, ... — the same items as are discussed by Puteanus —, or who are the victims of their occupations, both jobs or hobbies: hunters, lawmen, courtiers, scholars, poets. The private passion they indulge in, makes them blind for the reality. The length of the descriptions is varying from only a few verses (one for cholemics, three for tipplers) up to over fifty (the courtiers). However, when reviewing his manuscript before sending it to the printer, Huygens thoroughly changed his text by adding sixteen more categories and trying to work them out in pairs of opposites. So for instance he inserted the spendthrifts to match with the Scroodges, he added couples as heroes and cowards, youngsters and elders, untroubled souls and anxious ones. Of course the antithesis could not be maintained when discussing the various occupations. When reading the text in its entirety — it is now more than doubled — one clearly feels the pleasure Huygens took out of poking fun with all kind of types. Hence the reason why Descartes, in the aforementioned letter,⁸⁷ was pointing out his appreciation for Huygens satiric qualities. The author wrote about his poem in a letter to Corfits Ulefeldt:⁸⁸

[la poésie] qui par occasion d'un subject de charité a trouvé lieu de satiriser une partie des personnages de la grande comédie du monde, et consequemment de ce monde si agité de vanitez.⁸⁹

Thus what was originally a private poem of comfort to a personal friend became a satire on the vanity of this world. Of course this part is totally different from Puteanus's strictly philosophical treatise. However, Huygens might have been inspired by Jean Passerat's *Oratio*,⁹⁰ where one finds the same disposition with contrasting types, albeit without the satiric touch.

⁸⁵ Cf. *Ooghen-troost*, ll. 127-135 (Zwaan, pp. 25-27).

⁸⁶ Cf. Zwaan's edition, ll. 141-944.

⁸⁷ Cf. *supra*, n. 23.

⁸⁸ Corfits Vlefeldt was counsellor, later lord chancellor of the Danish king, cf. *De Briefwisseling*, 4, 173, n. 5.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 4, 402, no 4586.

⁹⁰ Cf. *supra*, n. 5.

In the final part⁹¹ of his poem, Huygens returns to his original theme, that of the dimming of an eye. Yet, although the eye is most precious for a human being, there are two of them, whereas other parts of the body are singular. Moreover, we only have one life, one soul that has to be preserved by God. If He takes our soul away, it will return to its origin. One can go to heaven with only one eye, because here to perceive is of no importance. Anyway, blindness is part of our innocence, for one is mostly confronted with evil, or at least with vanities. Not what one sees, but how one looks, matters, for one has to resemble Christ, patient until his death.

Then Huygens resumes his metaphor of God as the Potter and concludes: the modelling clay must comply with the Potter. He is our hope, even when He is breaking us. And if He closes one or both of our eyes before, it is only to bring us a purer light. Seeing or not seeing, the pious will perceive the Lord.⁹²

Conclusion: Comparing Puteanus's and Huygens's *Consolatio*

In the introduction we have already pointed out that Puteanus and Huygens were acquainted, especially since 1630-1631, when they took up writing to one another. Maybe they even met on one of Huygens's numerous sojourns in the Netherlands. When comparing both *consolationes*, some similarities, as well as differences catch the eye. First of all, the circumstances in which both works came about. Although Puteanus reached for his pen to comfort a friend, he did not write a mere letter, not even a fictitious one, but chose to present it in the form of a printed philosophical treatise. Huygens on the contrary preferred a poem — his usual way of expressing himself —; the idea of publishing occurred only afterwards. As already explained, considerable alterations were made before the manuscript went to the printer's. Huygens even changed the character of his writing: the satirical element gained the upper hand of the original aim, administering comfort.

Furthermore, one needs to consider the relation between author and addressee. Puteanus was still young (35 years old) and addressed himself to someone who was nearly forty years older; moreover, he was not

⁹¹ Zwaan's edition, ll. 945-1002.

⁹² *Ooghen-troost*, ll. 995-1002 (Zwaan, 146-148).

suffering from the same illness. Yet, he associates himself more than once with his correspondent by using the we-form. One reason why Puteanus wants to show his compassion is that both are compatriots, that his country is suffering with Crip's deficiency, hence that Puteanus is suffering with his country. Huygens, on the other hand, wrote to someone he had known for almost his entire life, and whose company he enjoyed quite often. Moreover, he is growing dim sighted himself, so he can imagine very well what Lucretia is going through. Just as Puteanus, he is using the we-form to strengthen the bond between him and his addressee; only, in Huygens's case it seems natural, whereas with Puteanus it sounds conventional.

A second, most important element is the relation of both authors with Antiquity. Puteanus chose for a treatise, following the footsteps of great names as Cicero, Seneca, Plutarch, Boethius. His text is not composed of separate, clear-cut sections, nor does he collect his arguments in a definite order. He rather offers a train of thoughts, gradually proceeding, with one element or one image producing another, just as themes popping up in a conversation. Some points are elaborate, others merely touched upon. Huygens on the contrary offers a well-structured poem with an introduction, a central part proving his main argument that most seeing people are blind for reality and for what truly matters, because they focus on one point of interest only, and a final part resuming some ideas, even some of the introduction's metaphors. As already mentioned, the alterations made before editing his *Ooghen-troost* also contributed to the disposition of the central part, by introducing the principle of antithesis.

Furthermore, Puteanus wrote a philosophical treatise with a strong affinity to the Stoa, illustrating or proving his thoughts with quotations of his predecessors, mostly indicating his source. He also added some examples of the past, a procedure applied by Greek and Roman authors as well. Huygens is amazing in his intimate knowledge of classical authors too and even put considerable effort in carefully noting down all ancient sources that led to his viewpoint. This ample information he transformed into a lively and colorful poem, smoothly written, in spite of his grave subject.

Finally, although the same ideas and arguments as found in Puteanus's treatise return in the introduction and final part of Huygens's poem as well, there is a striking difference as to the sources used. Puteanus limited himself mainly to Latin philosophical works; Huygens,

on the other hand, also refers to the inheritance of drama and epics in Greek and Latin. Homer, Sophocles, Euripides, Plautus and Vergil are among his favourites. Christian authors like Tertullian and Augustine are introduced as well⁹³. To emphasize or to conclude his arguments, Huygens draws his inspiration from the Bible, both Old and New Testament. Whereas Puteanus thinks mainly as a philosopher and one can substitute quite easily his God by the Divine Principle of the Stoics, Huygens shows himself thoroughly imbued by the Reformation.

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⁹³ Puteanus referred only twice to Tertullian and once to Jerome.

Pierre DELSAERDT

PUTEANUS ACHETEUR DE LIVRES CHEZ GEORGES LIPSIUS:
UN FRAGMENT

Si le meilleur moyen de sonder la personnalité d'Erycius Puteanus est de lire ses nombreuses œuvres et sa correspondance, il existe des voies indirectes permettant de compléter ou de nuancer le portrait obtenu de cette façon. Depuis quelques décennies, les bibliothèques privées sont reconnues propres à le faire. Les livres collectionnés au cours d'une vie permettent de reconstituer les centres d'intérêt et les choix intellectuels de leur propriétaire. Les historiens sont d'accord pour considérer les catalogues de bibliothèques comme une voie royale pour l'histoire de la lecture.¹ Malheureusement, un tel catalogue des livres de Puteanus n'a pas été conservé. Théophile Simar rappelle que la bibliothèque de Puteanus, «une des plus riches de l'époque», fut vendue après sa mort à Michael de Luna y Arellano, ancien professeur à Salamanque.² Il est difficile de savoir si un inventaire en fut dressé à cette occasion. En tout cas, la vente en bloc explique très probablement l'absence d'un catalogue de vente imprimé. Si l'on désire se faire une idée des livres qu'a possédés Puteanus, il faut donc se contenter de fragments: volumes signalés dans des collections diverses,³ extraits de la correspondance dans lesquels le professeur rapporte ses lectures, références et annotations dans ses propres publications. La présente notice se propose d'y apporter un autre élément — à vrai dire fort modeste — en rendant compte des achats de Puteanus lors d'une vente publique de livres à Louvain, en 1637.

¹ Voir, par exemple, R. Wittmann, 'Bücherkataloge des 16.-18. Jahrhunderts als Quellen der Buchgeschichte. Eine Einführung', in Id. (éd.), *Bücherkataloge als buchgeschichtliche Quellen in der frühen Neuzeit*, Wolfenbütteler Schriften zur Geschichte des Buchwesens, 10 (Wiesbaden, 1984), p. 13.

² T. Simar, *Étude sur Erycius Puteanus (1574-1646)* (Louvain - Paris - Bruxelles, 1909), p. 21.

³ Simar, *Étude sur Erycius Puteanus (1574-1646)*, p. 290, suppose que la majeure partie des livres de Puteanus se trouve en Espagne, mais rappelle que De Reiffenberg signala plusieurs volumes à la Bibliothèque nationale de France, et affirme avoir rencontré lui-même — sans toutefois les nommer — des ouvrages avec *dédicace* de Puteanus «aux bibliothèques de Louvain, Bruxelles, Sheffield, British Museum, Leyde etc.».

1. Les comptes du libraire Georges Lipsius

Le fonds de l'Ancienne université de Louvain, aux Archives générales du royaume à Bruxelles, renferme un registre à l'aspect assez négligé mais d'une rare richesse pour l'histoire du commerce des livres à Louvain au dix-septième siècle. Il s'agit des comptes tenus par le libraire Georges Lipsius et concernant principalement une dizaine de ventes publiques de livres qu'il organisa de 1637 à 1665.⁴

Georges Lipsius, né à Louvain en 1608 (signalons dès à présent qu'il ne semble pas avoir été apparenté directement à son illustre homonyme, le prédécesseur de Puteanus), était libraire et imprimeur juré de l'Université ainsi que bedeau de la Faculté de théologie. Son commerce était situé à la rue de la Monnaie, où étaient concentrées plusieurs librairies et imprimeries. Ainsi celle de Corneille Coenesteyn, avec qui Georges Lipsius publia le *De bissexto liber* de Puteanus en 1637.⁵ Lipsius ne semble pas avoir été un imprimeur de premier plan. Par contre, ses activités en tant que libraire méritent d'être étudiées de plus près.⁶ Sa carrière s'étendit sur une période de cinquante ans (il mourut en 1682), chose peu commune à l'époque. Durant ce demi siècle, il vendit de nombreuses bibliothèques privées, surtout — mais non pas exclusivement — celles ayant appartenu à des professeurs de la Faculté de théologie. Par ailleurs, Lipsius occupe une place importante dans l'histoire du commerce des livres à Louvain (et donc dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux) comme étant le premier libraire de la ville universitaire à avoir vendu des livres à l'aide d'un catalogue de vente imprimé (1636).⁷

Le registre dont il est question ici nous permet de suivre de près le libraire organisant des ventes de bibliothèques privées. C'est un recueil

⁴ Bruxelles, Archives générales du royaume, *Ancienne université de Louvain*, n° 271 (cf. H. de Vocht, *Inventaire des Archives de l'Université de Louvain 1426-1797* (Louvain, 1927), p. 28).

⁵ Cf. F. van der Haeghen - M. T. Lenger, *Bibliotheca Belgica. Bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas*, IV (Bruxelles, 1979), p. 807.

⁶ Une étude approfondie de Georges Lipsius et de sa comptabilité fera l'objet d'un chapitre dans ma thèse de doctorat, consacrée à la librairie et aux bibliothèques privées à l'Ancienne université de Louvain. Pour une première approche, voir P. Delsaerd, 'Distributie en consumptie van boeken in de zeventiende eeuw. De boekhouding van de Leuvense boekverkoper Georgius Lipsius (1608-1682)', *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis*, 81 (1998), 145-160 (avec un résumé en français).

⁷ Il s'agit des bibliothèques de deux juristes, Pierre Clasenius et Charles Bollius, décédés tous les deux durant l'été de 1635. Une édition en fac-simile de ce catalogue a paru à un tirage limité: P. Delsaerd (éd.), *Catalogus librorum ex domibus mortuariis. De eerste gedrukte Leuvense boekveilingcatalogus* (Wildert: Carbolineum Pers, 1995).

de listes de titres, auxquels ont été ajoutées des données sur l'origine des volumes, le nom des acheteurs et les prix obtenus lors de la vente.

En général, les titres sont regroupés par nom d'acheteur. Il faut se représenter comme suit la méthode de travail du libraire: au départ, il dresse une liste des livres classés par format ou par « faculté » (*libri theologici, libri juridici*, etc.). Cette liste, qui peut être imprimée, sert de base à l'organisation de la vente, indiquant l'ordre dans lequel les livres seront présentés aux offres des acheteurs. Pendant la vente, le libraire s'en sert pour y noter les noms des acheteurs et les prix obtenus par les volumes. Après la vente, le libraire dresse une liste par nom d'acheteur, énumérant brièvement les livres et les sommes d'argent que les clients se sont engagés à payer. Les totaux sont alors calculés. Lorsque les clients ont payé leur dette, les titres et les prix sont soigneusement biffés, après quoi un « solvit » laconique indique que les comptes sont réglés. Cette formule est souvent signée et quelquefois datée de la main du libraire.

Dans la plupart des cas, ce sont ces listes de deuxième ordre que l'on retrouve dans le registre de Georges Lipsius. Cette précision est importante, parce qu'elle explique pourquoi les titres et les noms d'auteurs — déjà fort abrégés et peu soignés dans les catalogues imprimés de l'époque — sont souvent massacrés dans le registre: nous sommes en présence de titres recopiés à la hâte par le libraire ou, pire, par un de ses employés, ce qui ne facilite pas toujours l'identification des titres énumérés. D'autre part, ce classement par nom d'acheteur nous permet de retrouver facilement les livres acquis par les divers clients de Lipsius. C'est parmi ceux-ci que nous rencontrons le nom d'Erycius Puteanus.

2. Une vente publique de livres en 1637

Dans son état actuel, le registre de Georges Lipsius compte 89 feuillets non numérotés. Une approche même superficielle démontre qu'il est incomplet. En général pourtant, les lacunes ne sont pas trop importantes. Du moins n'empêchent-elles pas la reconstitution de dossiers complets sur les différentes ventes. Dans la plupart des cas, les comptes sont précédés d'un titre: date de la vente et origine des livres. Quelques exemples: *Catalogus librorum qui emerunt [sic] in auctione Ex. Domini Fromondi sub auctione habita 2 decemb. 1653* (f°

[12]r^o)⁸, *Libri spectantes ad D. Vossium Arschotanium venditi sub publica auctione per Georgium Lipsium Lovany octob. 1662* (f^o [22]r^o), *Venditio facta 19 octobris 1662 per Georgium Lipsium Domini Vanden Bemde et aliorum* (f^o [28]r^o). Une exception importante toutefois: la première vente ayant laissé une trace dans le registre, la seule justement où Erycius Puteanus se trouve cité comme acheteur, n'est pas identifiée. Les six premiers folios du registre font indéniablement partie d'un même ensemble, mais il y manque un nombre indéterminé de feuillets, entre autres celui portant le titre.

On est en droit de se demander à quelle date cette première bibliothèque fut vendue et quelle en était l'origine. Seul indice, la date qui accompagne le compte le plus ancien — et c'est un hasard s'il s'agit du paiement par Puteanus — est celle du 12 mars 1637. Voilà donc un *terminus ante quem*. Simple coïncidence ou non, quelques comptes notés au f^o [7]r^o ont trait à une vente publique de livres ayant eu lieu le 9 mars 1637 (par exemple: *Dominus Geyselers emit sub auctione 9 marty 1637*, ou encore *Dominus Matthei in Minori emit hos libros 9 marty 1637 sub auctione*). Il se peut donc que les transactions énumérées aux six feuillets précédents, elles aussi, doivent être datées exactement du 9 mars 1637. Reste la question de l'origine des livres. Là aussi, on ne peut émettre que des hypothèses. L'absence d'un nom précis tout au long des six feuillets peut indiquer que nous avons affaire à une vente anonyme constituée de diverses bibliothèques privées, peu importantes quand on les considère séparément. Cette technique de rassemblement de collections était déjà courante à l'époque. Ainsi, l'un des trois catalogues de vente imprimés à Louvain en 1636 était intitulé *Catalogus librorum vendendorum ex diversis domibus mortuarijs*.⁹ Il se peut que Georges Lipsius ait procédé de la même façon en 1637.

Cette circonstance n'exclut pas une vente importante, à laquelle assista un public nombreux. Au total, 102 personnes achetèrent 554

⁸ La bibliothèque de Libert Froidmont (1587-1653), astronome et théologien janséniste, est sans aucun doute la collection la plus intéressante de tout le recueil. Je l'ai étudiée de plus près et en rendrai compte dans un chapitre de ma thèse de doctorat. Pour une première approche, voir P. Delsaert, 'Libri Liberti. De bibliotheek van Libertus Fromondus (1587-1653)', *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse boekgeschiedenis*, 5 (1998), 27-43 (avec un résumé en français).

⁹ Il s'agit d'un catalogue imprimé par Jacques Zegers et conservé, tout comme le catalogue précité de Georges Lipsius, à la Bibliothèque royale Albert 1er à Bruxelles: cf. J. Blogie, *Répertoire des catalogues de vente de livres imprimés*, 1: *Catalogues belges appartenant à la Bibliothèque royale Albert 1er* (Bruxelles, 1982), col. 1.

livres. Sur les six feuillets qui nous intéressent, défilent les noms d'au moins 48 étudiants et de 21 professeurs. Parmi ces derniers apparaissent les théologiens Libert Froidmont et l'Irlandais Jean Sinnich, qui se manifesteront plus tard comme défenseurs de Corneille Jansenius; les juristes Henri vanden Creeft, Henri Loyens et Michel van den Perre (de fait on remarque une forte présence de livres juridiques); Valère André, également juriste mais surtout, depuis 1636, préfet de la bibliothèque universitaire; l'historien et homme de lettres Nicolas Vernulaeus et... Erycius Puteanus. Passons — enfin — aux livres que celui-ci acheta à la fin de l'hiver de 1637.

3. Les achats d'Erycius Puteanus

La liste des dettes de notre professeur se trouve au f° [3]r°, au début de la colonne de gauche. Avant tout, je transcrirai ici ces quelques lignes (en omettant les biffures), et je ferai suivre chaque titre par l'identification d'éditions possibles, issues de quelques bibliographies bien connues.¹⁰

A.D. Puteanus

- | | | |
|---|---|----------|
| 1 | Historia Herodiani | — 0 — 13 |
| | HERODIANUS, <i>Historiae Romanae de imperio post Marcum libri VIII</i> , nombreuses éditions en grec ou latin, depuis Rome, s.n., 1493, jusqu' à Anvers, Christophe Plantin, 1585, 16°; éditions à Rome, Venise, Florence, Louvain, Bâle, Paris, Lyon, Genève et Anvers (Adams H376-H389; BT 1422, 1423, 5936; Polain 1886; PP 1315-1317) | |
| 2 | Encovium [sic] Britanni | — 0 — 4 |
| | Robertus BRITANNUS, <i>Agriculturae encomium</i> , Paris, Chrétien Wechel, 1539, 4° (Adams B2859) | |

¹⁰ Les abréviations utilisées sont les suivantes: Adams = H. M. Adams, *Catalogue of books printed on the continent of Europe, 1501-1600, in Cambridge libraries* (Londres, 1967); BB = F. van der Haeghen - M. T. Lenger, *Bibliotheca Belgica: bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas* (Bruxelles, 1979); BT = E. Cockx-Indestege - G. Glorieux, *Belgica typographica 1541-1600*, (Nieuwkoop, 1968-1994); DBS = A. De Backer — C. Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus* (Heverlee-Louvain, 1960); Polain = M. L. Polain, *Catalogue des livres imprimés au quinzième siècle des bibliothèques de Belgique* (Bruxelles, 1932 et suppl. Bruxelles, 1978); PP = L. Voet, *The Plantin Press (1555-1589): a bibliography of the works printed and published by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp and Leiden* (Amsterdam, 1980-1983).

- 3 Numismata Imperatorum Ottonis [sic] — 1 — 10
 Adolphus OCCO, *Impp. Romanorum numismata a Pompeio Magno ad Heraclium*, Anvers, Christophe Plantin, 1579, 4° (Adams O16; BT 2239; PP 1760; voir également M. DE SCHEPPER, 'Numismatic publications of the Plantin Press 1561-1588', in: P. BERGHAUS (éd.), *Numismatische Literatur 1500-1864. Die Entwicklung der Methoden einer Wissenschaft (Wolfenbütteler Forschungen, 64)* (Wiesbaden, 1995), p. 31-32)
- 4 Orationes Henrici Phetani [sic] — 0 — 12
 Peut-être s'agit-il d'un recueil factice d'oraisons de Dionysius PETA-VIUS, dont on a *De laudibus Henrici Magni carmen in anniversario illius obitus die dictum*, Reims, 1610, 4° et *Magni Henrici Christianissimi quondam Francorum et Navarr. Regis parentalia habita in anniversario ejus obitus die in collegio Remensi Societatis Jesu*, Reims, Simon de Foigny, 1611, 8° (DBS, VI, 589-590). Entre aussi en ligne de compte: une des trois éditions (d'avant 1637) de ses *Orationes*, Paris, Sébastien Cramoisy, 1620, 12°; *ibid.*, 1622, 12° et *ibid.* 1624, 8° (DBS, VI, 592-593).
- 5 Chronicon Ducum Braban. Barlandi — 4 — 10
 Hadrianus BARLANDUS, *Ducum Brabantiae chronica*, Anvers, Jean Moretus, 1600, f° (Adams, B210; BB, I, p. 135-139; BT, 256). Cette édition est la première avec le mot *chronica* dans le titre; les éditions précédentes de l'œuvre de Barlandus (Anvers, 1526; Louvain, 1532; Anvers, 1551; et Louvain, 1566) parurent sous le titre *Rerum gestarum a Brabantiae ducibus historia ... conscripta per Adrianum Barlandum* (BB, I, p. 158-160; BT, 257, 258). A noter qu'il existe également des traductions néerlandaises et françaises.
- 6 Mercur. Gal. 5. tom. — 3 — 7
 Selon toute vraisemblance, il s'agit de 5 tomes du *Mercure françois*, périodique qui parut à Paris de 1613 à 1648, en 25 volumes (P. JAGER in J. SGARD [éd.], *Dictionnaire des journaux 1600-1789*, Paris, 1991, II, 867-869).

Inde recepi septem florenos

nonem stuferos

marty 12 1637

— 10 — 16 —

solvit

Que peut-on déduire de ce petit fragment? Commençons par les dernières lignes. Il en ressort que Puteanus a payé sa dette en deux fois, ce

qui n'étonnera pas vu le « perpétuel besoin d'argent » dont parle Simar¹¹. Toutefois, Puteanus est ici un client scrupuleux : la première somme, appréciable, il la paie dès le 12 mars. C'est la toute première date que l'on retrouve dans la liste concernant cette vente-ci. Lipsius a omis d'indiquer quand furent remboursés les florins supplémentaires, mais force est de constater que la situation financière précaire du professeur ne l'a pas empêché d'enrichir sa bibliothèque de façon honorable. D'autres acheteurs se sont moins gênés, reportant la clôture de leur dette à la fin de 1637 ou au début de l'année suivante.

Reste à analyser brièvement les six ouvrages énumérés. Il est assez frappant de constater que les titres reflètent parfaitement le caractère touche-à-tout du polygraphe Puteanus. Il a publié un traité de la monnaie chez les Romains (*Pecuniae Romanae ratio*), et voilà l'ouvrage bien connu de l'humaniste allemand Occo, basé entre autres sur la fameuse collection de monnaies de la famille Fugger. Il s'est occupé d'histoire ancienne et moderne, et voilà Hérodien d'une part et Barlandus de l'autre. La présence de ce dernier, et plus spécialement de cette édition particulière de son histoire des ducs de Bourgogne, doit être expliquée par l'intérêt que Puteanus portait aux Archiducs. En effet, la somptueuse édition de la *Chronica*, remaniée et considérablement augmentée, illustrée par Philippe Galle ou par ses élèves, d'après des dessins fournis par le peintre Antoine de Succa, lui-même portraitiste-généalogiste des Archiducs, fut publiée à l'occasion de l'inauguration de ceux-ci à Anvers.¹² Si l'identification du quatrième titre est exacte, l'éloquence est présente par un ensemble d'oraisons du jésuite Denis Peteau, qui avait par ailleurs attaqué les théories chronologiques de Puteanus dans son *De doctrina temporum*, paru en 1630. On peut s'imaginer que Puteanus ait eu envie de découvrir un autre ouvrage de son antagoniste. L'achat du traité sur l'agriculture de Robert Breton fut probablement inspiré par la réputation de grand latiniste et d'érudit qu'avait ce professeur français. Quant à la présence de cinq tomes du *Mercurius françois*, elle nous révèle un esprit curieux de l'actualité (plus ou moins récente) sur le plan politique et religieux, tant en France qu'en Europe.

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¹¹ Simar, *Étude sur Erycius Puteanus (1574-1646)*, p. 21.

¹² Van der Haeghen — Lenger, *Bibliotheca Belgica*, I, pp. 158-160.

Le document que nous venons d'éditer n'est rien de plus qu'un fragment. Mais il a le mérite de résumer quelques domaines de la vie intellectuelle dans lesquels s'est engagé Puteanus: numismatique, éloquence, histoire ancienne et moderne, avec peut-être une touche de nostalgie inspirée par le volume de Barlandus, dédié aux archiducs Albert (décédé en 1621) et Isabelle (décédée en 1633). Ajoutons que cette liste est plus éloquente qu'on ne le croirait à première vue. En effet, il ne s'agit pas ici de livres simplement *présents* dans la bibliothèque de Puteanus, mais de livres qu'il s'est achetés. Il y a là un élément d'acquisition *active* qu'on chercherait en vain dans des sources plus classiques (inventaire après décès ou catalogue de vente), représentations passives d'une collection qui peut avoir été constituée par plusieurs générations et grâce à des cadeaux ou des héritages. C'est pour cette raison que le petit fragment que voici méritait bien quelques pages dans un recueil consacré à celui qui publia jadis un livre sous le titre *De usu fructuque librorum*.

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ERYCIUS PUTEANUS ET ALBERTO STRUZZI: HISTOIRE D'UNE AMITIÉ

1. Introduction

Notre article vise à éclaircir les liens d'amitié entre Erycius Puteanus, l'humaniste disciple de Juste Lipse, et Alberto Struzzi, un écrivain italien auteur de traités d'économie et politique. On utilisera dans ce but un recueil de six lettres non publiées de Puteanus à Struzzi allant du 9 mai 1612 au 13 juin 1614, et qui sont conservées à Bruxelles.¹ Elles nous mettront au courant de certains détails fondamentaux permettant d'approfondir la vie et les échanges intellectuels réciproques entre les deux auteurs.

Notre perspective n'aura pas trait à la philologie, la littérature ou la linguistique, mais au monde des idées économiques. On pourra apprécier au cours de ce travail que, parmi d'autres, une source capitale de la pensée d'Alberto Struzzi se trouve dans la philosophie humaniste que Lipse et ses disciples enseignaient à l'Université de Louvain. En même temps, on pourra préciser davantage les liens existant dans le monde des intellectuels des Pays-Bas méridionaux au début du XVII^e siècle, une époque bien plus féconde qu'on ne le pense. Et finalement, les contacts étroits des deux personnages avec l'Espagne nous mettront au courant de leur influence politique et idéologique à Madrid.

Le plan de notre contribution sera donc le suivant: après avoir établi les traits les plus remarquables de la biographie d'Alberto Struzzi, on décrira ensuite son amitié avec Puteanus (que T. Simar a presque négligée dans son ouvrage²) au moyen des lettres citées, la troisième et

¹ Archives Générales du Royaume, Archives de familles, Papiers Le Mesureur, liasse 11.

² T. Simar, *Étude sur Erycius Puteanus (1574-1646), considéré spécialement dans l'histoire de la philologie belge et dans son enseignement à l'université de Louvain*, Université de Louvain. Recueil de Travaux publiés par les membres des Conférences d'Histoire et de Philologie, 23 (Louvain - Paris - Bruxelles, 1909), p. XII, note 2.

dernière partie envisageant les répercussions de tout cela sur l'histoire intellectuelle de la Belgique et de l'Espagne au début du XVII^e siècle.

2. Un écrivain économique: Alberto Struzzi

Alberto Struzzi, né à Parme vers le milieu du XVI^e siècle, arriva dans les Pays-Bas peu après la nomination d'Alexandre Farnèse au poste de gouverneur général du territoire. En 1588, il apparaît dans les sources des archives en qualité de "Gentilhomme de la Garderobe" de Farnèse lui-même, faisant donc partie d'une cour ducale aussi nombreuse que raffinée. Les années passées sous le mécénat de son illustre protecteur marqueront à toujours la vie de Struzzi. Après la mort de Farnèse en 1592, il décida de rester dans les rangs de l'armée royale. L'arrivée au pouvoir des Archiducs fut pour lui l'occasion de montrer à nouveau ses habiletés courtoises et diplomatiques, car il sera le chargé d'affaires de Ranuccio I auprès de la cour bruxelloise. Voulant fixer sa demeure dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux, Struzzi vend tous ses biens à Parme et obtient ensuite une "lettre de bourgeoisie" lui conférant le droit de résider à Bruxelles.³

Il se maria premièrement à Louise Haller von Hallerstein, membre d'une famille allemande d'hommes d'affaires établie à Anvers. Veuf, il se remaria en 1612 à Dorotea Romeu, *Dama de Honor* de l'archiduchesse Isabelle.⁴ En septembre 1614, Struzzi est envoyé à Madrid comme représentant d'Albert et Isabelle auprès du roi Philippe III. Au début provisoire, la présence de Struzzi à la cour espagnole va se prolonger jusqu'à sa mort en 1638, toujours en qualité de représentant des gouverneurs généraux des Pays-Bas catholiques.

Alberto Struzzi commença son activité intellectuelle à Bruxelles vers 1591, mais c'est à Madrid qu'il rédigea ses traités les plus renommés, dont quelques-uns furent imprimés, bien que la plupart soient restées inédites. L'importance de Struzzi à la cour espagnole ne fut pas négligeable, car outre ses fonctions diplomatiques, il fut consulté par les ministres royaux sur plusieurs matières économiques et politiques. Mais ses propositions ayant été jugées trop audacieuses par certains serviteurs du roi, il dut combattre âprement en faveur d'une plus large

³ Miguel Angel Echevarría, *Alberto Struzzi, un precursor barroco del capitalismo liberal* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1995), p. 16.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

compréhension envers les problèmes spécifiques des Pays-Bas méridionaux.

Ne pouvant approfondir ici la doctrine Struzzi, on se bornera aux traits qui se rapportent le plus à notre sujet. Les idées de l'écrivain peuvent être résumées comme suit⁵:

- 1) Il existe des "lois" en économie, c'est-à-dire, des normes et des tendances qui sont au-delà de la volonté des hommes et qui pour cela même doivent être respectées de tous. Les "lois" les plus essentielles sont la liberté et l'équilibre (ou harmonie), soutenant tout le reste.
- 2) Ces "lois" appartiennent par conséquent au droit naturel aussi bien qu'au droit des gens. De cette façon, la lutte contre les "lois naturelles" serait un effort aussi vain qu'immoral.
- 3) Le fonctionnement sans entraves de ces tendances garantit le développement harmonieux de tout le système. Il y a donc un équilibre immanent dans le monde de l'économie, dont les secteurs formeraient une sorte de mécanisme automatique. La crise pour Struzzi n'est que le dérèglement temporel de cet équilibre immanent, qui se corrige de lui-même.
- 4) Le marché (où l'offre et la demande coïncident) devient un élément essentiel, puisque c'est par son intermédiaire que se produit le jeu des facteurs économiques, au moyen de la spécialisation et des avantages comparatifs de certains marchés par rapport à d'autres.
- 5) La liberté et l'équilibre ne sauraient subsister sans la paix. La guerre empêchant le développement normal de l'économie, il faudra lutter pour la fin des hostilités en Europe.
- 6) Quel est ici le rôle de l'État? Il devra veiller à ce que les particuliers ne soient pas dérangés, et à écarter les obstacles s'opposant à la liberté de la production et de l'échange.
- 7) La loi naturelle étant la base du système, l'histoire passe au second plan. L'équilibre entre la nature et l'histoire, établi par les docteurs scolastiques (Francisco Suárez notamment), est rompu dans le système "struzzien" en faveur de la première de ces options.

Voici donc résumés les points fondamentaux de la doctrine du Parmesan. Il faut maintenant déterminer le poids spécifique des idées ayant exercé une influence directe sur notre auteur. On peut affirmer *grosso modo* que cet ascendant dont on parle a été déterminé par trois éléments-clés:

⁵ *Ibid.*, chapitres 4 et 5.

- (a) Les humanistes, à travers le nouveau cercle créé par Lipse et ses disciples à l'Université de Louvain et dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux;
- (b) La liberté économique et l'individualisme des théoriciens français et hollandais;
- (c) L'Ecole de Salamanque, d'abord à travers ses représentants en Belgique (Lessius, les jésuites), et ensuite grâce au séjour prolongé de Struzzi en Espagne.

On ne s'occupera ici que du premier des groupes, le plus influent sans doute. Les publications de Juste Lipse et de ses disciples connurent un succès immense à travers l'Europe occidentale, et à la fin du XVI^e siècle, l'Université de Louvain jouissait encore d'un essor intellectuel assez considérable. Struzzi se trouvait parmi les adeptes de ces néo-stoïciens: il citait Lipse dans ses écrits, et ce fut grâce à lui et à Erycius Puteanus, son disciple et successeur, que Struzzi adoptait un ensemble d'idées essentielles pour la constitution de sa pensée économique. Les témoignages que nous allons analyser le prouvent largement.

3. Les lettres de Puteanus

Où se trouvent les racines de la liaison de Struzzi avec le nouveau Cercle de Louvain? En sa qualité de chef du service secret d'Alexandre Farnèse, Struzzi dut forcément être au courant des agissements de Martín A. Del Río en vue de convaincre Lipse de retourner sous le patronat du roi d'Espagne. Le premier témoignage que l'on possède jusqu'à présent sur les contacts entre Struzzi et Puteanus est plus tardif. Ranuccio I, duc de Parme, demande à son correspondant à Bruxelles de trouver un écrivain disposé à rédiger une chronique du duc Alexandre Farnèse, son père, afin de revendiquer sa mémoire, car il fut accusé par Madrid d'être le responsable majeur de l'échec de l'Invincible Armada en 1588 (affaire épineuse sur laquelle on discute encore aujourd'hui). Ranuccio I, désireux d'occuper une charge d'importance dans la monarchie espagnole (telle que vice-roi du Portugal ou même gouverneur des Pays-Bas), voyait en danger sa carrière politique en raison du mauvais souvenir laissé par Alexandre Farnèse lors du projet d'invasion de l'Angleterre. Il fallait donc trouver un bon connaisseur de l'histoire récente des Pays-Bas catholiques. Puteanus fut ainsi chargé de rédiger une chronique — ou plutôt une apologie — exaltant le rôle du

duc de Parme.⁶ L'historien sollicita de son côté tous les documents relatifs au projet, mais Ranuccio négligea l'envoi du matériel, et la "chronique farnésienne" n'eut pas de suite. Quoiqu'il en soit, ce fut sans doute un motif puissant d'union entre les deux écrivains. Notons en passant que Puteanus est considéré l'un des grands épistoliers du baroque; plusieurs recueils de ses lettres furent déjà publiées au XVII^e siècle. Parmi les destinataires de sa correspondance, on peut citer l'audiencier Louis Verreycken, don Baltasar de Zúñiga et le marquis de Bedmar — ambassadeurs du roi catholique à Bruxelles —, Anton Huysmans, Charles della Faille, Charles Scribani, Jan van de Wouwere, Pierre Pecquius, le gouverneur des Pays-Bas méridionaux, le marquis d'Aytona, le cardinal Federico Borromeo, le pape Urbain VIII, Ambroise Spinola, le comte de Gondomar — ambassadeur espagnol à Londres —, ou Ferdinand de Boisshot. Passons maintenant à établir la chronologie des lettres et à noter les langues dans lesquelles elles furent écrites:

DATES	LANGUE
9 mai 1612	Latin
7 juillet 1612	Italien
15 août 1612	Italien
31 août 1612	Italien
12 septembre 1612	Latin
7 juin 1614	Italien

La lecture de cette correspondance Puteanus-Struzzi met au clair la grande amitié de ces deux hommes, ainsi que le profond respect qu'éprouva l'humaniste de Venlo envers son partenaire.⁷ Il existe certainement d'autres lettres dans *Erycii Puteani Epistolarum Promulsis* (Louvain, 1612) mais ici il ne sera question que des lettres inédites. Le contenu des six missives est assez diversifié, mais on peut en dégager plusieurs grands sujets:

1. Famille de Puteanus;
2. Camillo Palmia;
3. Mariage de Struzzi;
4. Livres publiés;
5. Affaires avec des particuliers.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 27 et Simar, *Étude sur Erycius Puteanus*, p. XII.

⁷ "Consolatur me spes adventus tui", "Non possum, vir optime, beneficiis tuis respondere" (lettre 1); "Eternamente obligato" (lettre 3); "Affettissimo servitore" (lettre 6), etc.

Quant aux affaires de famille, Puteanus fournit à Struzzi des nouvelles sur la grossesse de sa femme (“uxorem vicini signa puerperii terrent”; lettre I) ou sa maladie (“assai grave”; lettre II). Alberto Struzzi fournissait des produits italiens à ses amis et clients, parmi lesquels figurent un bon nombre de Flamands, de compatriotes résidant aux Pays-Bas, et de fonctionnaires espagnols établis à Bruxelles ou ailleurs. Il s’agissait pour la plupart de l’achat et l’envoi de toiles, livres, fromages, tableaux, etc. Ceci explique, par exemple, la commande faite par Puteanus à son ami d’une robe “à l’espagnole” ainsi que d’une paire de chaussures pour sa femme.

La descendance de Puteanus mérite une attention toute particulière. Père de seize enfants (dont quelques-uns moururent en bas-âge), il éprouvera de grandes difficultés à l’heure de les alimenter, habiller ou élever, et il sera également contraint de multiplier les démarches en vue de leur trouver un moyen de vie digne. Des pièces d’archive nous ont légué le souvenir de Philippe Puteanus⁸, de Juste-Cécile Puteanus, fonctionnaire de curie protégé par les Barberini et qui deviendra chanoine à Gand et à Lille,⁹ ou d’André Puteanus, à qui le Pape conféra en 1632 un canonicat à Aix-la-Chapelle.¹⁰ Erycius Puteanus écrivit plusieurs fois à la cour d’Espagne et au Conseil des Pays-Bas en demandant protection pour les siens. La considération, dont il jouissait à Madrid fut grande: le roi Philippe IV, par lettre du 17 avril 1628, chargea l’Infante Isabelle de trouver “quelque chanoinie par delà”¹¹ en faveur des enfants de l’écrivain, “et les honorer et leur faire mercède aux occasions qui se présenteront”.¹²

Un autre prénom qui se prodigue à travers les lettres, c’est celui de “Camillo”. Qui était cette personne? Il s’agit, paraît-il, de Camillo Palmia, élevé par les soins du Parmesan et ensuite de Charles Le Mesureur, son procureur à Bruxelles.¹³ Puteanus tient au courant son ami de l’état de santé du garçon (“Camillo stà sano et si trova contento”, voir lettre II), qui est d’ailleurs élevé avec les enfants de l’humaniste.¹⁴ D’après le

⁸ Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, ms. 8170.

⁹ *Correspondance du nonce Fabio Lagonissa, archevêque de Conza (1627-1634)*, publiée par Lucienne van Meerbeeck (Bruxelles: Institut Historique Belge de Rome, 1966), pp. XXV et 313.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 382.

¹¹ Archivo General de Simancas, Secretarías Provinciales, libro 1445.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Archives Générales du Royaume, Archives de famille, Papiers Le Mesureur, liasse 11.

¹⁴ Il est bien connu que Puteanus dirigea dès 1610 une sorte d’académie ayant pour nom *Palaestra Bonae Mentis*; voir Simar, *Étude sur Erycius Puteanus*, p. 143.

témoignage de celui-ci, Camillo parlait couramment le flamand, et recevait des leçons d'italien et de latin. Struzzi lui fit parvenir des paquets contenant des vêtements et d'autres produits de consommation.

Le troisième sujet (lettres IV et V) concerne le mariage d'Alberto Struzzi et Dorotea Romeu, célébré à Bruxelles en juin 1612. Mais le bonheur des Struzzi fut bref, car Dorotea mourut en juillet 1613 des suites d'un accouchement difficile.¹⁵ Quel fut le sort du nouveau-né? Les documents n'en parlent pas. Il est à remarquer en tout cas que l'auteur de Parme ne cite pas sa famille dans son testament fait à Madrid le 29 septembre 1637.

La quatrième affaire touche l'univers du livre et des éditions. La lettre II nous apprend une nouvelle fort intéressante: le livre de Puteanus contre Casaubon (*In Is. Casauboni Epistolam stricturae lib. prodromus*, Louvain, 1612) fut rédigé chez son ami parmesan.¹⁶ D'autre part, Puteanus expose à Struzzi les difficultés de faire publier des ouvrages à Louvain, tout en lui conseillant d'essayer chez Moretus (voir lettre VI). L'Italien voulait faire imprimer un opuscule qu'il avait intitulé *Imago militiae auspiciis Ambrosii Spinolae*, destiné probablement à don Fernando, le futur gouverneur général des Pays-Bas méridionaux. Quelque temps après, Struzzi trouva l'appui d'Albert et Isabelle. Grâce à l'aide de Jan van der Elst, "gentilhomme de l'artillerie" (cité dans la lettre VI, et qui s'occupa de certains aspects matériels de la publication), le travail de Struzzi vit finalement le jour en 1614 à Bruxelles chez Roger Velpius et Hubertus Antonius, imprimeurs des Archiducs. Cet ouvrage, dont on possède un exemplaire à la Bibliothèque Albert Ier, rendit célèbre son auteur.

Le dernier des sujets de notre correspondance se rapporte à plusieurs démarches politiques et commerciales n'ayant rien à voir avec notre sujet.

4. L'influence de Puteanus sur la pensée d'Alberto Struzzi

Le cercle de Louvain symbolisait au XVI^e siècle le triomphe de l'intelligence sur la guerre et la destruction. Mais l'Université louvaniste, éloignée de plus en plus des milieux intellectuels espagnols par Philippe

¹⁵ Echevarría, *Alberto Struzzi*, p. 22.

¹⁶ "Il mio libro contra Casaubono, il quale scriveva in casa di v.s., si stampa adesso" (lettre II).

II, parce que suspecte d'hérésie (*Pragmática* du 22 novembre 1559), fut étrangère au développement intellectuel hispanique. Ce ne fut qu'en 1596 que s'interrompit l'entrée d'étudiants des Provinces-Unies aux cours de Louvain: la séparation des deux confessions religieuses prit son commencement. Cela ne fut pas sans rapport avec le retour de Juste Lipse au sein de la contre-réforme en 1591. Louvain ne devait plus jamais mettre en danger les consciences des bons catholiques. Le mouvement orthodoxe semblait donc avoir gagné. Cependant, les idéaux humanistes du *Huysgezin der Liefde* (Famille de l'Amour), groupe auquel Lipse appartenait dès le début, ne s'éteindront pas si facilement en vertu de la pratique du nicodémisme de ses membres.¹⁷ En tout cas, ce fut à partir de 1600 que commencèrent les rapports étroits entre les professeurs de Louvain et l'Espagne, dont on ne retiendra que quelques exemples. Juste Lipse, tête du mouvement, fut accueilli sans réserves après sa "reconversion" au catholicisme, et sa pensée marqua puissamment beaucoup d'Espagnols, parmi lesquels l'ambassadeur à Bruxelles, don Baltasar de Zúñiga, qui connut Lipse lors de son séjour diplomatique à Bruxelles — il est à remarquer que Zúñiga allait bientôt devenir l'un des hommes les plus puissants de la monarchie hispanique.¹⁸ Son successeur, le comte-duc d'Olivarès, ministre principal — *valido* — de Philippe IV, possédait dans sa bibliothèque plusieurs exemplaires des oeuvres de Lipse.¹⁹ Quant à Puteanus, son accueil en Espagne fut encore plus favorable. Par exemple, le grand écrivain Francisco de Quevedo (qui avait déjà échangé auparavant une correspondance assidue avec Lipse) cite l'auteur de Venlo dans son *Marco Bruto* (1644), et défendit tout comme Puteanus le patronat de Saint-Jacques sur l'Espagne.²⁰ De son côté, le diplomate et théoricien de la politique Diego de Saavedra Fajardo fréquenta Puteanus (ainsi que son disciple J.-J. Chifflet) pendant son séjour à Bruxelles en 1643-45.

On peut donc affirmer qu'Erycius Puteanus était en bons termes avec les intellectuels parmi ses contemporains. Néanmoins la protection du pouvoir politique était loin de lui déplaire. Les Archiducs lui avaient conféré en 1614 le poste de châtelain de la ville de Louvain, charge qui

¹⁷ Miguel Angel Echevarría, *Flandes y la Monarquía Hispánica, 1500-1713* (Madrid: Sílex, 1998), p. 172.

¹⁸ John H. Elliot, *The Count-Duke of Olivares. The Statesman in an Age of Decline* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), p. 22.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

²⁰ Erycius Puteanus, *Hispaniarum vindiciae tutelares in II libros divisae* (Louvain, 1608).

devrait passer après lui à sa femme et à son fils aîné²¹, par privilège de Philippe. Philippe IV fit de lui son historien aux Pays-Bas méridionaux, comme le prouve e. a. un document d'avril 1628.²² Il avait en outre la qualité de *Regius Professor*, à laquelle on fait allusion dans la gravure de Peter de Iode (d'après un tableau de van Dyck) dont une copie se trouve à Madrid.²³ La demande d'un poste au Conseil Privé lui fut refusée par le "Consejo de Flandes" à Madrid, parce qu'il n'était qu'un professeur d'Université.²⁴ Pour en finir avec le sujet, citons le grand nombre de travaux de Puteanus conservés dans les fonds de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid: on en compte 73 exemplaires environ, correspondant à 52 titres différents.

Il est temps d'aborder l'influence que Puteanus a exercée sur Struzzi. Celle-ci peut se résumer en trois points fondamentaux: la loi naturelle, le pacifisme, et le rôle de l'histoire.

A mon avis, c'est dans la conception de la loi naturelle où l'influence de Puteanus est très important. En effet, il avait hérité de son maître Juste Lipse l'idée que l'homme doit suivre les lois naturelles²⁵ qui gouvernent l'Univers tout entier et leur obéir. En fait, l'utilisation d'arguments émanant du droit naturel était courante au XVI^e siècle, du côté des humanistes et théologiens comme des révoltés contre Philippe II, ces derniers faisant une distinction nette entre le droit positif (contrat entre le prince et ses sujets) et le droit naturel (principe de résistance légitime au roi tyrannique), dont les implications seront profondes aussi bien dans les rapports entre le prince et son peuple²⁶ qu'en politique économique.²⁷ Mais il faut bien revendiquer l'originalité de Struzzi, puisqu'il élargit la notion de la loi naturelle aux activités économiques. Je veux rappeler à ce propos que le rôle de la liberté et de l'équilibre en économie fut une notion tout à fait originelle de l'Italien. En effet, si la liberté

²¹ Archivo General de Simancas, Secretarías Provinciales, legajo 2441. Le Conseil d'Etat espagnol, 30 septembre 1643; Simar, *Étude sur Erycius Puteanus*, pp. 11-12.

²² *Ibid.*, libro 1445: "Erycius Puteanus, mon historiographe et professeur d'humanité en ma Université de Louvain"; Simar, *Étude sur Erycius Puteanus*, pp. 11 et 14-16.

²³ "Clarissimus Erycius Puteanus, historiographus, Regius Professor, consiliarius, etc." Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, Retratos, cote n/v, caja 14.

²⁴ "Esta calidad, siendo una de las más relevadas de los Consejos en Flandes, no se puede comunicar a un profesor". Archivo General de Simancas, Secretarías Provinciales, liasse 2442. Madrid, le 2 avril 1644.

²⁵ Simar, *Étude sur Erycius Puteanus*, p. 37.

²⁶ Catherine Secretan, *Les privilèges berceau de la liberté* (Paris: Vrin, 1990), p. 12.

²⁷ Echevarría, *Flandes y la Monarquía Hispánica*, p. 170.

doit régler la marche du commerce, de l'industrie, de l'agriculture, des finances etc., rien ne doit troubler cette expansion spontanée. Ceci amène l'écrivain parmesan à lutter contre la doctrine mercantiliste au nom du libre échange et de l'entreprise librement constituée, en faisant de lui l'un des prédécesseurs les plus remarquables des doctrines libérales (au sens large du mot).

Le deuxième point est celui du pacifisme. On sait que selon Struzzi, il est impossible de bâtir un système économique quelconque sans la paix, résultat de l'harmonie et de l'amour des autres, y compris les ennemis. Cette idée lui est venue d'autres sources, parmi lesquelles la politique tolérante d'Alexandre Farnèse, les courants intellectuels des années 1580-1630, les conceptions et pratiques de la bourgeoisie en matière de commerce ou finances, ainsi que la ferveur familliste de Lipse, mais surtout le pacifisme de Puteanus, dont on trouve des exemples marquants à l'occasion de la trêve de douze ans et pendant la crise de 1629-32. L'historien royal prêchera alors la signature d'une paix honorable avec les Hollandais, compte tenu de la prolongation excessive de la guerre et des dégâts qu'elle a causés. Combattu violemment par Gaspard Barlaeus pour avoir oublié les "bienfaits" du souverain espagnol, il va polémiquer contre lui avec intensité.²⁸ Le disciple de Lipse reviendra à la charge en 1633 avec son *Statera Belli et Pacis*, écrit qui provoqua la réponse du gouvernement de Bruxelles par l'Anti-Puteanus, en exigeant aux Etats-Généraux la défense formelle de publier une réfutation de ce texte.²⁹ Puteanus sera même accusé de plaider la cause des rebelles.³⁰ Aujourd'hui qu'on connaît les efforts pacifistes d'Alberto Struzzi à la cour du roi catholique, on comprend mieux l'acharnement des deux amis — l'un à Louvain, l'autre à Madrid — en faveur de la fin des hostilités en Europe.

Je voudrais également souligner l'importance de l'histoire chez Puteanus et Struzzi. Comment peut-on concilier les lois naturelles avec l'évolution des sociétés humaines dans le temps et l'espace? Comment donc équilibrer la Nature d'un côté et l'Histoire de l'autre? L'importance du passé est évidente dans les écrits de Struzzi, mais on se tromperait lourdement en pensant qu'il attache à l'Histoire une place

²⁸ Kervin de Lettenhove, *La Flandre pendant les trois derniers siècles* (Bruges: Beyaert, 1875), p. 239.

²⁹ Henri Pirenne, *Histoire de la Belgique* (Bruxelles, 1919), IV, 269.

³⁰ "Puteane, causam Batavorum agis". Dans *Statera belli et pacis*, éd. de 1633, p. 102.

primordiale. Bien au contraire, il affirme que le naturel impose ses lois à l'action humaine, et que par là, le poids de l'Histoire n'est que limité. Le passé constituerait tout simplement une sorte de miroir pour se regarder, ne pouvant jamais devenir une règle à suivre aveuglément. On ne doit pas craindre les "nouvellités" (nouveautés) si elles arrivent de la main de la nature. C'est là une leçon que Puteanus n'a pu inspirer que de façon indirecte, car Struzzi va bien plus loin que son collègue. Sa pensée pourrait donc être résumée comme suit: l'histoire prouve que seule la liberté fait réussir les entreprises humaines. Cette épisode appartient en quelque sorte à ce qu'on appelle la querelle contre l'histoire et la tradition³¹, polémique commencée à la fin du XVIe siècle et qui annonce les préoccupations des élites intellectuelles européennes quelques décennies après, mettant les ciments de la révolution scientifique moderne et contemporaine.

³¹ Paolo Rossi, 'El científico', dans *El hombre barroco* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1992), p. 320.

Appendice

Lettres d'Erycius Puteanus à Alberto Struzzi

Source: Archives Générales du Royaume à Bruxelles, Archives de familles, Papiers Le Mesureur, liasse 11.

I

Perillustis Vir et Domine,

Scripseram miseramque litteras, cum tuas accepi, humanissimas illas, et quae totum Struzzium loquebantur. Sed vide, quam non possim quod maxime cupio, venire, evolare, te complecti. Uxorem vicini signa puerperii terrent, et tam maritum clamat, quam aliae Lucinam solent, cum uterum dolor laxat. Itaque detineor, et velut domi ligor. Verbo dicam, crucior, quia nondum his te oculis video, his te manibus stringo, sermonisque vicem misceo. Sed consolatur me spes adventus tui (ita Lovaniensis hic noster, qui in itinere tibi comes fuit, indicavit) et simul permittit aliquid indulgere iam uxori meae, ne in periculi confinio marito careat. Quid autem? Hac septimana aderis? (ita pariter indicavit) et tantum addes humanitati tuae, quantum ego peccare cogor et delinquere? Non possum, vir optime, beneficiis tuis respondere. Tu quod in viribus meis non invenies, ab hoc animo exiges, et Puteanum tibi usu mancipioque addictum habebis. Aliquid in rem meam molitus es, scio. Qui amicus es, patrem velut egisti: ergo filium me vocem licet, et porro hoc affectu censeas, ut ad vota mea perveniam. Hoc agi video, ut tua opera et cura felix sim, et tales liberos meos faciam. Vale vir perillustis, et amare me perge.

Lovanii, Nonis Maii, M.DC.XII

Aeterno affectu cultuque

Tuus

Erycius Puteanus

(Adresse:) Perillustri Viro et Domino/Domino Alberto Struzzio/Patrono meo aeternum colendo./Bruxellam.

II

Molto Illustre Signor,

Diedi ricapito alle lettere mandatemi per il Principe Polacco, come v.s. haverà inteso dal Governatore di esse Principe. Io per molti negotii non ho potuto rispondere fin adesso: alli quali si giungeva la malattia di mia moglie assai grave. La trovai in malissimo stato quando ritornai da Bruxelles, et in quella malattia è stata fin adesso. Camillo sta sano, et si trove contento, et

impare. Ha bisogno d'un gippone per portare ogni di. Io domani andarò verso Venlo, et sarò presto di ritorno. Così prego v.s. adesso per il veluto per la mia moglie. Vuol fare una robba alla spagnola, come lei usa. Onde se il veluto è d'Italia, bisognerà havere ale (*sic*) 20, se di Fiandra, alle 22, perche quello d'Italia è piu largo. Ella vorrebbe piu presto havere di quello d'Italia, se fosse possibile, il quale è migliore. Il fior sia piccolo e vistoso di qualche rametti o foglietti galanti come v.s. saperà scielgere meglio. Dipiu desidera mia moglie 90 ale di passamano non troppo largo che corrisponde al detto veluto, et questo per metter duoi passamani insieme. Il colore del uno et l'altro sia negro. V.s. a noi perdonnerà se gli diamo questa briga, et parimente m'impieghi in tutto quello dove io posso servirla. Il negotio di Parma raccomando à v.s. Del prezzo ove premio per l'Historia non occorre trattare adesso piu minutamente. E facilmente questo se costituerà, quando il Sr. Duca se risolverà totalmente d'impiegar la mia fatica. Il mio libro contra Casaubono, il quale scriveva in casa di v.s., si stampa adesso, et credo che sarà finito quando ritornerò. Bacio a v.s. le mani et le prego sommo contento. In Lovanio di 7. Luglio, 1612.

Di v.s. molto Illustre affetionatissimo servitore

Erycio Puteano

Mentre che stò per serrare questa lettera vien il pacchetto per Camillo nel quale sono le sue camiscie, collari, etc., et un par di calzoni in maniera che bisogno che habbia ancora il gippone.

(*Adresse:*) Al molto Ill^{re} sig^r il sig^r/Alberto Struzzi, Patrono/ mio/colendis-simo./Brusseles.

III

Molto Illustre Signor,

Alcuni giorni sono che scrissi a v.s. raccomandandoli il negotio di questi Signori Polacchi, et facendoli aviso del mio felice ritorno del paese di Geldria. Adesso il signor Alessandro vien istesso per parlar con v.s. et per intender che nova v.s. ha de i denari che egli aspetta. Io la prego di indrizzar questo signor, il qual è veramente degno d'ogni amorevolezza et cortesia, acioche venghi al suo intento. Credo che in Anversa siano li denari parechiati, poiche il Signor Calandrino a Nurimberga ha havuto ordine gia sei settimane sono, se non min-ganno. Camillo sta bene et sta volentieri con li miei figlioli, imparare secondo l'età sua, et a me et alla mia moglie è raccomandatissimo. Io aspetto qualche nova di v.s. et la prego somma felicità et contentezza con il novo et auspicato matrimonio. Dio voglia che v.s. presto godi delli frutti, che io li prego da tutto cuore.

In Lovanio, il di della Madonna, 1612.

Di v.s. eternamente obligato

Erycio Puteano

(*Adresse:*) Al molto Ill^{re} sig^r mio Col^{mo}/il sig^r Alberto Struzzi./Brusseles.

IV

Molto Illustre Signor,

Essendo ritornato a casa, ho havuto cura particolare intorno Camillo, che parli fiamengo, et ancora che commenci scrivere. Il qual farà doppo la Kermessa di Lovanio. Io ho di piu commandato à i miei figlioli che con Camillo non parlino se non fiamengo, et havero cura che questo si faccia nondimeno in maniera che non lasciano in tutto il linguaggio italiano, perche molto importa imparare quello nativo per venire doppo in cognitione perfetta. Et per li miei figlioli hanno la lingua fiamenga tanto bene imparato, quanto li altri figlioli i quali non sanno niente della italiana. Nondimeno v.s. farà secondo il suo parere. Che io quanto sarà possibile farò: et non potendo, avisarò v.s. Del resto il figliolo imparerà la lingua latina facilmente. Et fin adesso sa molto bene le declinationi et avanze li miei. A casa mi dicono la sua lettione ogni giorno due volte, et lo trovo semper pronto. La mie moglie dice che haverà di bisogno un par di scarpe per la Domenica. Egli ha una usanza di andare le scarpe di fuori, et così se guastano subito. Forse saria bene di farli un poco piu alte di fuori, per alcune volte. Il capello che v.s. haveva mandato e un poco troppo piccolo. Onde sara di bisogno havere uno piu largo. Et quello che è troppo piccolo ella terra per il medesimo pretio per Giusto o Fausto. Et vorrebbe per questo havere ancora un altro di quella sorte et grandezza che questi duoi siano forniti d'una maniera. Questo e che scrivo da parte di mia moglie. I conti faremo quando a v.s. piacerà. Non dirò altro se non pregarli da Nostro Signore felice nozze. Di Lovanio l'ultimo di Augusto 1612.

Di v.s. molto Illustre affettissimo servitore

Erycio Puteano

Per l'avenire forze sarà meglio che le scarpe facciamo far qui in Lovanio. Io prego v.s. di far consignar da mia parte al Signor Salmslach alla poste questo mio piego per Milano.

V

Perillustis vir,

Aegre nunc ad te scribo, partim quia ego negotiis impeditus, partim quia ad impeditum. Nam ego varie distrahor: te nuptiarum iam curae et thalami novi cogitationes occupant. Tamen aliquid litterarum dare coactus sum, ut de negotio nummario Polonorum exquirerem. Profecto necessitas nobilissimos iuvenes urget, et me ad id officii impellit. Nihil a te exigunt; sed rogant tantum, ut pro humanitate tua suggerere velis, quid optimum factu in hoc negotio videatur, et ubi Antuerpiae nummos sive transcriptos sive transcribendos petant. Id est quo homine sive actore, sive mercatore Calandrinus Antuerpiae utatur. Nam hunc alloquerentur.

Ego te pariter rogo, ut obiter quantum nosti indicare velis, me et ipsos tibi adolescentes obstringere. Ego felicia et perennia tibi omnia voveo, et ut favere mihi pergas, rogo. Vale.

Lovanii, XII. Kal. Septemb. M. DC. XII.

Aeterno affectu cultuque

Tuus

Erycius Puteanus

Schedulam tuam quam nuperrime Domino Alexandro Nurimbergam transmit-
tendam dedisti ad Calandrinum Poloni hic servant; ne longior etiam mora sit, si
mittendo et rescribendo negotium protrahatur. Id ut bene interpreteris pariter
rogamus.

(Adresse:) Perillustri Viro et Domino/Domino Alberto Struzzio/Patrono suo
plurimum colendo./Bruxellam.

VI

Molto Illustre Signor,

La scrittura m'ha piaciuta molto. È polita, dotta et ben ordinata, degna che sia
vista con l'essercito. Io porche v.s. m'attribuisce tanto, ho scritto il mio parer
intorno al titolo, però non pregiudico niente à quello che è scritto. Quant'alla
stampa, e impossibile in Lovanio. Io ho tanta difficoltà con questi stampatori,
che per le mie cose ho cercato un libraro a Francofort. Le cose qui vanno troppo
longe et per stampar 3 ò 4 fogli ci ha da fare, mesi ci vogliano. In maniera che à
me pare necessario di stampar questa opera in Anversa, per farla bene et finirla
presta. Et saria bene che Moreto la stampasse; che la fama di quella stampa farà
piu illustre la descrittione. Credo che in gratia dei padri della compagnia il detto
Moreto non sarà difficile. Se non fossero le mie lettioni et impedimenti continui,
non lascerei di veder l'essercito, et goder la cortesia di v.s., ma adesso non m'e
permesso di venir. Prego bene v.s. di mandarmi una copia di questa scrittura
quando sarà stampata, et tenermi sempre nella sua buona gratia.

Di Lovanio à 17 Giugno 1614.

Di v.s. molto Illustre affettissimo servitore

Erycius Puteanus

V.s. farà la mia raccomandatione al Signor vander Elst.

Universidad del País Vasco

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Fernand HALLYN

PUTEANUS SUR L'ANAGRAMME

D'Erycius Puteanus, j'évoquerai deux ouvrages consacrés à l'anagramme. Le premier, *Thaumata pietatis*, est un long commentaire sur un exploit poétique du jésuite Bernard Bauhuis (Bauhusius). Le second est un opuscule théorique *De Anagrammatismo*, édité ensemble avec une introduction de Juan Caramuel y Lobkovitch à la Kabbale, par les soins du fils aîné d'Erycius, Justus Caecilius, et sorti des presses de Mommarts à Bruxelles en 1643.

Essayons d'abord de replacer ces ouvrages dans leur contexte. Sur le plan local, on aimait beaucoup l'anagramme dans l'entourage de Puteanus. J'en veux pour preuve non seulement la prouesse de Bauhusius, mais aussi plusieurs anagrammes sur des sujets scientifiques forgées par un ami de Puteanus, l'astronome Godefried Wendelen, sur l'exemple des anagrammes de Galilée. Ou encore, le *De Cometa* que Puteanus consacra à la comète de 1618, se termine sur un long *carmen reciprocum* du professeur de mathématiques Jean Stormius, où les phrases énoncées par l'Opinion reproduisent, lorsqu'elles sont lues à l'envers, le discours de la Raison. L'anagramme était également pratiquée dans les collèges: la *Rhetorum collegii S. Adriani oppidi Gerardimontani in Flandrica poesis anagrammatica* du bénédictin Q. Duret, parue en 1651, contient des anagrammes sur *Jesus salvator mundi*, et d'autres sur les litanies de la Vierge, le tout composé par Duret avec ses élèves. A. de Solré publie en 1666 à Malines un recueil à la gloire du pape: *Musae brabantinae, centum anagrammata ex uno sanctissimi domini nostri Alexandri VII... educta....* Vingt ans plus tard, le même Solré fait paraître à Anvers un autre recueil, contenant 1690 anagrammes, mais aussi des acrostiches et des chronogrammes, sur les noms de la Sainte Famille: *Sancta familia seu chronicum 1690 anagrammatum super ly. Salvator, genitrix, Josephus vel Joseph concinne fabricatum et in tres libros divisum...* D'autres exemples pourraient être cités. Et, outre les ouvrages imprimés, il faudrait envisager aussi nombre de manuscrits non publiés, parfois volumineux, qui dorment dans différentes bibliothèques du pays.

La vogue de l'anagramme s'était répandue d'abord en France, à partir de 1550, sous l'influence de l'helléniste Jean Dorat, maître de la Pléiade et grand admirateur de Lycophron. Elle a gagné ensuite l'Italie, l'Allemagne, l'Espagne, les Pays-Bas.¹

L'intérêt de Puteanus pour l'anagramme peut donc être replacé dans un contexte non seulement local, mais européen. Au XVII^e siècle, une passion pour la permutation de lettres et de mots se rencontre un peu partout en Europe. Des motifs différents y interviennent, dont plusieurs s'entrecroisent chez le polygraphe de Louvain.

1. *Thaumata pietatis*

En 1616, le Jésuite Bernard Bauhuis, dit Bauhusius, publie à Anvers, chez Plantin, un recueil d'épigrammes latines: *Jesu epigrammatum selectorum libri V*. On y trouve à la p. 47 le texte suivant:²

DIVAE, OPTIMAE, MAXIMAEQUE
MATRI VIRGINI
MARIAE
ADMIRABILE HUNC
UNIUS LIBRI VERSUM,
UNIUS VERSUS LIBRUM,
CHRISTIANUM PROTEUM
tot ora scilicet, quot caelum sidera gerentem
(verti enim potest, millies, bis & vicies,
sensu saluo & Heroici carminis lege)
nostri in caeli Reginam affectus
monumentum hoc ponimus sempiternum.

TOT TIBI SUNT DOTES, VIRGO, QUOT SIDERA CAELO

La page suivante est dédiée à une invention semblable:

DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO
AETERNI DEI FILIO
CHRISTO IESU
MUNDI SERVATORI

¹ Il n'existe pas vraiment d'étude d'ensemble sur le phénomène. Voir surtout G. Pozzi, *La parola dipinta* (Milan: Adelphi, 1981).

² Sur Bauhusius (1579-1619), voir C. Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 12 vols (Bruxelles, 1890-1960), I, col. 1051-53. Le vers dont il s'agit a également été publié, à Louvain, dans l'anthologie *Sacrorum Carminum Libri II* de Maximilien De Vriendt, en 1612.

PROTEUS

e variis Sacrarum litterarum locis depromptus,
 priore longe admirabilior;
 verti enim potest 3.628.800 scilicet
 tricies sexies centies millies vicies
 octies millies, & octingenties.

REX^a, DUX^b, SOL^c, LEX^d, LUX^e, FON^f,
 SPES^g, PAX^h, MONSⁱ, PETRA^k, CHRISTUS.

^aApocal. ^b19. Matth. 2. ^cMalach. 4. ^dMichaeae 4. ^eIoann. 1 1 8. ^fZa-
 char. 13. ^gI ad Timoth. I. ^had Ephes. 2. ⁱPsal. 67. Daniel 2. ^kI ad
 Corinth. 10.

Dans les deux cas, il s'agit de vers dits 'protéens'. Cette appellation avait été proposée par Jules César Scaliger, parce que, expliquait-il, 'les lieux des mots peuvent changer tant de fois qu'ils montrent un nombre quasi innombrable de visages'. Scaliger avait fabriqué lui-même un exemple qu'il voulait emblématique, puisqu'il y est question, justement, du dieu Protée:³

Perfide sperasti divos te fallere Proteu

Bien que Bauhusius considérât lui-même son deuxième vers protéen comme le plus admirable, parce qu'il se prête à beaucoup plus de permutations et que les mots dont il se compose sont tous empruntés à la Bible, c'est le premier, dédié à la Vierge, qui allait jouir de la plus grande fortune.

Dès l'année suivante, Erycius Puteanus publiait, toujours chez Plantin, un ouvrage intitulé *Pietatis Thaumata*, dans lequel il énumérait effectivement 1022 variations du vers annoncés par Bauhusius. Voici uniquement les premières de ces permutations:

Tot tibi sunt dotes, caelo quot sidera, Virgo.
Tot tibi sunt dotes, quot caelo sidera, Virgo.

³ J. C. Scaliger, *Poetices Libri Septem* (Lyon: Santandreaus, 1581), II, 30, p. 185. Le terme *Protée* avait déjà été employé par Denys d'Halicarnasse, pour désigner les «mille facettes du langage» chez un rhéteur capable de séduire tous les publics (*Opusculum rhetoricum. II. Démosthène*, éd. G. Aujac, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1988, p. 61). Erasme fait de Protée la figure emblématique de la variation dans la rhétorique de l'abondance: 'Donc on évitera aisément un si grand mal [l'ennui] si on sait bien traduire la même pensée en plus de formes que ne s'était changé, dit-on, Protée.' (*De Copia*, VIII, dans *Œuvres choisies*, trad. J. Chamard, Paris, Livre de Poche, 1991, p. 241). D'autre part, le vers protéen avait été considéré, dans l'Antiquité tardive, comme une variante du vers 'réciproque'; cf. E. Castorina, 'I poeti neoterici del IV secolo', *Giornale italiano di filologia*, 2 (1949), 117-146 et 208-228 (spéc. p. 212).

Tot tibi sunt dotes, quot, Virgo, sidera caelo.
Tot tibi sunt Virgo, dotes, quot sidera caelo.
Tot tibi sunt Virgo, caelo quot sidera, dotes.
Tot tibi sunt Virgo, quot caelo sidera, dotes.
Tot tibi sunt caelo dotes, quot sidera, Virgo.
Tot tibi sunt caelo Virgo, quot sidera, dotes.
Tot tibi sunt caelo, quot, Virgo, sidera, dotes.
Tot tibi dotes sunt, quot, Virgo, sidera, caelo.

Puteanus faisait suivre les 36 pages occupées par ces transformations d'un long commentaire élogieux, divisé en *Thaumata* ou 'sujets d'émerveillement', qui étaient classés en fonction de l'alphabet grec, de A à Ω, pour bien montrer que l'invention de Bauhusius épuise toutes les formes d'admiration possibles. Il soulignait que la réussite de Bauhusius était de loin supérieure à l'exemple cité de Scaliger, qui ne se prête qu'à 64 permutations, comme à cet autre venant d'Optatianus, poète de l'Antiquité tardive:

Quem divus genuit Constantius Induperator,
Aurea Romanis propagans saeculo Nato.

Ici, le premier vers est un vers 'ascendant':⁴ chacun des mots successifs qui le composent comporte une syllabe de plus que le précédent (1, 2, 3, 4, 5). Le deuxième est un vers protéen, mais il ne se prête qu'à six permutations:

Aurea Romanis propagans saecula Nato.
Aurea propagans Romanis saecula Nato.
Saecula Romanis propagans aurea Nato.
Saecula propagans Romanis aurea Nato.
Romanis propagans aurea saecula Nato.
Propagans Romanis aurea saecula Nato.

Dans les permutations de Bauhusius — où l'on peut voir une variante de la litanie, du chapelet qu'on égrène, ou du moulin à prières —, Puteanus trouve la volupté de la variété (*Quae varietas, ea voluptas*); ce vers, qui est un livre, est comme une pierre qui serait un monceau, une goutte qui contiendrait la pluie, une étoile qui enfermerait le ciel. Ici, la poésie surpasse les autres arts. Tous les peintres, de Zeuxis à Rubens, sont mis au défi de transposer une telle merveille dans un tableau;

⁴ Tel est le nom français proposé pour ce type de vers par J. Péletier, *Lettres*, VII, 12 (*Œuvres*, 1713, t. II, p. 218). Puteanus emploie les termes latins de *versus torpalus* ou *sympthalmus* (*Thaumata*, p. 92). Pour d'autres exemples de l'Antiquité tardive, voir E. Cas-torina, 'I poetae neoterici del IV secolo'.

certain de leur infériorité, Puteanus propose lui-même une façon de procéder: il faudrait peindre un chêne (arbre dédié à la Vierge) pourvu de 1022 feuilles, dont chacune porterait l'inscription d'un vers de Bauhusius.

Puteanus souligne que bien plus de variations étaient possibles, mais que le poète a préféré s'arrêter à 1022, chiffre qui correspond au nombre d'étoiles présentes dans le ciel selon le catalogue de Ptolémée: 'Il est beau, dit-il, de transformer, par l'ordre des mots, un seul et même vers autant de fois qu'il y a d'étoiles observées depuis longtemps dans le ciel'.

Dans certaines permutations, il se glisse de subtils changements de sens. Que l'on compare:

Tot tibi sunt dotes, Virgo, quot sidera caelo.

Tot tibi sunt coelo dotes, quot sidera, Virgo.

Dans le premier vers, *caelo* fait partie de la subordonnée ('Tu as autant de vertus qu'il y a d'étoiles au ciel'). Mais, dans le second, le mot appartient à la principale ('Tu as autant de vertus au ciel qu'il y a d'étoiles'), ce qui signifie que les vertus en question sont elles aussi célestes.

D'autre part, le poète a soigneusement évité toutes les variantes du type:

Quot tibi sunt dotes, Virgo, tot sidera caelo.

L'interversion de la subordonnée et de la principale ('Il y a autant d'étoiles au ciel que tu as de vertus') impliquerait, en effet, que la Vierge n'a pas plus de vertus qu'il y a d'étoiles. Or, le nombre des étoiles peut suggérer, mais n'égale pas, l'abondance des vertus de la Vierge. La comparaison met donc en oeuvre la rhétorique de la *surenchère*.⁵ C'est également pour suggérer le caractère inépuisable des vertus de la Vierge que Bauhusius s'est arrêté à 1022, le nombre des étoiles, alors qu'il existait encore d'autres possibilités de permutation des mots: il fallait ne pas épuiser toutes les virtualités, pour montrer justement que le texte aussi bien que l'image restent en-deça d'un objet proprement ineffable.

D'autre part, le nombre 1022 n'est pas le seul à intervenir en vertu d'une valeur symbolique. Puteanus déverse sur l'hexamètre tout un

⁵ Sur la comparaison quantitative en tant que *surenchère* ou *Ueberbietung*, cf. E. R. Curtius, *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter* (Berne: Franke, 1948), p. 169, et, pour son abondance dans la poésie baroque, mon ouvrage *Formes métaphoriques dans la poésie baroque* (Genève: Droz, 1975), pp. 33-39.

savoir numérologique, qui hérite des significations symboliques de l'unité (1 vers) et des nombres 8 (il y a 8 mots), 7 (14 syllabes), 36 (36 lettres) et 666 (la somme de tous les nombres de 1 à 36).

Puteanus ne manque pas non plus de jouer sur le thème mythologique de Protée. Il rappelle que Protée avait été assimilé, à cause de la multiplicité de ses apparences changeantes, au Chaos originel, à partir duquel la Providence a séparé les éléments et assemblé les formes distinctes du monde. Mais le symbolisme de Protée est lui-même protéiforme: la Nature elle-même, dans sa variété, est un Protée, tout comme le Christ ainsi que Bauhusius, qui est également un nouveau Pythagore et un Orphée...

Ce n'est sans doute pas un hasard si la figure de Protée, emblème du baroque, domine entièrement l'éloge de cette suite des variantes innombrables d'un seul vers, où aucun ordre n'est le bon et qui suppose une esthétique de la métamorphose, de l'illusionisme, du merveilleux, de l'exhibitionnisme. Toutefois, le vertige, comme toujours dans le baroque, est maîtrisé:⁶ loin d'apparaître comme un don des Muses, le vers protéen se donne pour la production d'une instance qui refuse justement de s'en remettre à l'inspiration et au hasard, mais cherche à à contrôler, par une procédure de variation systématique, les formes possibles d'une donnée initiale. Faut-il s'étonner si une telle pratique de la poésie a attiré l'attention des mathématiciens tout au long du XVII^e siècle? Exemple d'écriture *expérimentale* qui explore systématiquement ses propres formes potentielles, le vers protéen devient l'objet d'une expérience scientifique, parce qu'il permet de 'tester' la mathématique combinatoire,⁷ en posant un problème dont la solution appartient en principe à la compétence de celle-ci. En fait, les vers protéens constituent l'une des origines des recherches mathématiques concernant les permutations avec restrictions, un problème qui sera traité en profondeur surtout par Euler.⁸ Plusieurs mathématiciens célèbres, dont Leibniz, Wallis et Jacques Bernoulli I se sont intéressés au vers de Bauhusius. Le dernier fixe finalement le nombre de permutations correctes à 3.312, excluant les hexamètres spondaïques, mais admettant

⁶ Sur le 'vertige maîtrisé' dans la poésie baroque, cf. G. Genette, 'L'or tombe sous le fer', dans *Figures* (Paris: Seuil, 1966).

⁷ J'emploie ici le terme 'combinatoire' au sens large, comprenant aussi les permutations, bien que certains mathématiciens du XVII^e siècle, tel Pascal, tiennent à bien distinguer combinaisons et permutations.

⁸ Cf. E. Knobloch, *Die Mathematischen Studien von G.W. Leibniz zur Kombinatorik...* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1973), p. 39.

l'absence de césure. Comme j'ai traité ce point ailleurs,⁹ je ne l'aborderai pas ici.

2. *De Anagrammatismo*

Le *De Anagrammatismo* de Puteanus compte parmi les ouvrages théoriques que la vogue du procédé de la permutation a suscités et parmi lesquels on peut citer également, sans prétendre à l'exhaustivité, ceux de Reusner et de Celspirius pour l'Allemagne, de Le Blanc et de Dobert pour la France, de Genuino et de Omineis pour l'Italie.¹⁰ L'opuscule fut envoyé à Gassendi et à Mersenne par Wendelen.¹¹ Nous verrons qu'il fut également lu par le jeune Leibniz.

Le *De Anagrammatismo* est en grande partie un ouvrage de compilation, où l'on trouve étalée la très grande érudition de l'auteur.¹² Puteanus commence par distinguer nettement l'anagramme de la cryptographie: la première utilise le procédé de la permutation (*'in transpositione'*), la seconde celui de la substitution (*'in commutatione'*). L'anagramme appartient à la *'curiosa litteratura'*; elle est *'semper iucundum, saepe utile, interdum necessarium'*. Puteanus souligne l'antiquité de la figure, mais semble oublier bien vite la distinction qu'il a établie avec la cryptographie ses premiers exemples proviennent de Jérémie et de César et

⁹ Voir mon étude 'Un artifice de peu de poids... Poésie expérimentale au XVIIe siècle', dans *Epistémocritique et cognition*, éd. N. Blatt (Paris: Presses Univ. de Vincennes, 1992), pp. 19-39. Traduction anglaise (par R. Lapidus): 'A Leight-Weight Artifice: Experimental Poetry in the 17th Century', *SubStance*, 71-72 (1993), 289-305.

¹⁰ N. Reusner, *Anagrammatographia... opus ob varios variorum nominum ludus anagrammaticos mirifice iocundum et festivum melioris ordinis causa in novem libros distributum* (Jéna, 1602); V. Z. Celspirius, *De Anagrammatismo libri II quorum prior Theoriam posterior Anagrammatographos celebriores cum Appendice selectorum anagrammatum exhibet*, 2 vols. (Ratisbonne, 1713); G. Le Blanc, *Epigrammata... cum libello de ratione anagrammatismi...* (Rome, 1586); Dobert, *Récréations littérales et mystérieuses pour le divertissement des savants et amateurs de lettres, où sont curieusement étalés les principes et l'importance de la nouvelle orthographe, avec un acheminement à la connaissance de la poésie et des anagrammes* (Lyon: F. de Masso, 1650, 2e éd. augm.; 1re éd., 1646); F.A. de Omineis, *Anagrammatum tractatus novus* (Macerata, 1620); G. Genuino, *Metamorphoses nominum sive metatheses litterarum sive anagrammata* (Rome, 1640).

¹¹ Mersenne, *Correspondance*, éd. C. De Waard (Paris, 1945-), t. II, p. 238.

¹² Ni le titre développé de l'ouvrage: *De Anagrammatismo, quae Cabalae pars est diatriba*, ni le fait que le texte soit suivi d'un *Brevissimum totius Cabalae specimen* de J. Caramuel ne doivent faire illusion sur une éventuelle adhésion sérieuse à la Kabbale: la page de titre précise que l'ouvrage est *'amœnitatis caussa scripta'*.

relèvent de la substitution, non de la permutation.¹³ L'exemple qu'il tire d'Artémidore (un jeu de mots sur *Saturos* et *sa Turos* ¹⁴ à propos d'un rêve d'Alexandre le Grand) constitue un cas d'homophonie, non une anagramme. Il rappelle ensuite les anagrammes célèbres de Lycophron sur Ptolémée et Arsinoé, ainsi que les anagrammes découvertes par Eustathe dans son commentaire d'Homère.¹⁵ Très vite apparaît à nouveau le thème de Protée, figure emblématique de l'anagramme:

In Aegypto desine Proteum quaerere; ubique reperitur. Anagrammatismum quisquis inveniet, Proteus erit.

Joignant la pratique à la théorie, Puteanus fait l'éloge de plusieurs personnages importants, les affublant d'anagrammes. Il fournit également un album de noms anagrammatisés dont il promet de révéler bientôt le secret. Partout s'exprime son goût du paradoxe et de la pointe. Les lignes suivantes en donnent une idée:

Tuum est, quod non tuum, in proprio peregrinum, in peregrino proprium eisdem litteris, alia structura, iisdem membris, alio corpore.

Les pages les plus intéressantes du *De Anagrammatismo* sont celles consacrées au nombre et au classement des anagrammes. Puteanus commence par rappeler la règle bien connue de la factorielle, qui permet de calculer combien de permutations sont possibles pour un nombre donné de lettres. Il propose lui-même un chiffre pour le nombre de permutations possibles avec les 24 lettres de l'alphabet; Leibniz le corrigera sur ce point.¹⁶

Au XVII^e siècle on développait aussi des méthodes pour énumérer systématiquement toutes les anagrammes possibles d'une seule source. On rencontre des recherches de cet ordre chez Mersenne, Dobert et d'autres.¹⁷ Dans les *Règles pour la direction de l'esprit*,

¹³ Il s'agit de l'*atbash* (l'alphabet utilisé à l'envers, par Jérémie, pour le nom de Babel) et du *ziruph* (substitution de la lettre suivante dans l'alphabet à chaque lettre de 'Julius Caesar').

¹⁴ Un Satyre apparaît en rêve à Alexandre pendant qu'il assiège Tyr; c'est l'annonce que Tyr sera sienne.

¹⁵ Eustathe identifie la déesse Héra (Ἥρα) à l'air (ἀήρ), et Rhéa (ῥέα), à la terre (ἔρα), ou encore établit des rapport entre la vertu (ἀρετή) et le caractère aimable (ἐρατή), la colère (χόλος) la foule (ὄχλος) et l'accouchement (λόχος), le bavardage (φλύαρος) et l'insignifiance (φλᾶυρος) le sommet (ἄκρα) et la tête (κάρα), Atlas (Ἄτλας) et l'être malheureux (τάλας).

¹⁶ Dans sa *Dissertatio de arte combinatoria*, dans *Gesammelte Schriften*, éd. Gebhardt (Berlin, 1899), t. IV, p. 88°.

¹⁷ Cf. E. Coumet, 'Mersenne: dénombrements, répertoires, numérotations de permutations', *Mathématiques et sciences humaines*, 10 (1972), 5-37 (spéc. pp. 20-23).

Descartes avait déjà remarqué l'exemplarité méthodique de pareilles procédures pour sa règle VII, qui 'n'est rien que l'enquête si attentive et exacte de tout ce qui est au respect d'une question proposée, que nous en concluons avec évidence et certitude que nous n'avons rien omis par mégarde'.¹⁸ En effet, lorsqu'aucune hiérarchie (du facile au difficile, ou de l'absolu au relatif) ne détermine l'ordre du dénombrement, on peut procéder comme lorsqu'on 'veut faire la meilleure anagramme' et qu'il suffit 'qu'on se propose un tel ordre pour examiner les transpositions de lettres qu'on ne parcourt jamais deux fois les mêmes et que leur nombre soit, par exemple, ainsi distribué en des classes certaines pour qu'apparaissent aussitôt celles où il y a le plus d'espoir de trouver ce qu'on cherche.' La pratique méthodique de l'anagramme illustre donc à la fois un principe d'économie (ne pas s'arrêter deux fois sur la même possibilité) et un principe heuristique (prévoir d'avance les cas qui, *a priori*, offrent le plus de chances de succès).

Dans son *De Anagrammatismo*, Erycius Puteanus se montre au courant de ce type de recherches et en tire un effet non plus méthodologique, mais esthétique. Du coup, le souci d'économie disparaît devant une dépense gratuite. De moyen heuristique, le dénombrement devient un étalage ostentatoire, qui constitue un but en soi. Et la recherche de l'étonnement se substitue à celle de la vérité.

Prenons un cas simple les possibilités anagrammatiques d'un mot de quatre lettres, tel que *Roma*, se prêtant à 24 combinaisons. La méthode de recensement consiste à prévoir autant de colonnes qu'il y a de lettres; dans chacune s'inscriront les permutations commençant par cette lettre. Comme il reste 3 lettres mobiles dans chaque colonne, chacune comprendra 6 permutations. Si l'on place une deuxième lettre après la première, il ne restera que deux lettres mobiles, se prêtant à seulement 2 arrangements: après R + O, on ne peut avoir que MA et AM; après R + M, on obtient AO et OA, etc.:

¹⁸ Descartes, *Règles utiles et claires...*, trad. J.-L. Marion (La Haye: Nijhoff, 1977), p. 25. L'attention de Descartes a pu être attirée sur l'anagramme par *La Vérité des sciences* de Mersenne (Paris: Toussaint du Bray, 1625), pp. 527-543.

R	O	M	A
1. R + O + MA	7. O + M + AR	13. M + A + RO	19. A + R + OM
2. R + O + AM	8. O + M + RA	14. M + A + OR	20. A + R + MO
3. R + M + AO	9. O + A + RM	15. M + R + OA	21. A + O + MR
4. R + M + OA	10. O + A + MR	16. M + R + AO	22. A + O + RM
5. R + A + OM	11. O + R + MA	17. M + O + AR	23. A + M + RO
6. R + A + MO	12. O + R + AM	18. M + O + RA	24. A + M + OR

Que l'on prenne plus de 4 lettres, le procédé reste le même: il faut établir des colonnes en fonction du nombre de lettres, puis réduire de manière systématique et ordonnée les possibilités dans chaque colonne, jusqu'à ce qu'il ne reste que 2 lettres permutable. Mersenne est allé jusqu'à énumérer d'une manière semblable les 40.320 permutations possibles de 8 notes, en les numérotant. La méthode est tellement sûre, qu'il est possible de calculer quel ordonnancement correspond à tel numéro, ou quel numéro est à attribuer à tel ordonnancement.²⁰

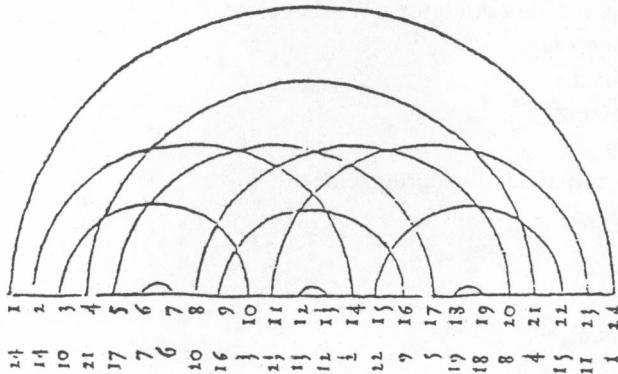
Lorsqu'il s'agit des lettres de l'alphabet, les énumérations exhaustives ne tiennent évidemment pas compte du caractère signifiant des combinaisons, ni de la qualité sonore des séquences. Tout en donnant ses listes de permutations pour des éloges, Puteanus souligne et analyse lui-même la cacophonie de certaines d'entre elles, liée à des hiatus ou la succession d'un trop grand nombre de consonnes. Même à travers des permutations 'monstrueuses' Puteanus prétend pourtant faire l'éloge de ROME, 'la reine des villes', ou, ailleurs, de PLATON, le roi des philosophes, dont le nom se prête à 120 permutations.²¹ C'est qu'il distingue une forme de beauté musicale dans les effets formels de la seule énumération méthodique. Car dans une série exhaustive de permutations, chaque terme apparaît nécessairement avec son palindrome, et la place des palindromes dans un dénombrement méthodique, comme dans le tableau ci-dessus, comporte des propriétés remarquables:

²⁰ Cf. E. Coumet, 'Mersenne: dénombrements, répertoires, numérotations de permutations'.

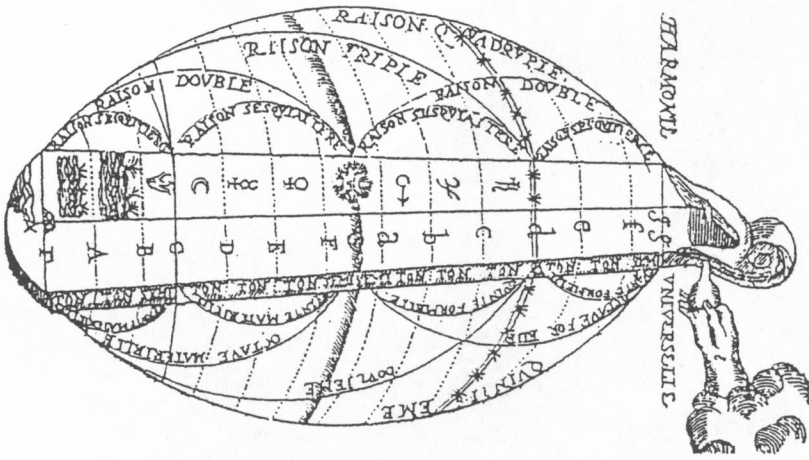
²¹ Ici, lorsqu'intervient le non-signifiant (ROAM, PATOL), parfois à peine prononçable (RMOA, PTLAO), et que la décomposition n'aboutit pas à une ressuscitation sous forme de recombinaison signifiante, la transformation anagrammatique revêt le plus nettement l'aspect sacrificiel que lui reconnaît Baudrillard (*L'Echange symbolique et la mort* (Paris: Gallimard, 1976), pp. 290-291), lorsqu'il voit dans la pratique de l'anagramme, l'équivalent symbolique d'une 'mise à mort du dieu ou du héros dans le sacrifice', 'dépecé, dispersé en ses éléments phonématiques'.

- 1 et 24 (les extrêmes) sont les miroirs l'un de l'autre, tout comme 12 et 13 (le milieu), 6 et 7 (le milieu de la série 1-12), 18 et 19 (le milieu de la série 13-24);
- d'autres palindromes se disposent de manière symétrique autour des trois centres: 2-14 répond à 11-23, 3-10 à 15 et 22;
- les palindromes restants, 4 et 21, 5 et 17, 8 et 20, 9 et 16 coupent à des intervalles réguliers l'ensemble de la série.

Puteanus représente le tout dans le schéma suivant:



La parenté métaphorico-iconique de ce schéma avec les divisions harmoniques d'une corde, telles que Mersenne les illustre dans son *Harmonie universelle* ne laisse aucun doute:



Ainsi, la recherche théorique même aboutit à, ou se combine avec, la recherche d'un plaisir qui se situe uniquement dans l'étalement spatial d'une disposition structurée, indifférente au sens, enchaînant même les permutations dépourvues de signification comme des perles 'baroques' dans un collier aux chatoiements à la fois bariolés et calculés. L'ingéniosité baroque tire un feu d'artifice à partir de ce que Puteanus lui-même appelle, au début de l'opuscule, une *sterilis materia*.

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THE WORKS OF ERYCIUS PUTEANUS PUBLISHED BY THE
OFFICINA PLANTINIANA IN ANTWERP

In this contribution I would like to examine in detail those works by Erycius Puteanus that were published by the Officina Plantiniana. Because so many of the records of the Plantin Press are still preserved, I will be able to discuss the printing process, the illustration, and the sale of Puteanus's works. I will complement this with information from the correspondence between Puteanus and the managers of the Plantin Press that is similarly preserved in the Plantin-Moretus Museum. Although letters were exchanged for many years, this correspondence is regrettably not very extensive. In particular, few of the letters Puteanus wrote to Balthasar Moretus I are preserved: just eight letters from the period 1615 to 1618. Copies of letters written to Puteanus are more numerous, namely, twenty-two that date from 1601 to 1643. Despite the unevenness in the preserved information, an examination of the production and sale of Puteanus's works by the Plantin Press nevertheless reveals some lesser known aspects of Puteanus and the reception of his books.

It would be difficult to claim that the Plantin Press played an important role in the publication of Erycius Puteanus's works. Aside from the two editions of the *Lipsiommema anniversarium sive Iusti Lipsii V. C. laudatio funebris*, which were published under Jan Moretus I in 1607 and, following his death, in 1613 under Balthasar I and Jan Moretus II, Puteanus had just three other texts published by the Plantin Press. The subject of each of these three works is the adoration of the Virgin. Specifically, the *Pietatis thaumata in Bernardi Bauhusii e Societate Iesu proteum parthenium* appeared in 1617, followed one year later by *De annunciatione Virginis Matris oratio*, and finally, the *Diva virgo Bellifontana in Sequanis: loci ac pietatis descriptio*, which was printed in 1631.

It is, actually, not so surprising that Puteanus had only these works on the Virgin published by the Plantin Press. Following the death of Christopher Plantin in 1589, his successors, the Raphelengii in Leiden

and the Moretuses in Antwerp, had agreed that in the future the Leiden Press would dedicate itself to the publication of “des auteurs bonarum literarum,” while the Antwerp Press would publish primarily religious and, in particular, liturgical works. In the course of the 17th century, the output of the Plantin Press in Antwerp became increasingly dominated by the production of religious texts. The main exception to this agreement was the publication of numerous editions of Justus Lipsius’s works which were produced primarily by Jan Moretus I.

It is true that in 1605 Puteanus did inquire whether Jan Moretus I would want to publish his works. Puteanus’s proposal was rejected, however. Indeed, Jan Moretus I informed Puteanus on 23 June 1605 that he did not want to offend the successors of Andreas Wechel by taking their author away. For, between 1601 and 1606, the Wechel Press had published several of Puteanus’s texts.¹ It would be better, Moretus wrote, if Puteanus continued to have his works produced there with the same letters and design (just as Moretus did for Lipsius’s works).² As is known, Puteanus did not follow this advice and, from 1606 onwards, had his texts printed by publishers in Leuven.

From what can be deduced from the archives, there were already, however, initial contacts between Puteanus and the Plantin Press around 1600. From a draft of a letter of 20 June 1601 written by Jan Moretus I, it appears that Puteanus (who was still in Milan at that time) had, without being asked, sent 137 copies of his *Panegyricus, praesidi, senatuiq(ue) Mediolanensi dictus* (Milan, Pandulphus Malatesta, 1601; BB IV p. 754 P-136) to Jan Moretus at the Frankfurt bookfair. Jan Moretus indicated that he was not exactly pleased with this — it was impossible to sell the book in Frankfurt because the Italian booksellers had an overabundance of copies. Furthermore, Moretus was not accustomed to sell books from other publishers at the bookfair. As he noted, if he had wanted to buy it he could have easily purchased a number of copies from

¹ See, e.g., *Genealium sermonum liber*, 1602 (BB IV p. 751 P-130); *Musathena*, 1602 (BB IV pp. 756-757 P-142); and *De Erycio nomine syntagma*, 1606 (BB IV p. 762 P-156). The impressum of all three editions is: “Hanoviae, typis Wechelianis, apud Claudium Marnium & heredes Io. Aubrii”. BB = F. Vander Haeghen - M.-T. Lenger, *Bibliotheca Belgica: Bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas*, 7 vols (Brussels, 1964-1975).

² “Haud de bonitate libri diffido. Absit. Sed Wechelis haud libenter videar eripere id lucelli. Qui enim alia tua opuscula edidere suo et publico bono. Merentur et hoc ipsum, ut tua pariter omnia ab iisdem sint typis eademque forma?” (Plantin-Moretus Museum, Archive 12, *Copie de lettres de Jean Moretus I, 1598-1607*, fol. 277). Henceforth, all references to archives in the Plantin-Moretus Museum will be cited as MPM, Arch. followed by the catalogue number.

the Italian dealers there. Jan Moretus accepted Puteanus's shipment nevertheless, but requested that Puteanus take the copies back as soon as there was a shortage of them in Milan.³ The copies indeed proved to be impossible to sell, for a few years later, in September 1608, there is a reference in the account books to the return to Puteanus of 112 copies of his *Panegyricus*.⁴

Lipsius's succession by Puteanus was naturally a sensitive point for Balthasar Moretus I, who had rather ambiguous feelings about Puteanus. In response to a letter of 12 May 1606 from his cousin Franciscus Raphelengius II regarding the reaction in the Northern Netherlands to the succession, Moretus wrote that Puteanus was the best choice, but only because no one else was available: "Sed quid agas in inopia hac bonorum, nisi meliorem ut eligas?" He continued: "O Batavi nostram et antiquam religionem sapiant! Baudios, Heinsios, Grotios prae quovis Puteano amemus."⁵ The scandal that erupted in 1607 following the publication of Puteanus's books *De conviviorum luxu epistola* and *Iuventutis laudatio Belgicae* did not improve Balthasar Moretus's opinion of Puteanus. In a letter of 19 April 1608 to Petrus Pantinus he reproached Puteanus for being foolish and thoughtless in the matter.⁶

By this time, the Moretuses had already printed the *Iusti Lipsii sapientiae et litterarum antistitis fama postuma* (published in the middle of March 1607), together with such supplementary pieces as Gaugericus Rivius's *Iusti Lipsii principatus litterarius*, and Heribertus Rosweyde's *Iusto Lipsio inferiae Iosepho Scaligero vindiciae a Leydensibus*

³ "Panegyrici tui exemplaria filius meus Francfurti in nundinis accepit, nec vendidit quia Itali bibliopola eodem abundarent. Nec moris alioqui nobis, alienos libros venum in iis nundinis exponere, sed nostras, hoc est, typis nostris excusos. Itaque nimis multa huic Belgio misisti, et suffecissent viginti aut circiter exemplaria prout nunc librorum, audi et musarum amantes Belgae, in difficili hoc et diurno bello. Atque adeo quot nobis opus librorum tuorum exemplaria, facile nobis ab Italis bibliopolis Francfurti comparare quemadmodum haud ita pridem Palladem tuam et Reliquias convivii prisci. Nihilominus missa Panegyrici exemplaria acceptavi, licet distrahendi spes haud affulgeat. At si forte isthic aliquando egebis, ut est argumentum ditioni vestrae, Mediolanensi magis proprio libens remisero." (MPM Arch. 12, *Copie de lettres de Jean Moretus I, 1598-1607*, fol. 158).

⁴ MPM Arch. 127, *Grand livre du soleil 1600-1608*, fol. 299.

⁵ Letter to Franciscus Raphelengius II of 27 May 1606 (MPM Arch. 12, *Copie de lettres de Jean Moretus I, 1598-1607*, fol. 320).

⁶ MPM Arch. 135, *Brieven 1607-1615 Latinae*, fols. 21-23. Also preserved in the Plantin-Moretus Museum is a transcription of a note Puteanus wrote to bishop Bergaigne, conveying his apologies for the publication of *De conviviorum luxu* (MPM Arch. 1217, *Varia: imprimerie*, fol. 3).

academicis datae. Puteanus's commemorative lecture, however, which was given on 23 March 1607, the anniversary of Lipsius's death, appeared separately at the end of June under the title *Lipsiomnema anniversarium sive Iusti Lipsii V.C. laudatio funebris*. This was Puteanus's first work to be printed by the Moretuses. A couple of short letters from Balthasar Moretus I regarding this edition are preserved. In the first, Moretus informs Puteanus of a few "corrections" that he had made, such as the replacement of the word "interpugendum," a word that he had never seen before, with "interpungendum." On 30 June, Balthasar Moretus was able to provide Puteanus with twelve complete copies, but he informed him that he had taken out the anagram that Puteanus had included because scholars in the Northern Netherlands would make fun of it.⁷

Little correspondence remains from the next several years. Jan Moretus had passed away in 1610 and the Plantin Press was being managed by Balthasar I and Jan Moretus II. Three letters from 1615 are preserved in which Puteanus asked for a complete copy of the royal privilege that had previously been awarded to Lipsius.⁸

More correspondence remains regarding the publication by the Plantin Press of Puteanus's book, the *Pietatis thaumata in Bernardi Bauhusii e Societate Iesu proteum parthenium*, which appeared in 1617 (BB IV pp. 782-783 P-207). This work was inspired by Bernardus Bauhusius's verse "Tot tibi sunt dotes, Virgo, quot sidera caelo," which was included in his *Epigrammatum selectorum libri V*, published by the Moretuses in 1616. Puteanus was struck in particular by this verse and consequently wanted to publish a commentary on it. His *Pietatis thaumata* is composed of two parts: in the first part all 1,022 possible combinations of the words from Bernardus Bauhusius's verse are printed.

⁷ MPM Arch. 12, *Copies de lettres de Jean Moretus I, 1598-1607*, fols. 353 and 356. Also preserved in the Plantin-Moretus Museum is a letter from Erycius Puteanus to Joannes Woverius regarding the second edition of the *Lipsiomnema anniversarium sive Iusti Lipsii V.C. laudatio funebris*, which was now included in the *Iusti Lipsii sapientiae et litterarum antistitis fama postuma* published by Balthasar I and Jan Moretus II in 1613. In this letter Puteanus informed Woverius about his requests for the new edition regarding, e.g., the layout of the dedication to George of Austria or the spelling of ii and ij (Leuven, 26 March 1612; MPM Arch. 91, *Recueils de lettres Pesnot-Puteanus*, fols. 567-568).

⁸ MPM, Arch. 91, *Recueils de lettres Pesnot-Puteanus*, fols. 569-572 (Puteanus to Balthasar I and Jan Moretus II, 30 June 1615); MPM Arch. 135, *Litterae Latinae 1607-1615*, fol. 256 (Balthasar Moretus I to Puteanus, 3 July 1615); and MPM, Arch. 91, *Recueils de lettres Pesnot-Puteanus*, fols. 573-576 (Puteanus to Balthasar Moretus I, 20 August 1615).

The second part of this work comprises Puteanus's commentary. He sub-divided his commentary according to the twenty-four "thaumata" (wonders), which are ordered according to the letters from the Greek alphabet. In his letter of 3 February 1617, Puteanus asked Balthasar I and Jan Moretus II if his commentary could also be printed at the Plantin Press. Puteanus employed all possible forms of flattery when addressing the Moretuses in this letter: "Quia Diva Virgo laudabatur, non admirari Proteum non potui. Sed quia vestris, id est scitissimis et correctissimis, typis sciebam producendum, maiori scribendi desiderio stimulatus sum. Ac sane flagitabatur, et adhuc flagitatur a me istud Bauhusianum carminis miraculum, quomodo igitur producendum? Ut adorasse Virginem, ut aestimasse officinam vestram videar."⁹

Balthasar accepted Puteanus's offer. He told him that his text would be printed with the same letters and layout as that used for Lipsius's *Diva Virgo Hallensis* and *Diva Sichemiensis*, so that the *Pietatis thaumata* could be added as a supplement to them.¹⁰ A few weeks later in March 1617, after Moretus had read Puteanus's work, he sent Puteanus a letter with a few comments on it. Moretus appears to have read it very thoroughly and his remarks attest to the great extent of his knowledge of not only Greek and Latin, but also classical authors. He mentioned, for example, Puteanus's incorrect use of accents on Greek enclytica and an imperfect citation of a verse from Homer (δένδρον had to be replaced by δένδρεον).¹¹ Although Balthasar Moretus was also highly critical of the work he published of other authors and sent lists of comments, I cannot help but wonder if he did this with greater pleasure in the case of Puteanus. The work was thus ready to be printed except for the privilege that still had to arrive from Brussels. Balthasar Moretus wrote that if it was not sent soon he would simply add some date to the privilege himself. And although Puteanus wrote in a letter of 24 March that he had resolved the matter in Brussels with Hermannus Hugo, it appears that Moretus nevertheless had the work printed with a fictitious date.¹² For,

⁹ MPM, Arch. 91, *Recueils de lettres Pesnot-Puteanus*, fols. 577-580.

¹⁰ "Proteum Bauhusianum, tuo praeconio et insigni Thaumatum alphabeto illustratum, libenter vidimus, legimus; ab eruditione et elegantia, sed in primis pietate et in divam Virginem affectu, probavimus" (15 February 1617; MPM Arch. 136, 1615-1623. *Latinae*, fol. 90).

¹¹ MPM Arch. 136, 1615-1623. *Latinae*, fol. 95.

¹² See a letter from Balthasar Moretus I to Puteanus of 21 March 1617 (MPM Arch. 136, 1615-1623. *Latinae*, fol. 98), and one from Puteanus to Balthasar Moretus I of 24 March 1617 (MPM Arch. 91, *Recueils de lettres Pesnot-Puteanus*, fols. 585-588).

the date of the privilege in the printed copies of the book is 30 March, while the date in the original document is 29 March.¹³ They ultimately differed by just one day, but still....

Payments made to the compositors and pressmen responsible for this work run from 4 March through 1 April 1617. The text was composed by Jan Perra, while Augustin Lefebvre and Joos Pauwelsen saw to the printing of it.¹⁴ In total, 1,275 copies were printed (which was a normal quantity for this sort of work).¹⁵

An engraving (73 x 98 mm) with an image of the *Virgin and Child* surrounded by stars was printed on the title page, below which is a banderole with the verse "Tot tibi sunt dotes, Virgo, quot sidera caelo." I was unable to determine who had engraved this plate. The printing of it was done by the Galle atelier, upon which the Plantin Press usually relied for the printing of their engraved book illustrations during the 17th century.¹⁶

As soon as the work was completed, it was sent to the Frankfurt bookfair. The shipment of 250 copies was recorded on 5 April 1617 in the account book for that year.¹⁷ Bernardus Bauhusius was given a large number of copies from both Puteanus and Balthasar Moretus (namely, 25 copies from both men). A few other important individuals and friends also received a copy, including Joannes Woverius and Leonardus Lessius. The *Thaumata* sold very well during the first six months, after which copies were sold only sporadically. Copies were sent primarily to booksellers in the Southern Netherlands, but also in not insubstantial quantities to France, Italy, and England, as well as to the Northern Netherlands, including to the Van Ravelingen. In total, it appears that in the first six months 638 copies of the *Thaumata* were sold or given away as gifts. Additional copies must have been sold from time to time, for in 1630 only 263 copies were listed as being in stock.¹⁸

¹³ MPM Arch. 1179, *Privilèges plantiniens*, no. 434.

¹⁴ MPM Arch. 785, *Ouvriers 1610-1622*, fols. 83 (for the printing) and 88 (for the setting).

¹⁵ MPM Arch. M 39, *Catalogue des éditions plantiniennes 1590-1651*, fol. 24v°: "1275 [ex.] Thaumata in Bauhusii Protheum Parthenium 4^{to} fin carre f. 14½ st. 11."

¹⁶ Payments were made to the Galle atelier between 5 October 1616 and 29 May 1617 for the printing of "1275 bladers met de titel L. vrou met sternem" [1275 sheets with the title the Virgin with stars] (MPM Arch. 123, *Graveurs I. Galle. 1600-1692*, fol. 53v°).

¹⁷ MPM Arch. 224, *Journal 1617*, fol. 53r°.

¹⁸ MPM Arch. 109bis, *Vente de livres, 1630-1638*, fol. 91.

In the following year Puteanus's second work on the Virgin to be published by the Plantin Press appeared under the title *De annunciatione Virginis Matris oratio* (BB IV p. 785 P-214). It was the text of a lecture that he gave in Leuven on 26 March 1618. By this time, however, circumstances had changed significantly for Balthasar Moretus, for on 11 March 1618 his brother Jan Moretus II had died. It was a severe blow for him that nearly led him to close the Press. It was, consequently, a very somber letter that Balthasar sent to Puteanus on 30 April to ask that the publication of this oration be postponed. In Jan Cnobbaert's collection of letters from Puteanus (the *Epistolarum apparatus novus*, published in 1637), there is an undated letter from Puteanus to Moretus in which he consoles him on the death of his brother. But Puteanus gave Moretus little time to mourn, for as early as 21 May he sent an exuberant report on a visit to his residence made by the archduke and archduchess. On this occasion, Isabella had inquired if it would be possible for her to obtain a copy of his *De annunciatione Virginis Matris oratio*. That was impossible. "Ego excusavi," Puteanus wrote to Moretus, "hactenus excudi non potuisse, ob mortem Io. Moreti fratris tui. Solos autem Plantinianos typos dignos esse Principum oculis: non aliis etiam literis laudes D. Virginis excudi debere. Nunc te rogo igitur denuo, ut affectum tuum erga ipsos Principes nostros hac occasione ostendas. Paucorum dierum ingens beneficium erit. Ego industriam tuam, elegantiam, eruditionem apud ipsos Principes amico affectu extollam."¹⁹ What Puteanus did not know at the time, was that his text had already been printed, for the last payment for the printing of it dates from 19 May 1618. It was, however, a few weeks later, on 23 June, that the Galle atelier was paid for the printing of "noch een tytel passer in 4° erici puteani de anontiatione virginis matris oratio 525" [...a compass for the title page in 4° of Erycius Puteanus, the anontiatione virginis matris oratio].²⁰ Puteanus's text was published together with Carolus Scribani's *In annunciationem Dei Matris votiva gratulatio*. A total of 525 copies were printed of both works.²¹

As mentioned above, no later letters from Puteanus to Balthasar Moretus I are preserved in the Plantin archives, while only a few copies

¹⁹ MPM Arch. 91, *Recueils de lettres Pesnot-Puteanus*, fol. 593.

²⁰ MPM Arch. 123, *Graveurs I. Galle. 1600-1692*, fol. 54r°.

²¹ MPM Arch. M 39, *Catalogue des éditions plantiniennes 1590-1651*, fol. 25r°: "525 [ex.] Erycii Puteani Oratio de annunciatione in 4°; 525 [ex.] Caroli Scribani e Soc. Jesu de eadem [for the two editions together:] f. 9 fig. aeneae duae st. 8."

of letters from Moretus to Puteanus remain. These pertain primarily to the shipment of books to Puteanus or the production of the Officina Plantiniana (for example, regarding Haraeus's *Annales* from the early 1620s), or Balthasar Moretus's recommendation of the young poet Mascardus to Puteanus. The limited time here does not allow for a more detailed analysis of this material.

Puteanus's last work to be published by the Plantin Press was his *Diva virgo Bellifontana in Sequanis: loci ac pietatis descriptio*, which appeared in August 1631 (BB IV p. 798 P-248). The origin of this book goes back, however, to Puteanus's work on the Virgin of Scherpenheuvel, *Diva virgo Aspricollis, beneficia eius & miracula novissima*, which was published in 1622 in Leuven by Henricus Haestenius and Petrus Zangrius and was intended to supplement Justus Lipsius's *Diva Sichemiensis* (BB III p. 1012 L-396). In appreciation of Puteanus's work on the 1622 publication, Joannes Bouckaert, the priest of Scherpenheuvel at the time, had given Puteanus a sculpture of the Virgin that had been cut from the holy oak tree of Scherpenheuvel. Puteanus gave the sculpture in turn to Philippe Chifflet, the chaplain of the Archduchess Isabella. Chifflet, who became the prior of Bellefontaine in Emagny (Franche Comté) in 1628, had the sculpture placed in his priory of Bellefontaine. It was rumored that miracles were performed by the Virgin there; consequently, Bellefontaine gained in importance as a pilgrimage spot.

The initiative for the publication of Puteanus's *Diva virgo Bellifontana* ultimately came from Julius and Jean Chifflet, cousins of Philippe Chifflet, who also wrote the foreword for Puteanus's text. Puteanus's role was limited, in fact, to the delivery of his text, while the actual layout of the book was determined by Balthasar Moretus and Philippe Chifflet; for, Balthasar Moretus published Puteanus's text together with Philippe Chifflet's *Histoire du prieuré Nostre Dame de Bellefontaine au comté de Bourgogne*. Although both works had a distinct title page, they were clearly regarded as a single publication.²²

The manuscript of Puteanus's text that Moretus received had been so poorly transcribed that he asked Chifflet in a letter of 28 May 1631 to obtain Puteanus's original manuscript ("exemplar autem satis vitiose ab amanuensi descriptum; velim ampl. dni. Puteani manum videre, e qua

²² This is evident from the quotation of the edition in MPM Arch. M 39, *Catalogue des éditions plantiniennes 1590-1651*, fol. 34r^o: "775 [ex.] Erycii Puteani diva virgo Bellifontana in 4° f. 13½ et 5 fig. aen. st. 14". This also includes Chifflet's text because the listed number of 13½ sheets of paper and 5 engravings must refer to both works.

emendem").²³ This is, most likely, the manuscript that is still preserved in the Plantin-Moretus Museum that consists of Puteanus's text up until chapter XI.²⁴

In the same letter Moretus informed Chifflet that the format of the book had to be based upon the scale of the plate that had already been engraved. Most likely he was referring to the image of the sculpture of the Virgin included in this publication. In addition to the small engraving of the Virgin and child with an angel on either side that was printed on the title pages introducing both Puteanus's and Chifflet's texts, both works contain an engraving of the Virgin of Bellefontaine. A distich by Puteanus was included below this image. In a letter of 19 July 1631 to Philippe Chifflet, Moretus wrote that this distich had finally been re-engraved, which was necessary because the verses had originally been poorly engraved into the plate with which he had been provided.²⁵ In the same letter Moretus also gave Chifflet a choice regarding the engraving for the title page: either an illustration with the coat of arms of the priory of Bellefontaine, or an image of the Virgin. As is revealed by the extant copies of this work, Chifflet preferred the last option. On 9 and 16 August 1631, the Galle atelier was paid for the printing of these engravings.²⁶

Puteanus's portion of this text contains one last engraving, namely, one with the coat of arms of Ferdinand d'Andelot, to whom the book is dedicated. Puteanus's text does indeed conclude with two letters from 1631 from Puteanus to Philippe Chifflet regarding the coat of arms of d'Andelot. It was not until the middle of August 1631 that Moretus wrote Chifflet that he had received these letters from Puteanus and that he would add them to quire H (the last quire of that part of the book)

²³ MPM Arch. 144, *Copie de lettres 1628-1633*, fol. 194.

²⁴ M 165 (Denucé 482).

²⁵ MPM Arch. 144, *Copie de lettres 1628-1633*, fol. 207.

²⁶ There are payments to the Galle atelier on 9 August 1631 for the printing of "tytel in 4° Eriçi Puteani de virgo bellefontana 775 bladers Latijn en noch int selve boeck ons L.V. bellefontana 775 bl. te samen 1550 bl. a 16 sts. 12 [fl.] 8" [title in 4° Eriçi Puteani de virgo bellefontana 775 sheets Latin and also in the same book our Lady bellefontana 775 sheets is together 1550 sheets for 16 stuivers [per hundred comes to] 12 [fl.] 8], and on 16 August 1631 for the printing of "tytel in 4° histoire nostre dame de bellefontana 775 bladers int Frans, int selve boeck ons L.V. de bellefont. 775 bla. te samen 1550 b. a 16 sts 12 [fl.] 8" [title in 4° histoire nostre dame de bellefontana 775 sheets in French, in the same book of our Lady de bellefont. 775 sheets is together 1550 sheets for 16 stuivers [per hundred comes to] 12 [fl.] 8 (Arch. 123, *Graveurs I. Galle. 1600-1692*, fol. 78v°).

before the approbation so that the entire quire would not have to be reprinted.²⁷

The entire work was, in fact, devoted to the eulogy of Philippe Chifflet. After his role was extensively described by Puteanus in his own text, numerous poems in honor of Chifflet were included at the end of the work (pp. 43-58): there were, for example, poems from Antonius Sanderus, Puteanus's son Justus Caecilius, Godefridus Wendelinus..., and thereafter from Chifflet's relatives Constantius, Guido, Humbertus, Jean-Jacques, Petrus Franciscus, Laurentius, Julius, and Jean. A poem by the priest Sebastianus Guilielmus ends the series.

In order to reduce the possibility of poor sales, Moretus had insisted that Philippe Chifflet buy up as many copies as he could. Of the 775 copies, 100 were sent to Chifflet as soon as the printing had been completed, while another unspecified number of copies were set aside for him for his next visit to Antwerp.²⁸ By the end of 1635, 563 copies had been sold.²⁹ After this publication of the *Diva virgo Bellifontana*, the correspondence between Puteanus and Balthasar Moretus I virtually came to an end.

To conclude I would like to present a fragment from a letter Puteanus wrote to Balthasar Moretus II, no later than December 1643, and which was included in a collection of Puteanus's letters that appeared in Leuven in 1662 (*Erycii Puteani... epistolarum apparatus posthumus* (ed. A. Milserus), Leuven, Andreas Bouvetus, 1662, pp. 153-154; the original is not preserved in the Plantin-Moretus Museum):

Scythia, non Belga sim, celeberrime vir, nisi Plantinianam colam officinam; Barbarus, non philologus, nisi cultus huius caussas in expenso habeam... Lipsiomnema meum, Thaumata pietatis, Oratio de annunciatione virginis matris, Diva Bellifontana: in quae singularem industriam celeberrimus ille patruus tuus Balthasar Moretus contulit. Quis elegantior, nitidior, magnificentior? Hunc amisimus; sed quia aemula tu eum nobis, et innata generositae exprimis, Officinae haeres, amississe non videmur. Idem nomen, idem genius, eadem omnia, sive eruditionem, sive famam spectem.

²⁷ Letter of 14 August 1631 (MPM Arch. 144, *Copie de lettres 1628-1633*, fol. 213).

²⁸ "Centum mitto exemplaria; alia in adventum tuum parata hic erunt" (letter of 21 August 1631; MPM Arch. 144, *Copie de lettres 1628-1633*, fol. 214).

²⁹ MPM Arch. 109bis, *Vente de livres 1630-1638*, fol. 91.

Having thus examined the working relationship between Puteanus and the managers of the Plantin Press in general and Balthasar Moretus I in particular, my impression is that following initially somewhat strained dealings, these two men ultimately learned to respect each other's position, but were never able to establish a truly amicable relationship.

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A BALANCE OF EXTREMES: THE STYLISTICS OF ERYCIUS PUTEANUS

1. Introduction

Erycius Puteanus cannot be blamed for being partial in his interests. Philology, history, mathematics, numismatics, astronomy and politics are but a few of his many interests. That his contemporaries also recognized Puteanus' breadth of knowledge is clear from the existence of a correspondence with hundreds of scholars all over Europe. It is this correspondence which helps us to gain a good insight into Puteanus' ideas on writing and style. But it is not only in those letters that his poetics can be found. Puteanus also expressed his ideas in a number of brief treatises, dealing mostly with stylistic features. Among these treatises his eulogies on Laconism (among others *De laconismo syntagma* of 1606) are certainly not the least interesting.¹ Furthermore, many of the more than hundred and fifty prefaces and dedications in his publications give us an impression of his literary ideas.² The image thus created is that of an author who clings to often

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¹ Recent books which discuss Puteanus' views on style are: B. Bauer, *Jesuitische 'ars rhetorica' im Zeitalter der Glaubenskämpfe* (Frankfurt/M., Bern, New York, 1986), pp. 410-413; C. Mouchel, *Cicéron et Sénèque dans la rhétorique de la Renaissance* (Marburg, 1990), pp. 218ff., 536; and J. Jansen, *Brevitas. Beschouwingen over de beknoptheid van vorm en stijl in de renaissance* (Hilversum, 1995), pp. 226-232.

² Most of Puteanus' letters — we may assume — were published in the seventeenth century. They were published in various formats from the *Epistolarum promulsis* (Frankfurt, 1601) to the substantial, posthumous *Epistolarum Atticarum missus secundi* (1663). These publications can serve only partly to gain insight in an actual *exchange* of letters, since only the letters by Puteanus himself are published. For those who want to learn about Puteanus' ideas on style from prefaces, his *Pompa Prosphonetica* is particularly interesting. This booklet, which was published in Louvain in 1639 by Everardus de Witte, contains more than a hundred of the most interesting prefaces by Puteanus which had

original and interesting ideas on style with a certain wilfulness. His views on Laconism have recently begun to attract attention, yet Puteanus' contemporaries already considered them worth their attention even more. In this article I would like to discuss how Puteanus presented his views on extreme brevity in style, which he developed in the first decade of the seventeenth century, as well as how, after many critical reactions, he attempted to make his views acceptable in his further writings on poetics.

2. Laconism

Modern literary historians regularly emphasize Puteanus' fascination for conciseness and Laconism. In his captivating book *Cicéron et Sénèque dans la rhétorique de la Renaissance* (1990), Christian Mouchel for instance explains Puteanus' philosophical grounds for his interpretation of the 'Laconic system'. His desire for conciseness, Mouchel explains, did not result from a depreciation of Cicero's *compositio verborum*, nor from a neglect of the *verba*, as has been supposed. Instead, Puteanus considered brevity as a suitable means to convey intellectual knowledge (*ingenium*) of the author to the reader or listener. The wording (*verba*) functioned as a kind of intermediary between this *ingenium* and the matters to be presented, the *res*.³ Puteanus' choice for a terse and sinewy verbal presentation had everything to do with the assumed persuasiveness (*Suada*) of conciseness in this kind of conveyance of knowledge.

The supremacy of brevity did not exclude appreciation of Cicero in other respects. Puteanus especially admired the persuasive power of the Roman orator.⁴ In his own view the maximum of persuasiveness was

been published until then; *Pompa Prosphonetica, sive Praefationum syntagma: Quarum singulae singulis libris, hactenus editis dedicatisque, praefixae* (Louvain, 1639).

³ Mouchel, *Cicéron et Sénèque dans la rhétorique de la Renaissance*, pp. 218-235; cf. also p. 448, note 328.

⁴ See Jansen, *Brevitas*, p. 682, note 35. The preference for a special form of *brevitas* which Puteanus shows in almost all of his works, does not at all imply a complete rejection of (aspects of) Cicero's manner of speaking, but rather of the (bad) imitators of Cicero (the 'Tulliani'), who produced nothing but enormously long sentences. See Jansen, *Brevitas*, p. 836, note 85. It is therefore wrong to simply draw the conclusion that Puteanus' conciseness of style is a demonstration of an anti-ciceronian attitude. Cf. Th. Simar, *Étude sur Erycius Puteanus (1574-1646)* (Louvain, 1909), p. 139, note 2: 'Il est à remarquer que Puteanus, un anticiceronien par excellence, n'ose pas au début de son professorat se déclarer ouvertement contre Cicéron...'. This has however little to do with the fact that Puteanus is only starting his career. In later work he also mentions an 'Aurea Ciceronis monumenta nunquam satis commendam' (epist. VII, probably 1615, addressed

achieved if the vigorous, terse and powerful expression required by the richness of ideas (*copiosa mens*),⁵ was dressed up with wit and elegance: 'Multa paucis dicere, sed cum sale et venustate, Laconicum est' — Saying much with a few words, yet with wit and elegance; that is Laconic.⁶ Prototypes of Laconism were the well-known concise answers of the Spartans, who granted their opponents nothing but a powerful and impressive 'yes', 'no' or 'if'.

Obviously, not all conciseness was appropriate. Puteanus disdained the dry, poor and unadorned brevity (the 'sicca, sterilis, nuda' *brevitas*). Because of his fear of empty words,⁷ he preferred a brevity based on the Attic style⁸ and combined a minimum of words with a maximum of

to Arnoldus Megenus, 'propinquo suo' (In *Epistolarum selectarum apparatus miscellaneus et novus; officia familiaria, negotia, studia, continens. In centurias distributus* (Cologne, 1663), p. 6). More important to note is that the text Simar is talking about is a small manual for students of the Palatine school in Milan, which provides a summary of, among other things, the most important ideas in Aristotle's *Rhetorica*, Cicero's *De oratore* and Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria*.

⁵ Persuasiveness is not to be found in the number of words, but in their power of expression and their meaning ('non multitudine, sed robore & vi verborum obtinenda') (*De laconismo syntagma* (Louvain, 1609), p. 30). Cf. also *Epistolarum Atticarum missus secundi, in centurias tres divisi: Jam verò Centuria Singularem & novā aucti* (Cologne, 1663), p. 26 (Cent. I, epist. XVII to Jo. Baptista Saccus, 30th of November, 1607): '(...) Qui facit summa, non sine Laconismo loquitur: in verbis etiam arma admiramur' (*transl.*: 'Who aims for the best, does not speak without Laconism: in words we also admire a clash of arms'). Cf. Jansen, *Brevitas*, pp. 429-432.

⁶ E. Puteanus, *De laconismo syntagma* (Louvain, 1609), p. 24. Cf. Mouchel, *Cicéron et Sénèque dans la rhétorique de la Renaissance*, pp. 223, 226-227; Jansen, *Brevitas*, p. 228.

⁷ As D. Erasmus had already reminded his readers in his *Lingua* (in ASD IV-1A, 40): 'Inter omnia dicendi genera laudatissimum est quod Atticum appellant, quod id longissime recedat ab inani tumultu verborum...' (*transl.*: 'Among all the various types of style, the one called the "Attic" is the most laudable, because it is furthest removed from empty noise of words').

⁸ E. Puteanus, *Suada Attica, Sive Orationum selectarum syntagma. Item Palaestra Bonae Mentis, prorsus innovata. Editio ultima, emendatissima* (Amsterdam 1644, fol. *11^v-12^r: 'Character Harum orationum'): 'Robustus malo, quam solutus esse: rem, quam verba loqui. Sed placet brevis, displicet sterilis. Brevis, quae colore quodam suo sana est, flore amoena, acumine seria, & quam Atticam possis appellare' (*transl.*: 'I would rather be firm than loose, rather present contents than words. Indeed, brevity pleases, barrenness displeases. A brevity which is healthy because of a certain colouring of its own, which is charming because of its flowering, serious because of its acuity, and which one could call "Attic"'). See on this also a number of interesting statements in the dedication of this treatise, fol. *2^v-3^r, among other things an applauded quotation from Quintilian: 'Ita enim existimo, Atticum dicendi genus & optimum esse, & nunc quoque in Schola Curiaque decore usurpari. Optimum sane Quinctilianus ipse censuit, lenissimi magister styli; imo Attice dicere, esse Optime dicere' (*transl.*: 'Since I consider the Attic style to be the best, to be used also now in schools and council meetings. Quintilian himself, master of a very moderate style, thought the Attic style the best; indeed, "speaking Attic" was "speaking best"').

ideas. In antiquity this combination was already known as *emphasis* and was considered a valued form of conciseness.⁹ It was in Laconism that Puteanus looked for and discovered his *optimus stylus*, a reliable and effective manner of expression for all subjects,¹⁰ even suited for the presentation of the poems he made for the wedding ceremony of his friend Carolus Schottus.¹¹

The philological interest in post-classical Roman authors which Puteanus' predecessor in Leuven, Justus Lipsius, nursed, as well as his related preference for concise and yet substantial language, had provoked some reactions in the *respublica litteraria*. However, the criticism that the stylistic views of Puteanus met with, was more severe. On the one hand this was because he did not have Lipsius' reputation, on the other hand because in his *De laconismo syntagma* he advocated extreme conciseness for *all* language-forms and genres. He defended his views by pointing at the contents, as well as the special form of conciseness, ingenuity and exceptional quality of his writing in his paper on Laconism. The weight (*pondus*) of quality should be given more importance than the mass (*moles*) of quantity.¹² Whereas he considered the 'mass' of a text at its best as the proof of some effort, he judged its 'weight' as a *signum ingenii*, as the proof of intellect.¹³

⁹ See, for instance, Quintilian, *Inst. orat.* VIII.3.83; Seneca, *ep.* 59 to Lucilius.

¹⁰ Mouchel, *Cicéron et Sénèque dans la rhétorique de la Renaissance*, p. 230.

¹¹ Letter to Carolus Schottus, in *Epistolarum apparatus posthumus* (Louvain, 1662), Cent. III, epist. LIII, p. 90: 'Majori certè affectu, quàm calamo, amoeniores hosce versiculos scripsi. Majore Musâ Virtutes tuae, Nobilissimaeque Sponsae dignae erant. Loquuntur omnes, an canant nescio, & tanquàm victae argumento, laconissant. Haec brevitās à mea quoque aetate ac sterilitate est, qui in senium progressus, non nisi fatum exspecto. Extuli tamen aliquam ingenii quasi debilem scintillam; ut inter illustres Nuptiarum tuarum faces, non omnino obscurus essem; pars pompae, quae laetis solet acclamationibus ornari. (...) VII Kal. Majas. ipso Nuptiarum die, 1638' (*transl.*: '(...) I have undoubtedly written these somewhat sweet verses with more passion than writing skill. Your excellent qualities and those of your very Noble Bride are worthy of a better Muse. They all speak, and whether or not they sing and are Laconic, overpowered as it were by their contents, I do not know. This is a kind of brevity caused also by my age and barrenness, coming from me who has reached old age, only waiting for death to come. Yet I have produced a weak sparkle of talent as it were, in order not to be completely dark amongst the shining torches of your wedding; part of the pomp that is usually adorned with happy cheers. (...) 25th of April, 1638, on the wedding-day itself').

¹² Similar arguments when he criticizes Tacitus. See the oratory 'In Tacitum affectus', in *Suada Attica*... (Amsterdam, 1644), p. 462; and Jansen, *Brevitas*, p. 684, note 54. See also Mouchel, *Cicéron et Sénèque dans la rhétorique de la Renaissance*, p. 448, note 328, and 230.

¹³ Erycius Puteanus, *Comus, sive Phagesiposia Cimmeria* (Louvain, 1611), pp. 79-80: 'Nostis illud meum:

Even an uneducated person can be concise. [However], he can not be a Laconicus, unless he is intelligent and experienced. 'Concise' is the one who says little; 'a Laconicus' is the one who says much with few words.¹⁴

It should be clear that the Laconic system is entirely dependent on the author's intellectual capacities, which Puteanus saw as a necessary condition for being able to put ideas into words adequately.¹⁵ For this kind of verbal accuracy Puteanus did not orientate himself towards Ciceronian eloquence. He thought that the vigour of Laconism lay in its heated, abrupt and improvised character, just as the Spartan *dicta* revealed both

Non quanta, sed quae quisque scribat, pensita.

Moles, laboris; pondus est signum ingenii:

Et vilior laboris est laus, quam ingenii.

Ego subiiciens, Rectè tu quidem mi Tabuti: ac Philotesiis meis nuper haec imprimis nota impressa est, & parvitas objecta: quem ego tamen librum argumento magnum puto, & brevitatis, acuminis, imò novitatis cuassâ (liceat dicere) applausu aliquo dignum' (*transl.*: '[Tabutius:] "You know these poems of mine:

Do not weigh how much but what somebody writes;

Mass is the proof of labour; weight the proof of intellect:

And praise for labour is worth less than praise for intellect".

I [Puteanus] replied to this: "You are very right, Tabutius, for recently my Philotesii [*Thyrsi Philotesii sive Amor laconissans* (Milan, 1604)] was given this stigma and blamed for its small size. I myself however think that this book is big because of its contents, and worthy of some applause — if I may say so — because of its brevity, acuity, yes uncommonness."'). Cf. Mouchel, *Cicéron et Sénèque dans la rhétorique de la Renaissance*, pp. 221-222 ('La masse et le poids').

¹⁴ E. Puteanus, *De laconismo syntagma* (Louvain, 1609), pp. 101-102: 'Brevis esse etiam rudis poterit; Laconicus, nisi prudens et peritus, non poterit. Brevis erit qui pauca dixerit; Laconicus, qui multa paucis'.

¹⁵ See the opening sentences of the dedication in *Suada Attica...* (Amsterdam, 1644), esp. fol. *2^{r-v}: 'Mentis lumen atque Rationis Oratio est; quam non eadem omnes ingenii face accendunt. Sed si examen instituimus, tantum unusquisque sapere videtur, quantum sive loqui potest, sive eloqui; alterum naturae beneficio, alterum disciplinae. (...) Ut sciamus sine facundia sapientiam prudentiamque nullam esse, sacro & necessario nexu in unum velut numen coalescere Mercurium Minervamque Antiquitas voluit: eadem religione oris facundi prudens ubertas Herculem Gallicum consecravit' (*transl.*: 'Language is the light of reason and mind. Not all people light this language with the same torch of intellect. But if we investigate the matter, everybody seems to know as much as he knows to speak, or present eloquently, the former through nature's blessing, the latter through the blessing of practise. (...) We are to know [cf. Cicero, *De inventione* I.1.1.] that there is no wisdom and intelligence without eloquence; the Ancients wanted Mercury and Minerva to merge into one deity through a holy and necessary knot: according to the same belief, the intelligent abundance of his speech has made the French Hercules [Henry IV] immortal'). Cf. also statements such as 'sapientiam Eloquentiae jungo' ('I join wisdom to eloquence'), often appearing in his letters (this quote being from a letter to Daniel Heinsius, 16th of May, 1611, in E. Puteanus, *Epistolarum Reliquiae. Centuria V. & Postrema* (Louvain, 1612), epist. LV, p. 64).

wisdom and talent to improvise.¹⁶ Among the ancients it was Tacitus who could serve as an example of this kind of eloquence: according to Puteanus Tacitus had brought Roman Laconism closer to wisdom: his story contains much, is rich in contents and presented in a polished conciseness of words. Rich and succinct, well-composed and true: 'Plena, & succincta; composita, & vera'.¹⁷

3. The golden mean

As I said before, Puteanus' option for a richness of ideas combined with a pregnant use of words can be labeled as *emphasis*. Christian Mouchel considered it as a mixture of Seneca's brevity and Cicero's eloquence.¹⁸ When one looks at Puteanus' views as a recipe for persuasiveness, he steers indeed a middle course between *brevitas* and *copia*, trying

¹⁶ Cf. Puteanus' *Thyrsi Philotesii, sive Amor Laconissans. Stili & Sermonis Aculei* (Louvain, 1609), epist. ded., p. 6: '(...) scriptiunculae quaedam calidae, repentinae, ac prorsus extemporaneae; ut ejusmodi dare Amicis Symbola, atque adeò nondum Amicis soleo, & velut impetu consignare' (*transl.*: 'some ardent writings, composed offhand and completely impromptu, like the ones I usually give as symbols to friends and even friends-to-be, and sign as it were with passion'). See also his elaborate reflections on improvised oratory in the dedication of *Suada Attica...* (Amsterdam, 1644), fol. *5^v-6^r: 'Ac postquam Palaestram Bonae Mentis institui, frequenti exemplo ostendere conatus sum, quid esset ex tempore dicere. (...) Atque hic tamen jucundissimus studiorum fructus est, praeclarum styli laborisque praemium, posse ex tempore dicere: non ut malit hoc semper, qui verba facturur, sed ut possit. Quid tamen est? totum illud ex tempore fusum genus, & sola cogitatione ordinatum promptumque, quia ad stylum non revocavi, frustra jam conor repraesentare' (*transl.*: 'And after I had founded the 'Palaestra Bonae Mentis', I tried to show with many examples what impromptu speaking is. (...) And this is indeed the most pleasant result of studying, the most wonderful reward of style and effort: to be able to speak 'impromptu'; and not because he who is giving a speech always prefers this, but because he is able to do it. But what happens? Because I did not recall it to the pencil, I try in vain to present this improvised type of style, organized and spoken only by thought'). Cf. also Mouchel, *Cicéron et Sénèque dans la rhétorique de la Renaissance*, p. 220.

¹⁷ E. Puteanus, 'In Tacitum affectus', in: *Suada Attica...* (Amsterdam, 1644), pp. 460-463: 'Prorsus aliorum ore, hujus mente oratio constat, & Romanum Laconismum proximum Sapientiae facit [Tacitus]. Aculei sunt, & penetrant; scintillae, & emicant. Plena narratio est, & accurato verborum compendio rerum divitias continet. Plena, & succincta; composita, & vera' (*transl.*: 'With others their speech exists totally in their mouths, with him it exists in the mind, and he has made Roman Laconism into something close to Wisdom. They are stings and they penetrate; sparks and they sparkle suddenly. The narrative is rich and contains a diversity of matters in a well-composed conciseness of words. Rich and succinct, well-composed and true').

¹⁸ Mouchel, *Cicéron et Sénèque dans la rhétorique de la Renaissance*, p. 221.

to persuade by means of succinctness and *delectatio*. This looking for the golden mean is a kind of strategy which characterizes his ideas on style. He deliberately connects *opposite* qualities of style, aiming at an alloy which fits his philosophy of *emphasis* and which can have an accepted place in his Laconic ideal. I already gave an example of such an oxymoron in the combination 'plena, & succincta' — 'rich and succinct'. Puteanus' stylistic characterizations have plenty of such oppositions. In his preface to the *Epistolarum Atticarum Promulsis*, an edition of letters published in 1616, he uses for instance the phrase 'Laconismo ornare' — 'to embellish with Laconism', thus suggesting a typical golden mean.¹⁹

Just as he did for letters, he looked for a balance of extremes for philosophical writings. In 1646 he argues this in a letter:

(...) And this genre [the philosophical] has, just like the genre of the letter, a conciser style, rather than a style full of periods, even though the language may be somewhat ornate and the speech flowery; the words, rich in acuity, are either repeated to give emphasis or reduced to please. (...) Yet there should be a good degree of moderation and cautiousness, in order to avoid colour to become tinsel, elegance to become excess, virtue to become vice. Elegance, if it is to be a virtue, steers a middle course.²⁰

Many phrases in Puteanus' writings reveal the influence of Lipsius. This is for instance the case when Puteanus attaches great value to *natura*, — to talent. Lipsius had given talent and really not careful study (*cura*) as the

¹⁹ *Epistolarum Atticarum Promulsis* (Cologne, 1663), fol.)(2^r ff. (dedication dated August 8, 1616), esp. fol.)(5^r: '(...) mihi Brevitas placet, sed si nervos & aculeos habeat, tanquam è Sparta derivatos. Mero autem Laconismo ornare Epistolam malim, quàm absolvere. Si quis etiam copiam urgeat, ad mediocritatem me traduci patiar, quam in Latina quoque Oratione Severianus Rhetor laudat. Ad mediocritatem, inquam; ut Romanus Stilus sit Asiatico pressior, Attico, aut certè Laconico copiosior: verba ducat, Rem sequatur, personae, loco, tempori aptus & accommodatus' (*transl.*: 'Brevity pleases me, but [only] if it has muscles and stings, such as can be gotten from Sparta. I would rather embellish a letter with nothing but Laconism than fill it completely. If somebody also wishes a richness of expression (*copia*), I can be talked into a hybrid form, which is approved of also for Latin oratory by the rhetor Severianus [of Gabala (1. Century)]. A hybrid form I call it, making the Roman style more compressed than the Asian, richer than the Attic or certainly the Laconic; let this style lead the words, follow the contents, suited to and appropriate for a particular person, time and place').

²⁰ *Epistolarum apparatus posthumus* (Louvain, 1662), Cent. III, epist. XCVII to Hermannus Hartius, May 18, 1646, 170-171: 'Atque hoc genus, sicuti ἐπιστολικόν; ita Κομμαστικόν magis, quàm περιοδικόν; quamvis & circuli quidam sermonis ac cincinni sint; verba argutiis suis laeta; sive repetantur, ut urgeant; sive reducantur, ut oblectent. (...) Modus tamen, & cautio adhibenda, ne color in fucum, gratia in nauseam, virtus in vitium commutetur. Elegantiae, ut Virtutes sunt, medium obtinent'.

cause of his own, remarkable style of letter writing.²¹ Th. Simar has already drawn attention to similarities in the use of words between Lipsius and Puteanus. In particular he mentions the anti-ciceronian stand they both take and the many archaisms they both use.²² There is also a certain similarity between them where their views on letter writing are concerned. Lipsius' emphasis on the improvised character of the style in his letters is well-known: 'fundo, non scribo' — 'I let it flow out, I do not write', as he says in his famous letter to Victor Giselinus. Puteanus puts forward this very same *fundere* more than thirty years later in a letter he wrote to Davidus Floritius in 1614: 'Non scribam hanc epistolam, sed fundam: facturus ingenio, quod frustra à tempore exigo' — 'I will not write this letter, but let it flow out: I will bring about by intelligence what I ask from time in vain'.²³ Puteanus also founds this *fundere* on improvisation and a certain ease (*facilitas*) in writing.²⁴ Typical for Puteanus' views on style however, is a mixture of eloquence and brevity — *eloquentia* and *brevitas*.²⁵ More

²¹ J. Lipsius, Cent. II, epist. 2 (letter of May 20, 1581 to Victor Giselinus, in *Iusti Lipsii Epistolae*, ed. A. Gerlo, M. A. Nauwelaerts, H. D. L. Vervliet, *Pars I (1564-1583)* (Brussels, 1978), p. 282): 'Sane si quid in oratione nostra aut stilo probandum: totum a natura est, vix a cura. Rationem meam scribendi scire vis? fundo, non scribo. Nec [id] nisi in calore et interno quodam impetu, haud aliter quam poetae' (*transl.*: 'Indeed, if there is anything in our speech or style that deserves approval, it is completely due to talent and really not to careful study. You would like to know my method of writing? What I do is, I let it flow out, I do not write. And I do not do it unless I feel enthusiasm and a certain inner urge, not different from the Poets').

²² Simar, *Étude sur Erycius Puteanus (1574-1646)*, pp. 83-84. Ch. Nisard already noted a tendency to *emphasis* in Lipsius; cf. *Le triumvirat littéraire au XVI^e siècle. Juste Lipse, Joseph Scaliger et Isaac Casaubon* (Paris, 1852), p. 33.

²³ E. Puteanus, *Epistolarum Atticarum missus secundi...* (Cologne, 1663), Cent. III, epist. LXXXIII dated August 4, 1614, to David Floritius, p. 310. With the last phrase Puteanus means to say that he does not have time, but that he will make up for that by using his intelligence.

²⁴ Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 310: 'Sed epistolam petis, & hoc me imperio cogis, ut obsequar: hoc blandimento allicis, ut videri facundus velim. Etenim in hoc genere quàm facilis sim, ipsemet nosti. Torqueant alii stilum, & sub gravi cogitatione articulum librent: mihi non libet, aut non vacat tam serium esse' (*transl.*: 'You ask for a letter and this order forces me to obey. Your flattery tempts me to want to seem eloquent. Indeed, you know yourself how easily I use this style. Others torture their pens and weigh a piece of writing by pondering it; I do not feel like and do not have the time for being so serious'). Cf. also Mouchel, *Cicéron et Sénèque dans la rhétorique de la Renaissance*, p. 450, notes 341 and 342 (quotations from the preface to the *Epistolarum bellaria* (Louvain, 1612).

²⁵ Cf. the letter dated March 6, 1634 to Franciscus Moncada, in *Epistolarum apparatus posthumus* (Louvain, 1662), Cent. II, epist. XX, p. 32: 'Una Epistola tua (...), quidquid scripsi hactenus, quidquid misi, longè superat; una quae instar multarum est, & brevitate suâ eloquentiam includit, elegantiam, majestatem...' (*transl.*: 'One letter from you (...) is very superior to all I have written so far, all I have sent. One that balances many, and includes in its brevity, eloquence, gracefulness and majesty...').

than once he had to defend that the form of brevity he preferred was as eloquent as the ciceronian *compositio verborum*; even more eloquent in his own view.

4. A balance

His entire life Puteanus continued to search for exemplary authors who represented the kind of brevity he preferred. As far as historiography is concerned, he finds them in the second century, in authors like Florus and Justinus.²⁶ In a letter written to Hermannus Hartius a few months before he dies, Puteanus thinks he has found the true style of historiography in a variation and combination of elements of style. This solution is prompted by the idea that in historiography contents and language (*res* and *sermo*) are interwoven, a duality like *anima* and *corpus*, or *oratio* and *ratio*. The formulation of his insights by means of telling oppositions illustrates his search for a compromise:

(...) you love my style, because it is rich in its brevity, shining in its acuity, serious yet charming. These are the well-known witticisms of Cato, these are those questions of the Stoics. Yet they are not dry, infertile, barren, but dressed with a certain flowery language, such questions as Cicero too did not hesitate to pose in his *Paradoxes*.²⁷

²⁶ Cf. his letter to David Floritius dated June 14, 1614, in E. Puteanus, *Epistolarum Atticarum missus secundi...* (Cologne, 1663), Cent. III, epist. LXVI, p. 297 on the *Historiae Insubricae* (Louvain, 1614): 'Instruere historiam, quemadmodum ab antiquis ea perscripta est, conatus sum: sed praecipuè tamen Florum ac Justinum sequi. Brevitas placuit, & qui in brevitate color esse solet' (*transl.*: 'I have tried to write history according to the rules of the ancients. But mostly I have tried to follow Florus and Justinus. The brevity pleased me, as well as the colour that this brevity usually holds'). See on the example of Florus in the *Historiae Insubricae...* (Louvain, 1630) 'Scriptionis ratio ac modus, in historiam et commentarios divisae', fol. b1^{r-v}: '(...) Inter omnes verò unus hîc mihi FLORUS, elegantissimi commatis Scriptor in exemplum placuit; ut succinctus essem, & omnia dicerem...' (*transl.*: 'Of all authors, only this Florus, the author of the very elegant short sentence, has pleased me as an example. To be succinct, and yet say everything...').

²⁷ *Epistolarum apparatus posthumus* (Louvain, 1662), Cent. I, epist. XCVII to Hermannus Hartius dated May 18, 1646, p. 170: 'Epistolarum Specimen, mi Harti, vidi, & vim elegantiamque ingenii tui admiratus sum, Atticis quibusdam deliciis imbuti. Trahis à natura, quod alii ab arte; amasque dicendi genus meum, quod in brevitate copiam, in acumine splendorem habet, serium & simul amoenum. Haec illa Catonis puncta sunt: hae illae interrogatiunculæ Stoicorum; non siccae tamen, steriles, nudaë; sed flore quodam Orationis vestitæ, quas nec Cicero timuit in Paradoxis suis usurpare'.

Style and contents interact and have to form an indivisible unity, whether in letter writing, historiography or political oratory. Given this premise Puteanus always looks for an ideal stylistic balance, suited to fulfil its persuasive function most adequately.

5. Hybrid forms

Almost all Puteanus' statements on his own style are characterized by this longing for moderation and balance. It should by now be no longer surprising that this balance is motivated by the aim of communicative effectiveness (*persuadere*). This is also why Puteanus requires a combination of aphoristic brevity on the one hand, and *suavitas* or *amoenitas* on the other in letter writing.²⁸ In historiography there should also be persuasiveness or *suada*. Again Puteanus asks for a coexistence of brevity and charm (*amoenitas*). In the dedication of his *Olympiades* (1626) Puteanus introduces this *amoenitas* by comparing the maturity of personal style with the charms of flowers and the ripeness of fruits. This imagery enabled him to relate qualities such as *amoenus* and *floridus*, which were traditionally associated with lyrical poetry,²⁹ to the style of historiography.³⁰ 'Mixta amoenitati maturitas' — 'maturity mixed with charm': this was true for fruits and flowers, but also for historiography, where the mixture of ripeness and charm represented a combination of historical facts (*historia*) and erudition (*eruditio*).³¹

²⁸ Cf. also Mouchel, *Cicéron et Sénèque dans la rhétorique de la Renaissance*, pp. 219-220.

²⁹ See, for instance, C. Barlaeus, *Epistolarum liber* (Amsterdam, 1667), pp. 264-265 (letter by Barlaeus to Constantijn Huygens dated December 4, 1628): 'Magis me amoeniorum poetarum lectio afficit, & studia florida, & nativo colore nitens dictio' (*transl.*: '[More than by satires] I am touched by reading poets who charm, by flowery studies and by a style that shines with a natural colour').

³⁰ The quality *amoenus* was indeed not an unusual characteristic of historiography. Convinced as he was that the nature of *oratio historica* stands midway between philosophy and poetry, Sebastianus Foxius argued in a treatise on teaching history, *De historiae institutione, Dialogus* (Antwerp, 1557), fol. 71^v and 74^r, that historiography shared qualities of style such as *gravitas*, *moderatio*, *nervi* and *sanitas* with philosophy, and *venustas*, *elatio* and *amoenitas* with poetry: see Jansen, *Brevitas*, pp. 645-646, notes 12 and 13.

³¹ *Olympiades, sola manu, ut vere annis mundi respondent, computatae* (Louvain, 1626), fol.(2)^{r-v} (dedication): 'Studiorum ut flores, ita & fructus sunt; mixta amoenitati maturitas. Quicquid Eruditio habet, amoenum puto; quicquid Historia, tanquam maturum colligas. Ut meum quidem munus est, nunc flores spargo, nunc fructus promo; & quoties ingenii stilique amoenum sum, maturitatem; quoties maturus, amoenitatem tamen complector' (*transl.*: 'Just like the flowers of studying are the fruits: richness mixed with charm. I consider all that Erudition holds as charming; all that History contains, should be collected as if it were ripe. As it is my duty, I sometimes strew flowers, then again I

This *amoenitas* was indeed an essential ingredient of the various hybrid forms which Puteanus devised to moderate the bleakness and barrenness of stylistic brevity and acuity. There are a considerable number of statements in which *amoenitas* is linked up with other, mostly less melodious qualities of style. This happens for instance when Puteanus discusses *imitation* in historiography. Although Tacitus and Sallustius were considered the authorities in this field, Puteanus felt they had mainly brevity and little stylistic charm. He therefore wanted to mix their style with the intelligent charm (*ingeniosa amoenitas*) of Q. Curtius Rufus. In this way *utilitas* would mingle with *iucunditas*, yielding an ideal mixture for persuasive purposes, as Horatius had already observed.³² What exactly this 'ingenious charm' in Curtius consists of, Puteanus discusses in an oration on this Roman historian. According to Puteanus, Curtius' style and contents were in perfect balance, since he had succeeded in creating conciseness without superfluity by looking for richness in brevity as such.³³

It is evident why this stylistic charm was considered so important for historiography. *Amoenitas*, as Puteanus explains in the same oration, served the purpose of persuasion. Following Curtius, Puteanus saw persuasion (*Suada*) as one of the deities of perfect historiography,³⁴ just as he saw persuasiveness, flowering as it did in the golden latinity, as a necessary condition for the success of his own orations. In this latter case it would be not so much the *amoenitas* which should further the persuasive end, but stylistic *maiestas* and *eruditio*.³⁵

show fruits. And as often as I am charming in intelligence and style, just as often I have ripeness; as often as I am ripe, I have nevertheless charm at the same time').

³² Cf. his letter (dated October 24, 1611) to Prince Charles Philip, in *Epistolarum Atticarum missus secundi...* (Cologne, 1663), Cent. I, epist. XCIII, p. 103: 'Tacitum Sallustiumque imitatus sum; sed ingeniosâ Curtij amoenitate dictionem miscui, ut utilitati iucunditas jungeretur' (*transl.*: 'I have followed Tacitus and Sallustius, but mixed this style with the intelligent charm of Curtius, in order to join delight to usefulness').

³³ 'Oratio XIX. In Q. Curtii Rufi historiam', in *Suada Attica...* (Amsterdam, 1644), p. 387: 'Elegans est, gravis est, virilis est. (...) Verba nitorem habent, compositio suavitatem, res pretium, tanquam nihil supersit, brevitatem laudes; tanquam nihil desideres, copiam: ipsa brevitate plenus est, copia non molestus' (*transl.*: 'He [Curtius] is elegant, serious and virile. His words shine, his style [*compositio*] has smoothness, his contents richness; since [*tanquam*] there is indeed nothing that is superfluous, you will praise him for brevity; for richness, since there is nothing missing: he is abundant in his very brevity, not heavy in his richness').

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 363: 'Tria sane numina in pulcherrimo Historiae opere videtur [Curtius] coluisse; Suadam, Prudentiam, Veritatem' (*transl.*: 'Curtius indeed seems to have worshipped three deities in his most beautiful History: *Suada*, *Prudentia* and *Veritas*').

³⁵ E. Puteanus, *Suada Attica...* (Amsterdam, 1644) (dedication), fol. *5r: 'Nam etsi Oratoris laudem quocumque caractere & argumento sustinere os illud illibatum potuit:

Just like Puteanus needed *combinations* of numerous elements of style to find the right colouring to his ideal of style, he often used a *mixture* of qualities of style to express the nuances he aimed for. It was not quite new to use oxymora and a mixture of style-elements in order to persuade. I already referred to the Horatian procedure of combining *utile* with *dulce*. Puteanus however, did not limit himself to teaching; more often his language is charged with emotion. Fortunately it was also possible to convince by using the persuasiveness of *movere* instead of the usefulness of *docere* and mix that again with a delectable component. In fact this meant that one could only be succesful in shocking and impressing the reader or listener through a pleasant style or agreeable contents which were able to hold the *attentum* of the audience. As Thomas Wilsons *The Arte of Rhetorique* (1553) says about *movere*:

Thus we se, that to delight is nedefull, without the whiche, weightier matters will not be heard at all, and therefore hym cunne I thanke, that bothe can & will ever, myngle swete, emong the sower, be he Preacher, Lawyer, yea, or Cooke....³⁶

The audience would be tired less easily and lend a sympathetic ear to the orator if the sour or bitter was mingled with the sweet. This hybrid form is pregnantly named γλυκοπικρία in Greek. Cicero among others used this term,³⁷ and Puteanus also used it to label a mixture of *acrimonia* and *suavitas*.³⁸

In shaping his ideas on style Puteanus fully exploited the possibilities of hybrid forms. He not only mixed his own *eruditio* with *maiestas*, but

non ego mihi tamen videbar eloquens esse, nisi Orationes darem; nec illustrare satis Suadae cathedram, nisi dicendi maiestatem eruditioni iungerem' (*transl.*: 'Since although this perfect mouth [i.e. that of Puteanus] could sing the praise of the orator with whatever style or matter, I did not seem to myself to be eloquent if I did not give orations. And I did not seem to give enough lustre to the lectern of Persuasiveness, if I did not join majesty in style to erudition').

³⁶ Thomas Wilson, *The Arte of Rhetorique* (s.l., 1553; repr. ed. R. Hood Bowers, New York, 1977), fol. 2^{r-v}.

³⁷ That is, in his *Epistulae ad Atticum*, 5, 21, 4 (sweet-bitter: γλυκοπικρος). This type of *varietas* was generally known in classical rhetoric and guaranteed the *attentum* of the audience (cf. Cicero, *De orat.*, 2, 177 and 3, 97-103; *Rhet. ad Her.*, 4, 23, 32, 31-42; Quintilian, *Inst. orat.*, 5, 14, 30 and 8, 3, 52; Plinius, *Ep.*, 13, 4). On 'sweet' and 'bitter' (a high, elevated, poetical style mixed with a more satirical-ironic acuity) see: E. R. Curtius, *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter* (Bern and Munich, 1948, ⁸1973, Ch. 7, pp. 144-146; and K.-P. Lange, 'Geistliche Speise. Untersuchungen zur Metaphorik der Bibelhermeneutik', *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur*, 95 (1966), 81-122 (esp. pp. 110 ff).

³⁸ See *infra* note 40.

also — in order to moderate this nobility — the familiar: ‘majestas cum familiaritate miscetur’.³⁹ It seems justified to consider this search for a balance of extremes by using hybrid forms as an implicit defence of his views on the extreme conciseness of style, or at least as a means to make his views on brevity accepted among a wider audience. Associating his choice for such a style with the power of persuasion and intellectual richness would help him to succeed in these efforts.

After all this it need not surprise us that in the introductory letter to the catalogue of his own writings — the *Catalogus operum suorum* — which was drawn up in 1622, Puteanus declares his love for *acrimonia* — bitterness —, provided it is mixed with *suavitas* — ‘Acrimoniam amo, sed suavitate mixtam’. This mixture has as its main function to emphasize that the contents are of more importance than the embellishment of the wording and to avoid both bleakness and idle volubility.⁴⁰ It may be that in proposing this mixture Puteanus was inspired by Plutarch, who linked *acrimonia* with *venustas* (gracefulness) when talking about the upbringing of the Lacedemonians:

Since the Lacedemonians, as Plutarch mentions in his [Life of] Lysurgus [19], ‘made their children fully aware of the need to use a language which would have bitterness [*acrimonia* — πικρία] mixed with gracefulness [*venustas* — χάρις], and which would present a richness of ideas in a few words’. That is why they were succinct, yet powerful and acute. They were eloquent, but they wanted their language to

³⁹ Cf. for the style of letter writing for instance the letter to Franciscus Moncada, dated January 22, 1630, in: *Epistolarum apparatus posthumus* (Louvain, 1662), Cent. II, epist. 3, p. 6: ‘(...) Imponere facundo atque exercitato silentium possis: ac rursus tardum aut verecundum ad eloquentiam ducere. In Suada humanitas est, in humanitate Suada, & tanquam vultum oratio exprimat majestas cum familiaritate miscetur’ (*transl.*: ‘You can force an eloquent and expert person into silence, and also make a slow and timid person eloquent. There is civilization in Persuasiveness, Persuasiveness in civilization, and just as speech expresses features, majesty is mixed with the familiar’).

⁴⁰ See the ‘Praefatio I in Catalogum operum suorum ad Iosephum Mariam Suaresium’, dated September 11, 1622, in *Pompa Prosphonetica* (Louvain, 1639), p. 2: ‘Singula si videas, cultum malis, quàm copiam; si conjuncta, molem non desideres. Nimirum hoc egi semper, ut plus ingenii & rei, quàm verborum oratio haberet; subtilis, & tamen facilis; tam à tristi macie, quàm à ventosâ loquacitate aliena. Acrimoniam amo, sed suavitate mixtam, quam γλυκοπικρίαν τοῦ πειθῶς possis appellare’ (*transl.*: ‘When you consider the [elements] individually, you prefer gracefulness to richness; when you look at their combinations, you do not want massiveness. I for one have always applied myself to giving my speech more intelligence and contents than words, [in making it] simple yet easy, as strange to hoarse barrenness as to inflated verbosity. I love acuity, but mixed with the sweetness that you could call “sweet sharpness of persuasion”’).

be like their morals: without finery and corruption. They preferred to be eloquent with their spirits rather than with their tongues. And they were indeed eloquent, if it is eloquence and not verbosity we look for.⁴¹

It was common knowledge in the Renaissance that the Lacedaemonians were indeed eloquent yet not verbose.⁴² Puteanus' strategy however, was unique. Taking his great admiration for the Spartan society as a starting point, he realized a well-balanced ideal of eloquence by using stylistic oppositions and hybrid forms of style.

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⁴¹ E. Puteanus, *De laconismo syntagma* (Louvain, 1609), pp. 24-25: 'Lacedaemonii namque, ut auctor Plutarchus in Lycurgo, *Imbuebant pueros, ut oratione uterentur, quae acrimoniam haberet mixtam venustate, & multum sensum paucis verbis complecteretur*. Breves igitur erant, sed viriles & arguti: eloquentes erant, sed quemadmodum à moribus fucum abesse & corruptelam, sic à sermone voluerunt, animo potiùs, quam linguâ diserti. Et verè diserti, si Eloquentiam, non Loquentiam aestimemus'. Cf. Bauer, *Jesuitische 'ars rhetorica' im Zeitalter der Glaubenskämpfe*, pp. 411-412.

⁴² Nicolaas Cragius also points this out in his *De Republica Lacedaemoniorum libri IV* (Leiden, 1670 (=1593), pp. 293-294); see Jansen, *Brevitas*, p. 672, note 47.

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PUTEANUS' CRYPTOGRAPHIA TASSIANA

The aim of this article is to present one of the more scientific treatises of Erycius Puteanus, his *Cryptographia Tassiana*. It is dedicated to Leonard de Tassis II (1594-1628), master of the post 1624-1628,¹ who seems to have been the appropriate person to dedicate a treatise on secret writing to. Besides, Leonard de Tassis is not unknown to Puteanus. In 1609/10 he wrote three letters² to the still very young Leonard de Tassis encouraging him in his studies. Puteanus also claims a family-relationship to de Tassis³ via his wife Maria Magdalena della Torre,⁴ who belonged to the same Italian noble family, of which the de Tassis claimed to be descendants.⁵ Puteanus does not miss the chance to mention his own merits as cryptanalyst⁶ in the dedication. Thus Puteanus had some knowledge⁷ and even some personal experience of cryptanalysis.⁸ After the dedication follows an excerpt from Aulus Gellius⁹ addressing ancient methods of secret writing and sending secret messages: Caesar's and Augustus' enciphering methods, the *skytale* in Sparta and methods

¹ Cf. *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, vol. 37 (Leipzig, 1894), pp. 516-7; M. Piendl, *Das fürstliche Haus Thurn und Taxis* (Regensburg, 1980), pp. 23-4.

² Cf. *Epistolarum Atticarum missus secundi* (Cologne, 1636), *Centuria prima*, l. 51, *Centuria secunda*, l. 27, *Centuria nova*, l. 5; for his admiration for Leonhard de Tassis cf. Piendl, *Das fürstliche Haus Thurn und Taxis*, p. 23.

³ Cf. *Cryptographia Tassiana* (Louvain, 1627), p. 6.

⁴ Cf. Th. Simar, *Étude sur Erycius Puteanus (1574-1646)* (Louvain - Paris - Brussels, 1909), p. 6; E. Puteanus, *Comus of de Kimmerische Zewelgpattij...*, vertaald door C. Sobry (Antwerp, 1938), p. IV.

⁵ Cf. Piendl, *Das fürstliche Haus Thurn und Taxis*, p. 34.

⁶ Cf. *Cryptographia Tassiana*, p. 4: "Sed quae hodie συνηματικῶς exarantur, quamvis notarum labyrinthis clausa, & ambagibus circumducta ingenio & labore erui solent. Quid praestiterim ipse, alii & magni sciunt. Sed sive haec sollertia aliqua, sive felicitas fuit, bene mereri de Republica potui."

⁷ For his theoretical knowledge cf. for example his *De anagrammatismo diatriba* (Brussels, 1643), p. 20, where he mentions Trithemius' *Steganographia*.

⁸ Cf. Simar, *Étude sur Erycius Puteanus*, pp. 23-25: Polish nobility plotted against the Polish king Sigismund III and applied for help to the French king Louis XIII. They used a trivial form of code: substituting proper names by single Latin and Greek letters.

⁹ Cf. Gell. 17, IX, misprinted as 17, XI.

of hiding letters in Carthage and Greece. As another source for ancient cryptography and steganography Puteanus refers to Aeneas the Tactician.¹⁰

The main part of the booklet¹¹ follows after this digression. Repeating Gellius' description¹² of Caesar's enciphering system,¹³ Puteanus takes it as a starting point for a discussion of this method. Because this system (linear monalphabetic substitution) is too easy to solve, Puteanus proposes a new one (*partim novus, partim innovatus <sc. modus>*),¹⁴ polyalphabetic substitution with repeating keyword, and illustrates it with an example. He uses the following tables:¹⁵

	A B C D E F G H I L M
A B	N O P Q R S T V X Y Z
	A B C D E F G H I L M
C D	Z N O P Q R S T V X Y
	A B C D E F G H I L M
E F	Y Z N O P Q R S T V X
	A B C D E F G H I L M
G H	X Y Z N O P Q R S T V
	A B C D E F G H I L M
I L	V X Y Z N O P Q R S T
	A B C D E F G H I L M
M N	T V X Y Z N O P Q R S
	A B C D E F G H I L M
O P	S T V X Y Z N O P Q R

¹⁰ Cf. *Cryptographia Tassiana*, p. 9; with reference to Aen. Tact., 31.

¹¹ *Cryptographia Tassiana*, pp. 10-18.

¹² This time using the correct caput number, cf. *Cryptographia Tassiana*, p. 10.

¹³ This type of linear monalphabetic cipher is even nowadays called "Caesar's cipher". Cf. D. Kahn, *The Codebreakers* (New York, 1968), p. 84; E. C. Reinke, 'Classical Cryptography', *The Classical Journal*, 58 (1962), 113-121 (p. 115).

¹⁴ *Cryptographia Tassiana*, p. 4.

¹⁵ *Cryptographia Tassiana*, p. 15.

Q R	A B C D E F G H I L M
	R S T V X Y Z N O P Q
S T	A B C D E F G H I L M
	Q R S T V X Y Z N O P
V X	A B C D E F G H I L M
	P Q R S T V X Y Z N O
Y Z	A B C D E F G H I L M
	O P Q R S T V X Y Z N

The lefthand pairs of letters denote the keyletters, the righthand alphabets the ciphersalphabets. To encipher e. g. CRYPTOGRAPHIA TASSIANA with the keyword MENS BONA proposed by Puteanus¹⁶ cover the plaintext with the keyword (repeating it if necessary):

MENSBONAMENSBONAMENSB

CRYPTOGRAPHIATASSIANA

The first keyletter is M, the letter in the cipheralphabet belonging to M opposite C, i. e. the first letter in the plaintext, is X which is consequently the first letter in the cryptogram. The second letter in the keyword is E, the letter in the cipheralphabet belonging to E opposite R, the second letter in the plaintext, is G, therefore the second letter of the cryptogram is G. Continuing this method the cryptogram is:

XGDMGHOETEPNNBTFMTTIN

This method can be translated into modern terms¹⁷ as follows: identifying the twenty-two letters of the Latin alphabet with the elements of $F_{11} \times F_2$, where an operation of F_2 on F_{11} is defined via the inclusion $F_2 \cong \{\text{id}, -\text{id}\} \subset \text{Aut}(F_{11})$, in the following way:

A:=[0],[0]) B:=[1],[0]) C:=[2],[0])..... M:=[10],[0])
 N:=[0],[1]) O:=[1],[1]) P:=[2],[1])..... Z:=[10],[1])

¹⁶ *Cryptographia Tassiana*, p. 13.

¹⁷ Cf. N. Koblitz, *A Course in Number Theory and Cryptography* (New York, 1994), p. 55.

and identifying the eleven pairs of keyletters with the elements of F_{11} :

A B:=[0] C D:=[1]..... Y Z:=[10]

we get the map:

$$\begin{aligned} \phi: \{ \text{pairs of keyletters} \} &\cong F_{11} \rightarrow \{ \text{bijections: } F_{11} \times F_2 (\text{plaintext}) \rightarrow F_{11} \times F_2 (\text{ciphertext}) \} \\ C &\rightarrow \phi(C): F_{11} \times F_2 \rightarrow F_{11} \times F_2 \\ (x,y) &\rightarrow (x+y(C), y+1) \end{aligned}$$

Every map $\phi(C)$ is uniquely defined, if the constant C is known. Given a fixed pair of solutions (x,y) for the cipheralphabet, the map $\phi(C)$ is uniquely determined and the constant C can be computed.¹⁸

This signifies in terms of cipheralphabets: If of every cipheralphabet of Puteanus' method only two letters from the twenty-two of the whole alphabet are known, there is an unique solution of the enciphering, which is even very easy to compute. Therefore, the intrinsic value of Puteanus' method is rather low.

Nowadays it would be no problem to solve this polyalphabetic cipher with repeating keyword, especially a cipher which only uses affine transformations. But since a general method of solving this type of ciphers was found as late as 1863 by the Prussian officer F. W. Kasiski,¹⁹ Puteanus was somehow right in announcing:²⁰ "Proinde ut tutissimo secreto mentem abscondas & totum legentis ingenium industriamque frusteris, e nova latebra arcanam scribendi rationem educam." Nevertheless there have been isolated cases of solutions of polyalphabetic ciphers (for example with a lucky guess at the key²¹), and a system as regular as Puteanus' and provided with a key which is so easy to guess (*mens bona* being

¹⁸ By simple addition or subtraction.

¹⁹ Cf. F. W. Kasiski, *Die Geheimschriften und die Dechiffir-Kunst* (Berlin, 1863); Kahn, *The Codebreakers*, p. 191; G. J. Simmons, 'Cryptology: The Mathematics of secure communication', *The Mathematical Intelligencer*, 1 (1978-9), 233-246 (p. 234).

²⁰ Cf. *Cryptographia Tassiana*, p. 12. Besides, claiming that one's own cipher was unbreakable, seems to have been a topos in literature on cryptography. Cf. Alberti in his treatise on cryptography (cf. A. Meister, *Die Geheimschrift im Dienste der päpstlichen Kurie von ihren Anfängen.... bis zum Ende des XVI. Jahrhunderts* (Paderborn, 1906), p. 33); B. de Vigenère, *Traicté des Chiffres* (Paris, 1586). See Ch. J. Mendelsohn, 'Blaise de Vigenère and the «chiffre carré»', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 82 (1940), 103-129 (p. 104); Kahn, *The Codebreakers*, p. 763.

²¹ Cf. Kahn, *The Codebreakers*, p. 151; G. B. della Porta, *De occultis literarum notis* (Montbéliard, 1593), praefatio sub fine, p. 126.

closely related to Puteanus' cherished institution of the *palaestra bonae mentis*) was likely to be solved by an experienced cryptanalyst.²²

But how new or original was Puteanus' system? What does it signify when he writes:²³ "qui <sc. modus> partim novus partim innovatus esset, partim meus, partim non meus."? Allegedly, he takes Caesar's cipher as his main source. On the other hand it does not seem probable that a well-read scholar like Puteanus would have ignored the major writings on cryptology of his time.

But in the sixteenth century cryptology was already a highly developed science. Since 1395 (in Mantua and Modena²⁴) enciphering of political letters was practised in Italy. Enciphering and deciphering letters played an important role in Renaissance diplomacy. Beginning about 1500 some republics even had expert cryptanalists, for example Venice,²⁵ Florence,²⁶ Milan²⁷ and of course Rome,²⁸ but also other countries e.g. France.²⁹ Those more or less professional cryptographers used a kind of mixed code and cipher system, the nomenclator, which contained a list of codes for a certain number of frequently used words and syllables and a monalphabetic substitution alphabet with homophones for vocals.

The first person³⁰ to introduce polyalphabetic substitution (but without using a keyword) was Leone Battista Alberti (1404-1474), whose treatise on cryptography is extant in several manuscripts³¹ and a printed

²² In fact, a nearly identical cipher was used in the correspondence between the papal curia and Mons. Panicarola, who belonged to the staff of Cardinal Caetano, the papal legate in France, to transmit the message of the death of Pope Sixtus V, but the message was intercepted and solved by a French cryptanalyst (cf. Kahn, *The Codebreakers*, p. 151; Meister, *Die Geheimschrift im Dienste der päpstlichen Kurie*, p. 426).

²³ *Cryptographia Tassiana*, p. 4.

²⁴ Cf. A. Meister, *Die Anfänge der modernen diplomatischen Geheimschrift* (Paderborn, 1902), p. 15.

²⁵ Giovanni Soro starting his work in 1506. Cf. Meister, *Die Anfänge der modernen diplomatischen Geheimschrift*, p. 21; Kahn, *The Codebreakers*, p. 109.

²⁶ Pirrho Musefili, Conte della Sasseta, working 1546-1557, cf. Kahn, *The Codebreakers*, p. 110.

²⁷ Cicco Simonetta 1474, cf. Meister, *Die Anfänge der modernen diplomatischen Geheimschrift*, p. 27; Kahn, *The Codebreakers*, p. 110.

²⁸ Triphon Bencio, cipher secretary 1555-1570, cf. Meister, *Die Geheimschrift im Dienste der päpstlichen Kurie*, p. 51.

²⁹ Philibert Babou, sieur de la Bourdaisière, cf. Kahn, *The Codebreakers*, p. 111.

³⁰ As far as it can be known, since the progresses of cryptography were likely to be kept secret. Cf. Mendelsohn, 'Blaise de Vigenère', p. 114.

³¹ Cf. Meister, *Die Geheimschrift im Dienste der päpstlichen Kurie*, p. 25, Mendelsohn, 'Blaise de Vigenère', p. 115.

Italian translation published by Cosimo Bartoli in 1568.³² Probably independent of this work the German abbot Johannes Trithemius developed a similar system³³ in his *Polygraphia* (Oppenheim, 1518). A system nearly identical to Puteanus' method can already be found in the treatise of Giovan Battista Bellaso, *Il vero modo di scrivere in cifre* (Naples, 1553). He uses the following tables:³⁴

A B	A B C D E F G H I L M
	N O P Q R S T V X Y Z
C D	A B C D E F G H I L M
	T V X Y Z N O P Q R S
E F	A B C D E F G H I L M
	Z N O P Q R S T V X Y
G H	A B C D E F G H I L M
	S T V X Y Z N O P Q R
I L	A B C D E F G H I L M
	Y Z N O P Q R S T V X
M N	A B C D E F G H I L M
	R S T V X Y Z N O P Q
O P	A B C D E F G H I L M
	X Y Z N O P Q R S T V
Q R	A B C D E F G H I L M
	Q R S T V X Y Z N O P
S T	A B C D E F G H I L M
	P Q R S T V X Y Z N O

³² Cf. Mendelsohn, 'Blaise de Vigenère', p. 115; Kahn, *The Codebreakers*, pp. 127-130.

³³ Cf. Mendelsohn, 'Blaise de Vigenère', p. 118; Kahn, *The Codebreakers*, pp. 130-133, 135-137.

³⁴ Since I have not been able to see a copy of this work, I use the tables given by Mendelsohn, 'Blaise de Vigenère', pp. 120-1 in his description of this work.

	A B C D E F G H I L M
V X	V X Y Z N O P Q R S T
	A B C D E F G H I L M
Y Z	O P Q R S T V X Y Z N

Evidently, Puteanus uses the same enciphering-alphabets, the only difference lies in Puteanus' simpler choice (which is therefore more easy to solve) of the correspondence between keyletters and cipher alphabets. Puteanus' system is also explained in one of the most influential works on cryptography in the sixteenth century, Giovanni Battista della Porta's *De furtivis literarum notis*.³⁵ It is highly probable that a well-informed scholar like Puteanus had consulted this book when he solved the intercepted Polish letters in 1626.³⁶ Then the only original feature of Puteanus' work is his choice of a keyword whereas he plagiarized the method.

Why then did Puteanus write this booklet? Obviously not because it is useful for practical purposes. A system so well known³⁷ combined with a key, which was rather easy to guess must have been useless in concealing messages.³⁸ His main inducement for writing the *Cryptographia* seems to have been his practical experience with cryptanalysis.³⁹ The dedication letter is an occasion for him to mention his merits as cryptanalyst.⁴⁰ He also wants to recommend himself to Leonard de Tassis whom he probably regards as a possible patron.⁴¹ And, of course, he does not disdain compliments like the one Joannes Carolus Lobkowitzius paid him who after naming a few noble cryptologists mentions Puteanus:⁴² "Ante omnes illos noster Erycius Puteanus *Cryptographiam Tassianam* edidit, quae laude non indiget."

³⁵ This book was edited several times: Naples, 1563; London, 1591; Naples, 1602 and under the title „de occultis literarum notis”: Montbéliard, 1593; Strasbourg, 1603 and 1606. It has even been counterfeited, cf. Kahn, *The Codebreakers*, p. 142. For the impact of Porta's work on cryptography cf. Meister, *Die Geheimschrift im Dienste der päpstlichen Kurie*, pp. 44-5.

³⁶ Cf. footnote 8.

³⁷ Besides the editions of Porta's book (cf. footnote 35), cf. *La Cifra del sig. Giovan Battista Belaso* (Venice, 1553); G. B. Belaso, *Novi et singolari modi di cifrare* (Brescia, 1555); G. B. Bellaso, *Il vero modo di scrivere in cifre* (Brescia, 1563).

³⁸ Cf. footnote 22.

³⁹ Cf. footnote 8.

⁴⁰ Cf. footnote 6.

⁴¹ For Puteanus' continuous search for patrons and money, see Simar, *Étude sur Erycius Puteanus (1574-1646)*, pp. 11-2, 14-19, 20-1.

⁴² Cf. J. C. Lobkowitzius, *Cabala specimen*, printed as an appendix to Puteanus' *De anagrammatismo diatriba* (Brussels, 1643), p. 75.

Since Puteanus' system obviously is scientifically unimportant, shall we, too, have to adopt Th. Simar's⁴³ judgement — it not being worthwhile to discuss this treatise on cryptography? Anyway, Simar himself was not even able to, because he listed it under the lost works of Puteanus!⁴⁴ But considering the history of cryptography, it seems highly unfair to blame Puteanus for not having made a real innovation in as much as the major progresses in cryptography were made possible in 1844 by the invention of the telegraph,⁴⁵ by constructing mechanical devices for enciphering polyalphabetics in World War II⁴⁶ and the first substantially different system of secret writing, the concept of public key enciphering, was proposed in 1976 by American scientists.⁴⁷

Puteanus shows his discernment in choosing a subject, which played an important role in the politics of his contemporaries⁴⁸ and in proposing a method, which was one of the best available of his time.⁴⁹ Unfortunately, his love for elegance⁵⁰ induces him to choose a very regular and therefore⁵¹ unsafe form of this method.

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⁴³ Cf. Simar, *Étude sur Erycius Puteanus (1574-1646)*, p. IV.

⁴⁴ Cf. Simar, *Étude sur Erycius Puteanus (1574-1646)*, p. 286; the *Cryptographia Tassiana* is not mentioned in the *Bibliotheca Belgica* either. As far as I know, there are two copies extant: Louvain, University Library, CaaA 822-6 and U.S. Library of Congress.

⁴⁵ Cf. Kahn, *The Codebreakers*, p. 189.

⁴⁶ Cf. Simmons, 'Cryptology: The Mathematics of secure communication', p. 239.

⁴⁷ Cf. Simmons, 'Cryptology: The Mathematics of secure communication', p. 241. Cf. W. Diffie-M. E. Hellman, 'New Directions in Cryptography', *IEEE Transact. Inform. Theory* IT-22 (1976), 644-654; R. C. Merkle, 'Secure Communications Over Insecure Channels', *Commun. ACM*, 21 (1978), 294-299.

⁴⁸ Cf. A. C. Leighton, 'Some Examples of Historical Cryptanalysis', *Historia Mathematica*, 4 (1977) 319-337 (p. 320).

⁴⁹ Cf. Kahn, *The Codebreakers*, p. 150.

⁵⁰ Cf. for example his beautiful diagrams in *De anagrammatismo diatriba* (Brussels, 1643), p. 13 where he also shows his love for elegance and regularity.

⁵¹ Cf. Kahn, *The Codebreakers*, p. 151.

Elisabeth KLECKER

PURPURA NON VELLERE, SED VIRTUTE NOBILIS.
PANEGYRISCHE TRADITION UND LITERARISCHE ORIGINALITÄT IN ERYCIUS PUTEANUS' *PURPURA AUSTRIACA*

Als Kardinalinfant Ferdinand, der Bruder König Philipps IV. von Spanien, im Herbst des Jahres 1634 als neuer Statthalter der spanischen Niederlande in die Städte seiner Provinz einzog, waren die Themen der aus diesem Anlaß traditionellerweise dargebrachten literarischen Huldigungen vorgegeben: seine hohe Stellung als Vertreter des spanischen Königs, seine kirchliche Würde,¹ und nicht zuletzt seine militärischen Fähigkeiten: Ferdinand hatte wesentlichen Anteil an dem großen Sieg über die Schweden in der Schlacht von Nördlingen am 6. September 1634.² Die prächtige Erscheinung schildert der Jesuit Guilielmus Becanus in einem Begrüßungsgedicht: *Tyrio ... in ostro* ziehe Ferdinand ein, nämlich, so ließe sich interpretieren, im Kardinalspurpur, im Herrscherpurpur und im Purpur des Triumphators.³

Was in der Elegie des Jesuiten jedoch eine Momentaufnahme bleibt, hat der Löwener Professor Erycius Puteanus zum Leitthema eines umfangreichen Prosapanegyricus gemacht: Als einziger unter den Lobrednern Ferdinands scheint er die Möglichkeit erkannt zu haben, die verschiedenen Aspekte, unter denen der Kardinalinfant gepriesen werden konnte, im Bild des Purpurs zu vereinen. Unter dem Titel *Purpura Austriaca*⁴ unternimmt

¹ Der Infant war schon 1619 von Papst Paul V. zum Kardinalerzbischof von Toledo ernannt worden. Zu seiner Biographie: A. van der Essen, *Le Cardinal-infant et la politique européenne de l'Espagne 1609–1641* (Louvain - Bruxelles, 1944), pp. 47–48.

² Van der Essen, *Le Cardinal-infant*, pp. 373–423.

³ eleg. 2, 6 (*Sidronii Hosschii e societate Jesu Elegiarum libri sex; item Guilielmi Becani ex eadem societate Idyllia et elegiae* (Norimbergae: sumptibus Georgii Christ. Weberi, 1738): "Gandavensis urbis in adventu serenissimi Ferdinandi gratulatio", *Atque aliquis Tyrio cum te conspexit in ostro / Phoebus ut in Cynthi dicitur ire iugis / Qualis ait facies! quam tanto principe digna est! / quam placidae speciem signaque mentis habet!* Es handelt sich um ein Zitat von Verg., *georg.*, 3, 17, das für den Kardinal aufgrund der Serviuserklärung (*in habitu pontificis*) besonders passend erscheinen mußte.

⁴ *Eryci Puteani Purpura Austriaca hierobasilica, sacram et regiam serenissimi principis Ferdinandi Hispaniarum infantis, S. R. E. cardinalis imaginem colore panegyrico repraesentans* (Antverpiae: typis Ioannis Cnobbari, 1635). Eine Kurzbeschreibung bietet

er es, kirchliche und weltliche Würde des Adressaten — Kardinalspurpur und Zugehörigkeit zur *domus Austriaca* — gleicherweise zu preisen, sowie durch allegorische Ausdeutung der Farbe seine Fähigkeiten als Regent, seine Herrschertugenden, zu loben.

Daß das Werk trotz dieses ansprechenden Grundkonzepts noch nicht die ihm gebührende Aufmerksamkeit gefunden hat, scheint nicht allein auf die ungünstige Beurteilung von Puteanus' literarischer Qualität durch Simar⁵ zurückzuführen, sondern dürfte auch in der negativen Einstufung panegyrischer Literatur im allgemeinen begründet sein: Das Vorurteil konventioneller, ja einfallsloser Schmeichelei hat lateinische Panegyrik, wie sie gerade zum Preis von Mitgliedern des Hauses Habsburg bis ins 19. Jh. in den unterschiedlichsten literarischen Formen verfaßt wurde, zu einem von der historischen und philologischen Forschung fast völlig vernachlässigten Kapitel europäischer Literatur- und Geistesgeschichte werden lassen.⁶ Aufgrund des hohen Bildungsniveaus der Verfasser scheint die Panegyrik für die habsburgischen Statthalter der Niederlande ein geeigneter Teilbereich, um diese vorgefaßte Meinung zu revidieren,⁷ und

Bibliotheca Belgica. Bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas fondée par F. van der Haeghen, rééditée sous la direction de M.-Th. Lenger (Bruxelles, 1964, Nachdruck 1979), Bd. 4, 803. In dem eingesehenen Exemplar der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek / Wien sind Titelblatt und nicht paginierte Präliminarien zweifärbig gedruckt; dem Wunsch des Autors, wie er pp. 142-43 (*ostrum atramento violari*) zum Ausdruck kommt, entsprechen Exemplare, die ganz in rot gedruckt sind (vgl. *Erycius Puteanus 1574-1646: Tentoonstelling in de Centrale Bibliotheek K.U. Leuven*, Nr. 27).

⁵ T. Simar, *Étude sur Erycius Puteanus (1574-1646), considéré spécialement dans l'histoire de la philologie belge et dans son enseignement à l'université de Louvain*, Université de Louvain. Recueil de Travaux publiés par les membres des Conférences d'Histoire et de Philologie, 23 (Louvain - Paris - Bruxelles, 1909).

⁶ Da Habsburg-Panegyrik durch ihre Fortführung antiker literarischer Traditionen ein Zeugnis für die hohe Bedeutung der Antike im neuzeitlichen Kultur- und Geistesleben darstellt, hat sich das Institut für Klassische Philologie der Universität Wien dieser Literaturgattung angenommen und betreibt seit mehr als fünf Jahren unter der Leitung von Univ. Prof. Dr. Franz Römer ein Forschungsprojekt, das der bibliographischen Erfassung und literaturwissenschaftlichen Analyse des reichen Materials (v.a. an österreichischen Bibliotheken) dient. Die Fülle der Texte sowie das Fehlen jeglicher Vorarbeiten machen es notwendig, Schwerpunkte zu setzen, sodaß sich das Projekt zunächst auf "Poetische Habsburg-Panegyrik in lateinischer Sprache vom 15. bis ins 18. Jhdt." konzentriert, wobei selbstverständlich vorrangig die Behandlung jener Huldigungsgedichte geplant ist, die Angehörigen der österreichischen Linie gewidmet sind. Eine erste Vorstellung bieten: F. Römer - E. Klecker, "Poetische Habsburg-Panegyrik in lateinischer Sprache". Bestände der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek als Grundlage eines Forschungsprojekts', *Biblos*, 43 (1994), 183-198.

⁷ Der Versuch einer umfassenden Darstellung des literarischen Mäzenatentums liegt nur für die erste habsburgische Statthalterin vor: J. Strelka, *Der burgundische Renaissancehof Margarethes von Österreich und seine literarhistorische Bedeutung* (Wien,

gerade an Erycius Puteanus' *Purpura Austriaca* läßt sich exemplarisch aufzeigen, wie im Rahmen einer seit der Antike festgelegten Topik und Motivik Raum für individuelle schöpferische Gestaltung bleibt.

Es kann kein Zweifel bestehen, daß sich Puteanus ganz bewußt in die Tradition antiker Panegyrik stellt; das Werk enthält die wesentlichen Elemente des βασιλικὸς λόγος, dessen Schema z.B. beim Rhetor Menander vorliegt:⁸ Puteanus behandelt — nach einem einleitenden Preis des neuen Statthalters und einer Schilderung der auf ihn gesetzten Hoffnungen — dessen γένος (Men. rhet. 371), indem er einen Überblick über die Könige bzw. Kaiser des Hauses Habsburg bis Ferdinand II. (pp. 19–33), über die spanischen Könige (p. 33), aber auch über frühere Kardinäle (pp. 52–57) und Statthalter der Niederlande (pp. 67–72) gibt. Er rühmt die *virtutes* Ferdinands und frühere militärische Leistungen, besonders den Sieg über die Schweden in der Schlacht von Nördlingen (pp. 73–77), schließt mit einem Gebet, den auch von Menander empfohlenen *vota* (377, 28), und Siegesgewißheit (pp. 139–40).

Die Originalität von Puteanus' Schrift besteht darin, daß bzw. wie die übliche panegyrische Topik und Motivik an den Purpur angeknüpft bzw. aus ihm entwickelt wird: Eigenschaften des Purpurs, Methoden seiner Herstellung und Möglichkeiten seiner Verwendung sowie die Bedeutung der Farbe in der antiken Dichtung werden ausgehend vom Begriff des Herrschafts- und Kardinalspurpurs symbolisch-allegorisch auf Eigenschaften und Leistungen der Habsburger im allgemeinen und Ferdinands im speziellen ausgedeutet.⁹ Schon der Titel nennt das Darstellungsprin-

1957); Ders., 'Die Literatur am Renaissancehof Margarethes von Österreich zu Mecheln', in *Die Österreichische Literatur. Ihr Profil von den Anfängen im Mittelalter bis ins 18. Jahrhundert (1050–1750)*, unter Mitwirkung von F. P. Knapp hrsg. von H. Zeman (Graz, 1986), pp. 759–766. — Unter Puteanus' Werken sind zwei weitere *Panegyrici* für Habsburger, Gedenkschriften für Ferdinands Vorgänger Albertus Pius und dessen Witwe Isabella Clara, zu nennen: *Phoenix principum sive Alberti Pii morientis vita* (Lovanii, apud Henr. Hastenium et Petr. Zangrium, 1622) (cf. *Bibliotheca Belgica*, 4, 790), aufgenommen in *Pompa funebris ... Alberti Pii ... veris imaginibus expressa a Iacobo Francquart archit. reg.* (Bruxellae, 1623); *Idea heroica ... Isabellae Clarae Eugeniae vita et morte in exemplum delineata* (Lovanii, apud Ioannem Oliverium et Corn. Coenestenum, 1634) (cf. *Bibliotheca Belgica*, 4, 802–803).

⁸ Menander rhetor, edited with translation and commentary by D. A. Russell and N. G. Wilson (Oxford, 1981).

⁹ Ein direktes Vorbild für die Anknüpfung von Panegyrik an den Kardinalspurpur ließ sich bislang nicht finden; hinzuweisen wäre auf Fabio Colonna, der den Kardinal Jacobus Sannesius als Widmungsträger einer Abhandlung über den Purpur bzw. über zur Purpurgewinnung herangezogene Schalentierte gewählt hatte (*Fabii Columnae Lyncei Opusculum de purpura*, Romae primum an. 1616 editum et nunc iterum luci datum opera ac studio Johann-Danielis Majoris medicinae d., Kiliae, Joachim Reumannus, 1675); es handelt

zip: *purpura hierobasilica sacram et regiam ... Ferdinandi ... imaginem colore panegyrico repraesentans*; es wird p. 5 in einer Art propositio thematis weiter erläutert:

In tua (sc. purpura) autem te totum hominibus omnibus repraesentem. Videbis munus tuum uno colore, varia imagine adumbratum, munus divinum, ut homines regas, munus regium, ut te scias inter homines, imo inter principes eminere. Virtutes in purpura videbis, quae tuae sunt, quae familiae, dignitate sacras, gloria regias, majestate aeternas, virtutes, quae ostendent ipsum hoc munus tuum et regium et sacrum, imo divinum esse.

Ein Leitmotiv dieses Lobes im Bild des Purpurs ist entsprechend der Stellung des Adressaten die Verbindung von Kardinals- und Herrscherpurpur. Bereits das *hierobasilica* des Titels zielt auf die doppelte Bedeutung des Purpurs, die im ersten Satz der Schrift ausgeführt wird (*novam adoro purpuram pietate sacram, potestate regiam*).¹⁰ Zusätzlich betont Puteanus schon in einem einleitenden Abriß über die Bedeutung des Purpurs in der Antike, der Purpur habe sich als königliche Farbe in jenen Urzeiten etabliert, als Könige zugleich Priester waren (p. 6). Im Vergleich zum Purpur anderer Familien ist der österreichische Purpur nicht nur ein tyrischer, wiederholt wird er mit dem in der Antike besonders geschätzten doppelt eingefärbten *dibapha* gleichgesetzt (p. 104), da er sowohl *regia* als auch *sacra* ist. Ausgehend von dem schon von Erasmus behandelten Adagium (Nr. 1074) *purpura ad purpuram diiudicanda est*¹¹ wird (pp. 99-102) die Vorrangstellung des Hauses Habsburg vor anderen Fürstenhäusern mit einer Episode aus der Historia Augusta Aurel. 29 illustriert: Der Purpur der römischen Matronen und des Kaisers selbst verblaßt gegenüber dem *pallium breve purpureum lanestre*

sich jedoch um ein rein wissenschaftliches Werk, der Purpur des Adressaten dient abgesehen von der Widmung nicht als Anknüpfungspunkt für Panegyrik. — Sucht man innerhalb der Habsburg-Panegyrik nach einem analogen Grundkonzept, so läßt sich am ehesten das über 30 Jahre nach Puteanus' Schrift entstandene Werk *Adamas Austriacus sive indoles heroica augustissimae domus Austriacae* (Francofurti, apud viduam Joan. Gerlini, 1668) des Johann Adam Weber vergleichen, der in ähnlicher Konsequenz wie Puteanus die Eigenschaften des im Titel genannten *adamas* (Diamant, aber auch Magnetstein) symbolisch auf die Vorzüge des Hauses Habsburg bezieht.

¹⁰ Vgl. p. 135: *a tua purpura, ut formulas meas repetam, quia Austriaca, quia sacra, quia regia ...*

¹¹ Da die von Puteanus im Anschluß an das Sprichwort selbst zitierten Stellen (Quint., inst., 12, 10; HA Aurel. 29) schon von Erasmus zu dessen Erklärung herangezogen werden, ist eine Benützung der *Adagia* wahrscheinlich. Erasmus' Quelle ist Phoebammon, *De figuris* (Rhetores Graeci Spengel, Bd. 3, 43).

des kapitolinischen Jupiter (*cineris specie decolorari videbantur ceterae divini comparatione fulgoris*). Während dieser Vergleich in der *Historia Augusta* eingeführt wird, um die besondere Güte einer Purpursorte zu illustrieren, die Kaiser Aurelian vom Perserkönig zum Geschenk erhalten hatte, betont Puteanus weniger die Herkunft dieses Purpurs aus dem fernen Indien (Aurel. 29 *ab Indis interioribus*), als vielmehr seine durch die Weihe an Jupiter gegebene Göttlichkeit, sodaß er als Analogon zur *sacra purpura*, dem Kardinalspurpur, dienen kann, den Ferdinand aus Rom erhalten hat.

Wie aber die Antike betonte, daß gerade der beste, der tyrische Purpur seine Leuchtkraft nur entfalten könne, wenn er hochgehalten aus einiger Entfernung betrachtet werde (pp. 105-106), — Puteanus zitiert Seneca, *Nat. Quaest.*, 1, 5, 12 (p. 97 = 105: *purpuram Tyriam, quo melior saturiorque est, eo oportet altius teneas, ut fulgorem suum ostendat* —, so mußte der vom Papst verliehene römische Purpur zur hohen Stellung des Hauses Habsburg erhoben werden; erst so wird er wahrhaft zum Kardinalspurpur, wie Puteanus durch ein Wortspiel mit dem Titel "Eminenz" zum Ausdruck bringt (pp. 100-101: *ut quia ad Austriacos purpura redit quae sacra est, vere eminentissima dicatur; sed vere splendere incipiat, quia eminentissima facta est*). Durch seine *pietas*, d.h. besonders durch seinen Einsatz für die Gegenreformation, verleiht Habsburg der Kirche neuen Glanz. Dieses Engagement gegen das Gift der Häresie wird in der Folge (p. 110) mit einer angeblichen Wirksamkeit der Purpurschnecke gegen Gift parallelisiert, die Puteanus aus Plin., *nat.*, 32, 66 entnimmt.¹²

Doch nicht allein weltliche und geistliche Würde lassen sich im Purpur darstellen, er ist vielmehr geeignet, ein Gesamtbild von Ferdinands Persönlichkeit zu bieten (p. 80: *ipsa purpura tua plena quaedam et absoluta tui imago est*), vollständiger, als es jedes Gemälde — selbst von Peter Paul Rubens, Theodor Van Loon und Anthonis van Dyck — sein könnte, da im Purpur sein Inneres sichtbar wird (p. 80: *pingant te Rubenii, Vanlonii, Dycquii nostri ... amplius in purpura tua spectabimus. Refert purpura quicquid ne pingi quidem potest, refert ... quicquid non oculis, sed animis videmus*).¹³

¹² Andererseits empfängt der Herrscherpurpur des Hauses Habsburg neuen Glanz von der Sonne des Papstes entsprechend der Aussage des Pollux 1, 49 (p. 107 *gaudet peculiariter sole*).

¹³ Der Bezug auf Cic., *or.*, 8 *quod neque oculis neque auribus neque ullo sensu percipi potest cogitatione tantum et mente complectimur* macht deutlich, daß der Purpur Ferdinands Wesen als Ideal des Regenten gerecht wird.

Puteanus verzichtet freilich nicht auf die physische Schönheit, zumal diese ein Pflichtpunkt des Panegyricus ist¹⁴ und sich, da Ferdinand noch in jugendlichem Alter steht, entsprechend dem antiken Schönheitsideal als Verbindung von Weiß und Rot darstellen läßt, d.h. mit einem Anklang an Ennius als Verbindung von Milch und Purpur (p. 86: *purpura lacte interfusa* nach Ann., 352 Vahlen / Nonius 483, 3 *et semel erubuit ceu lacte et purpura mixta*).¹⁵

In erster Linie aber wird — im Sinne des Ideals der καλοκαγαθία¹⁶ — von Ferdinands Äußerem auf sein Inneres geschlossen: man könne auch hier Purpur erkennen (p. 88: *ipsam in facie mentem vident et purpuram agnoscunt*); gemeint ist seine *mens pura* — wie unter Bezugnahme auf die antike Etymologie (Isid., orig., 19, 28, 5 *purpura apud Latinos a puritate lucis vocata*) ausgeführt wird (*mentem puram, mentem pulchram, mentem Austriacam et tota honestate generosam*). Durch diese Verinnerlichung des Purpurs ergibt sich die Überleitung zu der im Enkomium zentralen Behandlung der *virtutes* (pp. 89-98)¹⁷: Jede einzelne wird mit dem Purpur geglichen bzw. im Bild des Purpurs dargestellt, beginnend von der geradezu sprichwörtlichen *pietas Austriaca*¹⁸, für die sich die Verbindung durch den Kardinalspurpur leicht ergibt. Ferdinands *pietas* aber ist Garantie dafür, daß er einen gerechten Krieg führt, der Gott wohlgefällig ist und daher mit einem Sieg enden wird — wofür aber ebenfalls der Purpur bürgt, als Farbe des Triumphes bei den Römern (p. 90: *victoria tua erit, quia purpura tua est, quae victoriam continet, quae triumphantium olim apud Romanos fuit*). Dies bedürfte zwar kaum eines Beleges, dennoch wird ein Zitat aus der *Naturalis historia* des Älteren Plinius herangezogen (nat., 9, 127: *in triumphali miscetur auro*).

¹⁴ Er vergißt dabei nicht, entsprechend dem Ideal des *puer senex* Ferdinands frühe Reife zu betonen (pp. 81-86), wofür exkursartig (vgl. p. 86: *ad te redeo, Ferdinande*) Vorbilder unter den spanischen Königen zusammengestellt werden, sodaß der Abschnitt in ein Lob Philipps IV. mündet. Zum Topos vgl. E. R. Curtius, *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter* (Bern - München, 1978), pp. 108-112, zu seiner Verwendung in der spätantiken Herrscherpanegyrik G. Posset, *Studien zur panegyrischen Topik in den Panegyrici Latini bis zum Jahre 313* (Diplomarbeit Wien, 1991), pp. 69-73.

¹⁵ Der zusätzlich als Properz zitierte Vers *tincta rubore genas naturae purpura vestit* findet sich in den vier Elegienbüchern nicht.

¹⁶ Posset, *Studien zur panegyrischen Topik in den Panegyrici Latini bis zum Jahre 313*, p. 35.

¹⁷ J. Mesk, 'Zur Technik der lateinischen Panegyriker', *Rheinisches Museum*, 66 (1911), 569-590.

¹⁸ A. Coreth, *Pietas Austriaca. Österreichische Frömmigkeit im Barock*, Österreich Archiv. Schriftenreihe des Instituts für Österreichkunde, 2. erw. Aufl. (Wien, 1982).

Die Verbindung von *iustitia* (p. 91) und Purpur ist ohne Mühe durch Rot als Farbe der Blutgerichtsbarkeit gegeben, sie wird aber zusätzlich unter Aufbietung besonderer Gelehrsamkeit über den Richterstab, die *virga* belgischer Magistrate in Puteanus' Gegenwart hergestellt: Über ein Vergilzitat aus der Schildbeschreibung — *Aen.*, 8, 660 werden die Gallier beim Sturm auf das Kapitol *virgatis ... sagulis* geschildert — und dessen Erklärung durch Servius, daß *virga* in gallischer Sprache Purpur bedeute, gelangt Puteanus zur Identität von Richteramt und Purpur. Durch den Kontrast zu den *purpurei tyranni* des Horaz (*carm.*, 1, 35, 12) wird die Herrschertugend der *clementia* eingeführt, als "*clementia Austriaca*" ein Schlagwort habsburgischer Propaganda.¹⁹

Für *prudentia* und die ihr verwandte *vigilantia* (p. 95) erfolgt die Assoziation zum Purpur über dessen Glanz: Wie erst der *splendor* den Purpur ausmache, so müßten Nacht und Dunkel dem Princeps ferne bleiben. Wie Ferdinand durch den Purpur als Herrscher zu erkennen sei, so erweise er sich durch seine *temperantia* als *dominus sui*; wie natürliche Schönheit durch den Schmuck des Purpurs noch gesteigert werden könne, so sei *liberalitas* die Zier des Herrscherpurpurs (p. 98).

Fortitudo (p. 96) wird unter zwei Gesichtspunkten behandelt: Einerseits wird sie als Bewältigung der *utraque fortuna*, von Glück und Unglück, von Licht- und Schattenseiten des Lebens verstanden und in der am Purpur geschätzten Verbindung von hell und dunkel, der *obscuritas rubens* und *nigredo sanguinea* (Cassiodor, *var.*, 1, 2, 2), symbolisiert gesehen. Andererseits ist den militärischen Fähigkeiten und kriegesischen Erfolgen ein eigener Abschnitt gewidmet. Da es sich um einen traditionellen Punkt des Panegyricus handelt, dem aber auch aufgrund der aktuellen politischen Situation, der Bedrohung durch Frankreich und die Vereinigten Niederlande, besonderes Interesse zukommt, wird ihm viel Raum gegeben (p. 73): In der Schlacht von Nördlingen habe Ferdinand seine Soldaten angespornt, da sie mit seinem Kardinalsrot durch vergossenes Feindesblut wetteiferten. Sein Purpur hatte damit eine ähnliche Wirkung, wie sie von antiken Autoren den Purpurgewändern der Spartaner im Krieg zugeschrieben wird: Sie sollten den Feinden jede Siegeshoffnung rauben, indem sie Verwundungen verdeckten (Val. Max., 2, 6, 2) oder die blutbefleckten Krieger noch schrecklicher aussehen ließen (Aelian, *var. hist.*, 6, 6; schol. Arist. Ach., 320). Wurde nach römischem

¹⁹ V. Pokorny, *Clementia Austriaca. Studien zur besonderen Bedeutung der Clementia principis für das Haus Habsburg* (Diss. Wien, 1973).

Brauch der Beginn der Schlacht durch eine vor dem Zelt des Feldherrn gehißte purpurne Tunika angezeigt (Plut., *Fab.*, 15; *Brut.*, 40, 5), so eröffne die Ankunft Ferdinands im Purpur den (siegreichen) Krieg.²⁰ Das angemessene panegyrische Äquivalent ist ein Götterzeichen, das der homerische Zeus schickt: ein "purpurner Regenbogen" als Vorzeichen für Krieg und Sturm (*Il.*, 17, 547): ἡύτε πορφυρέην ἱρίν θνητοῖσι τανύσση / Ζεὺς ἐξ οὐρανόθεν, τέρας ἔμμεναι ἢ πολέμοιο / ἢ καὶ χειμῶνος δυσθαλπέος.

Bereits die bisher genannten Beispiele können dokumentieren, welche Belesenheit Puteanus für seine Purpur-Vergleiche im einzelnen aufbietet. Bei der Suche nach den jeweils passenden Parallelen beschränkt er sich nicht auf die Geltung des Purpurs als Symbol von Macht und Herrschaft, sondern zieht selbst technische Details der antiken Purpurverarbeitung heran, wie die Gestaltung von zwei weiteren panegyrischen Standardthemen zeigt: das hohe Alter des Geschlechts, dem der Gepriesene angehört, sowie die diesem Geschlecht auf ewig verheißene Herrschaft. Die *aetas gentis Austriacae* wird nicht, wie üblich, durch Rückführung des Geschlechts auf mythische biblische oder antike Ahnen illustriert, sondern mit der Konservierung des Purpurs durch Honig parallelisiert, wie sie z. B. bei Vitruv 7, 13, 3 erwähnt ist. Die *aeternitas gloriae* (p. 110) spiegle sich darin, daß Purpurfarbe nicht mehr ausgewaschen werden könne, wofür u.a. Lucr., 6, 1074-1077 als antike Autorität herangezogen wird. So wird verständlich, daß Puteanus an seinem Werk nicht nur die panegyrisch-literarische Seite gewürdigt wissen wollte, sondern seine philologisch-altertumskundliche Leistung hervorgehoben hat, indem er eine Zusammenstellung der wichtigsten verwendeten (in erster Linie) antiken Quellen als Anhang angeschlossen hat.²¹

²⁰ Die von Puteanus herangezogenen Plutarchstellen sind insofern bemerkenswert, als es sich um zwei für Rom unglückliche Schlachten, um Cannae bzw. Philippi, handelt. Es hat Puteanus offenkundig nicht gestört, daß die Einfügung dieses Details Plutarch als literarisches Mittel dient, um das Verhängnisvolle des Kampfbeginns hervorzuheben.

²¹ Pp. 142-156. Ihr Titel "Purpurae veteris reliquiae selectae quae ad lucem Austriacae faciunt" evoziert den Titel einer wissenschaftlichen Fragmentsammlung. Sie ist freilich künstlerisch gestaltet, indem sie von zwei Martialgedichten 3, 2, 7-12 und 5, 6 gerahmt wird. — Obwohl Puteanus zweifellos mit den meisten zitierten Quellen aus eigener Lektüre wohlvertraut war, konnte er Zusammenstellungen in mehreren natur- und altertumskundlichen Werken des 16. Jh. benützen (die er p. 144 nennt): Conrad Gesner, *Historiae animalium liber quartus qui est de piscium et aquatilium animantium natura* (1558), p. 271-304: *de cochleis*; Ulysses Aldrovandus, *De reliquis animalibus exanguibus libri IV*, Buch 3: *De testaceis*; Gulielmus Rondeletius, *Libri de piscibus marinis*

Von besonderer Bedeutung für das Gesamtkonzept der Schrift, die durchgehende Parallelisierung Ferdinands und Habsburgs mit Eigenschaften des antiken Purpurs, ist der Hinweis, daß der antike Purpur, d.h. die Kunst der Purpurfärberei, in der Gegenwart verloren gegangen ist (p. 7) — geradezu ein Topos in der frühneuzeitlichen (wissenschaftlichen) Literatur über den Purpur.²² Nur der Name hat überlebt (p. 7 *nomen miraculo superstes celebratur*), dieser ist daher aber auch frei für einen neuen Inhalt, sodaß ein neuer geistiger Purpurbegriff entwickelt werden kann: Purpur ist nach der Interpretation des Panegyrikers nicht das äußere Zeichen der herrscherlichen Würde, sondern quasi die Summe jener Qualitäten, die den idealen Fürsten auszeichnen. Diese Deutung kann sich auf die antike Etymologie (vgl. o. S. 306) stützen, die *purpura* mit *purus* zusammenstellt (p. 7: *quasi bis puram, imo bis ignem appello, πῶπ enim ignis et ignis purus*); da die Etymologie aber nach traditioneller Auffassung das Wesen eines Begriffs enthüllt, kann dieser geistige Purpur geradezu als der eigentliche erscheinen. Noch unterstrichen wird dies durch den Hinweis auf die Herstellung des Purpurs, bei der die Färber geradezu kultische Reinheit wahren müßten (p. 9: *putares non tam manu quam mente hoc coloris artificium absolvi* nach Cassiodor, *var.*, 1, 2, 4 *habere debet corporis purissimam castitatem, quia talium rerum secreta refugere dicuntur immunda*). An Ferdinand kann also nicht nur herrschaftlicher und Kardinalspurpur gerühmt werden, er kann vielmehr

(Lugduni, apud Matthiam Bonhomme, 1554), 2, 64ff.; Lazare Baif, *Annotationum in L. Vestis ... seu De re vestitaria* (Basileae, apud Ioannem Bebelium, 1526), cap. 3. In keiner der genannten Abhandlungen findet sich auch nur annähernd jene Vielfalt an antiken Belegen aus den unterschiedlichsten Bereichen, wie sie Puteanus für seinen Panegyricus verarbeitet hat. — Aus dem auch im 18. Jh. anhaltenden Interesse entwickelte sich eine "Purpurologie": A. Dedekind, *Ein Beitrag zur Purpurkunde*, 4 Bde. (Berlin, 1898-1911), Bd. 4 bietet pp. 323-848 ein "Chronologisches Register von bibliographischen Hinweisen auf einige internationale den letztverflossenen 4 Jahrhunderten angehörende Quellen für Purpurkunde (seit 1528 bis 1910)". Vgl. auch A. Dedekind, *Privatissimum für Purpurforscher*, 2. Aufl. (Wien, 1906).

²² Vgl. Polydorus Vergilius, *De rerum inventoribus* (benützt in der Ausgabe Basileae, Thomas Guarinus, 1575) 3, 6: *purpurae usum tam rarum, vel potius nobis penitus esse ignotum*; Joannes Daniel Major, *Annotationes zu Fabio Colonna* (u. Anm. 7), p. 105: *Imo tincturae istius parandae usus plane interiit*, mit Überlegungen zu Ursachen. Schließlich wird der Purpur sogar in einem Werk behandelt, das (in seinem ersten Teil) ausschließlich verlorenem Wissen der Antike gewidmet ist: Guido Pancirolo, *Rerum memorabilium iam olim deperditarum et contra recens ingeniose inventarum libri duo* (benützt in der Ausgabe: *Italice primum conscripti ... nunc vero et Latinitate donati et notis ... illustrati* per Henricum Salmuth (Ambergae, typis Forsterianis, 1599), pp. 9-10); Puteanus zitiert den entsprechenden Abschnitt in der angeschlossenen Testimoniensammlung (pp. 155-156).

aufgrund seiner *mens pura* und seiner *virtutes* als *vere purpureus* gefeiert werden. Er ist gleichsam die Wiedergeburt des antiken Purpurs (p. 11: *novo in te beneficio et redivivo splendore reperta est. indoles tua purpura est, facies purpura, virtus purpura; dignitatem tuam, familiam, serenitatem et te totum non possum nisi purpuram appellare*), dessen Verlust brauche nun nicht mehr beklagt zu werden.

Der Gedanke einer Wiedergeburt des antiken Purpurs, bzw. der Entstehung eines neuen besseren "österreichisch-habsburgischen" Purpurs als Ersatz für den verlorenen antiken kommt auch in der Verwendung des mythologischen Aitions zum Ausdruck: Puteanus beginnt seinen Überblick über die Habsburger in unmittelbarem Anschluß an das Referat der bei dem byzantinischen Historiker Kedrenos (*hist. comp.*, PG Migne 121, 61) gebotenen Version (p. 18): Hercules habe beobachtet, wie ein tyrischer Hirte seinem Hund, der eine Purpurschnecke gefressen hatte, die Lefzen mit Wolle abwischte; er habe daraufhin selbst Wolle mit dem Saft der Purpurschnecke eingefärbt und sie dem König Phoenix zum Geschenk gemacht, der die prächtige Farbe als königliche Zier wählte. Dieser fabula über den primus inventor des tyrischen Purpurs stellt Puteanus die Begründung der Habsburgerdynastie durch Rudolf I. als Erfindung des österreichischen Purpurs gegenüber (pp. 19-20):

rursus et longo temporis non pretii intervallo primus Rudolfus ille Habsburgicus, ille Austriacus fuit et Phoenicem immo Herculem ipsum expressit. invenit purpuram quam familiae suae dedit, gestavit quam meruit purpuram non vellere, sed virtute nobilem, non animantium sanguine, sed hostium.

Dieser österreichische Purpur wird in der Folge konkretisiert in den Wappenfarben, dem sog. Bindenschild, dessen Aition Puteanus erzählt. Er legt seinen Ursprung in die Auseinandersetzung Rudolfs mit Ottokar von Böhmen, in die entscheidende Schlacht bei Dürnkrut und Jedenspeigen (26. August 1278): Rudolfs Sohn Albrecht, der spätere römische König und erste habsburgische Landesherr von Österreich, habe dem Vater eine weiße Fahne vorangetragen, die im Kampf mit Blut befleckt worden sei (pp. 21-22):

cum igitur originis Austriacae scriptores in hoc conflictu Albertum filium patris Rudolphi vexillo candido, sed inter pugnandum hinc inde cruentato viriliter praefuisse tradant, facile statuo insignia familiae hinc sumpta esse, umbonem, inquam, coccineum sive purpureum, zona in medio candida sive argentea, ut loquuntur, divisum.

Der Bindenschild aber weise in zwiefacher Hinsicht auf die Bestimmung von Rudolfs Geschlecht (*gemino velut symbolo exsurgens familiae majestas notata est*): neben dem Herrschaftssymbol des Purpurs deute der weiße, d.h. silberne Balken auf die Krone.

Sowohl Aition als auch damit verbundene Deutung überraschen aus historischer Sicht, da es sich beim Bindenschild ja zunächst keineswegs um ein Familienwappen der Habsburger,²³ sondern um ein Landeswappen handelte, dessen Entstehung bereits mit den Kriegstaten eines Babenbergers verbunden wurde:²⁴ Nach der geläufigen Legende bewies Herzog Leopold V. Virtuosus im dritten Kreuzzug bei der Eroberung von Akkon (1191) so große Tapferkeit, daß sein Waffenrock vom Blut der Ungläubigen ganz rot gefärbt war — bis auf einen weißen Streifen an der Stelle des Schwertgurtcs. Zur Belohnung sei ihm von Kaiser Heinrich VI. ein neues Wappen, ein silberner (weißer) Balken in rotem Feld verliehen worden. Der Kern der Legende ist bereits 1394 in der sog. "Chronik von den 95 Herrschaften" belegt, zu Puteanus' Zeit hatte sich die ausgeschmückte Fassung bereits fest etabliert und war keineswegs auf den österreichischen Raum beschränkt: In einem Antwerpener Druck aus dem Jahr 1594, einer vom Jesuitengymnasium edierten Gedichtsammlung für einen Vorgänger Ferdinands Erzherzog Ernst, wurde sie in poetischer Form gestaltet;²⁵ sogar in Caspar Gevartius' ebenfalls aus Anlaß von Ferdinands Regierungsübernahme entstandenen Prachtband *Pompa introitus Ferdinandi*²⁶ ist sie zur Erklärung

²³ Die ausführlichste Untersuchung zum Ursprung der österreichischen Landesfarben bietet K. Lechner, *Wappen und Farben des Gaues Niederdonau in ihrer historischen Entwicklung* (St. Pölten, o.J.). Vgl. auch F. Gall, *Österreichische Wappenkunde. Handbuch der Wappenwissenschaft*, 2. Aufl. (Wien, 1992), pp. 124-125. — Als *insignia familiae* kann das Wappen nur insofern bezeichnet werden, als die Bezeichnung *domus Austriae* für Babenberger und Habsburger verwendet werden kann: A. Lhotsky, 'Was heißt "Haus Österreich"', in *Europäisches Mittelalter. Das Land Österreich. Aufsätze und Vorträge I* (Wien, 1970), pp. 344-364.

²⁴ Keinen Hinweis auf etwaige Legendenbildung bietet die detaillierte Untersuchung der Schlacht durch A. Kusternig, 'Probleme um die Kämpfe zwischen Rudolf und Ottokar und die Schlacht bei Dürnkrut und Jedenspeigen am 26. August 1278', in *Ottokar-Forschungen. Jahrbuch für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich*, N. F. 44/45 (Wien, 1979), 226-311. Ob das in der Schlacht verwendete *vexillum Austriae* die rot-weiß-rote Fahne oder das Fünf-Adler-Wappen war, wird nicht angegeben: 285, Anm. 340.

²⁵ *Serenissimo archiduci Ernesto, Belgii supremo gubernatori societatis Iesu iuventus studiosa* (Antverpiae, Martinus Nutius, 1594), B 3v-B 4r bietet eine Elegie mit dem argumentum: *Leopoldus albis indutus vestibis muros Acconis superavit; vestis ea tota fuit hostium sanguine cruentata ea tantum parte qua baltheo cingebatur eximia. Hinc familiae Austriae symbolum gentilitium.*

²⁶ Vgl. *Bibliotheca Belgica*, Bd. 3, 193-96.

des Bindenschildes auf einer der Triumphpforten wiedergegeben (p. 47).

Die sorgfältige Abstimmung von Puteanus' Version auf sein panegyrisches Grundkonzept legt die Vermutung nahe, daß es sich um eine Erfindung des Autors handeln muß, für die er den von ihm zitierten *originis Austriacae scriptores* wohl nur einen Ansatzpunkt entnehmen konnte: Der Geschichtsschreiber Wolfgang Lazius zählt die österreichischen Bannerträger in der Schlacht am Marchfeld auf und nennt Rudolfs Sohn Albrecht unter ihnen:²⁷ *crucifixi vexillum quod Albertus maior natu patri praeferebat*; dieselbe Angabe findet sich (wohl im Anschluß an Lazius) in der schon zitierten *Pompa introitus*, im Rahmen einer Serie von Habsburgerbiographien gleich zu Anfang der Vita Albrechts I.²⁸ Dieser Notiz brauchte Puteanus nur das ursprüngliche Weiß der Fahne und ihre Färbung durch Feindesblut ähnlich der Akkonlegende hinzuzufügen, um mit *facile statuo* auch eine analoge Deutung als Aition anschließen zu können. So hat er sich die Möglichkeit geschaffen, Rudolf entsprechend einem beliebten panegyrischen Identifikationsmodell als neuen Hercules darzustellen,²⁹ der die Leistung des antiken Heros überbietet: Der habsburgische Purpur wird über die antike Farbe gestellt, da er nicht aus dem Blut eines Meerestieres gewonnen ist, sondern aus Feindesblut (p. 20: *purpuram non vellere sed virtute nobilem, non animantium sanguine sed hostium*); er kündigt somit von der Tapferkeit seines Trägers, d.h. nicht nur von dessen Würde, sondern von deren innerer Voraussetzung.

Rudolfs Purpur ist daher nicht sein Königsmantel, sondern seine Bewaffnung, sein mit dem Wappen gezielter Schild. Somit ergibt sich das

²⁷ *Commentariorum in Genealogiam Austriacam libri duo* (Basileae, apud Nicolaum Episcopium et Ioannem Oporinum, s.a.), p. 180. Die Teilnahme Albrechts an der Schlacht dürfte nicht historisch sein.

²⁸ P. 55: *in praelio illo memorabili quo Ottocarus Bohemiae rex occubuit, signum militare cum Christi servatoris imagine cruci affixa patri Rodolpho praetulit*.

²⁹ Vgl. G. Bruck, 'Habsburger als "Herculier"', *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, 50 (1953), 191–98. — Ein genaues Analogon würde sich durch die Gleichsetzung Albrechts mit Hercules ergeben: dies scheint Puteanus selbst empfunden zu haben (vgl. p. 20: *et Phoenicem, imo Herculem ipsum expressit*), doch ist die Gleichung des Dynastiegründers mit Hercules zweifellos wirkungsvoller. — Die Überbietung der Herculesarbeiten durch Rudolf von Habsburg findet sich in der Vita des Caspar Dornau (*Rudolphus Habsburgicus panegyrico historico celebratus*, editio altera (Bethaniae ad Oderam, Johannes Döreferus, s.a.), 91 in einer abschließenden poetischen Würdigung: *Prisca quis Herculeae memoret miracula clavae, / Geryonisve necem domiti vel Thracia monstra / vel gravidam colubris hydram, procul ito. Rodolphus / ille est, quem varii victrix industria casus / altius evexit* ...

Paradoxon, daß der *novus Hercules* Rudolf ohne das äußere Zeichen des Purpurs, ja sogar mit jenem einfachem grauen Gewand, von dem die Tradition berichtet,³⁰ Augustus sein kann (p. 23: *potuit etiam sine purpura augustus esse, cui ad ornatum satis erat armatum esse, animo non corpore resplendere, ipsa in pompam vilitate vestus ostentata*). Auch hier wird also letztlich, wie in der Schrift insgesamt zu beobachten, der Purpur in das Innere des Trägers verlagert: Der habsburgische Purpur ist nicht von außen hinzutretender Schmuck, sondern durch eigene *virtus* erworben, daher ist auch die vom Purpur symbolisierte Herrschaft dem Haus geradezu wesensmäßig verbunden und nicht von Fortuna abhängig (p. 38: *ubi virtus quaerenda est, superfluum est, quicquid aut fortuna suppeditat aut fastus usurpat*). Im Gegensatz zu den byzantinischen Kaisern, auf deren purpurnes Geburtszimmer Puteanus verweist, sind die Habsburger — wie schon zuvor betont (p. 36) — *veri πορφυρογέννητοι quia in purpura, id est virtute, nascuntur*; was auch für Ferdinand persönlich gilt (p. 41: *multorum est in purpura nasci, tuum in maiestate ac virtute*).³¹

Doch nicht nur Rudolf, auch der regierende König Philipp IV. von Spanien wird mit Hercules geglichen, Puteanus wählt dafür die im Onomasticon des Iulius Pollux 1,45 erzählte Fassung des Purpuraitions.³² Schon hier ist die Beobachtung eines Hundes, der eine Purpurschnecke gefressen hat, Ausgangspunkt der Erfindung; es ist der Hund des Hercules, dessen blutrote Schnauze die Nymphe Tyros vom Helden ein Gewand dieser Farbe als Liebespfand fordern läßt. Während Puteanus für Rudolf ganz bewußt die entlegene Version des Kedrenos gewählt und so vermieden hat, den Ahnherrn mit einem verliebten Hercules zu parallelisieren,³³

³⁰ W. Treichler, *Mittelalterliche Erzählungen und Anekdoten um Rudolf von Habsburg*, Geist und Werk der Zeiten, 26 (Bern - Frankfurt, 1971), p. 91.

³¹ Geburt und Aufwachsen im Purpur ist ein traditioneller Punkt des βασιλικός λόγος (vgl. Men. rhet. 371: εἰ ἀλουργίδες τὰ σπάργανα), den Puteanus ganz im Sinne seines Gesamtkonzepts gestaltet.

³² Die Geschichte wurde vom Florentiner Humanisten Angelo Poliziano in der ersten Centurie seiner *Miscellanea*, cap. 12 zur Erklärung von Nonnos Dion. 40, 304-310 herangezogen und in der Folge auch von Polydorus Vergilius, *De rerum inventoribus*, 3, 6 aufgenommen. Der entlegene Mythos reizte wiederholt zu poetischer Gestaltung: Antonius Thylesius, *De coloribus* (Venetiis, Bernardinus Vitalis, 1528) (vgl. Dedekind, *Privatissimum*, o. Anm. 20, 325-326); Nicolaus Rigaltius Parisiensis, *Purpura* (*Deliciae poetarum Gallorum*, Bd. 3, 237-239); schließlich noch Ende des 17. Jh. Nicolo Partenio Giannettasio, *Halieutica*, 9 (*Opera omnia poetica* (Neapoli, per Bernardum Michaellem Raillard, 1715-1721), 2, 432).

³³ Kedrenos, auf dem in RE-Artikel nicht verwiesen wird, dürfte die Erzählung des Pollux mit Achilles Tatius 2, 11 kombinieren, bei dem der Hirt als Besitzer des Hundes selbst zum Erfinder wird, Herakles und Tyros dagegen nicht erwähnt sind. Von der Erfin-

konnte er das Liebesverhältnis des Heroen zu Tyros für Philipp IV. gut allegorisieren bzw. als mythische Präfiguration³⁴ auf die Beziehung zwischen dem König, seinem Bruder als Statthalter und der Provinz deuten: Wie einst Hercules die Liebe der Tyros, so gewinnt Philipp die Zuneigung der personifizierten Belgica durch Purpur — den Kardinalspurpur des Infanten. Puteanus präsentiert diese Interpretation noch vor dem Prosapanegyricus in emblematischer Form: Unter dem Lemma *Hoc capitur pretio* zeigt ein Kupferstich (nach einem Entwurf des von Puteanus hochgeschätzten Theodor van Loon)³⁵ Hercules mit seinem Hund, wie er Tyros ein Purpurtuch überreicht; die Darstellung wird in epigrammatischer Form und ausführlicher in einer Ode³⁶ erläutert. Am Ende des Panegyricus ist auf die Deutung nochmals kurz Bezug genommen (p. 139: *misit purpuram, amoris sui pretium, ille novus non in uno orbe, sed gemino Hercules et hac se Belgica velut nova Tyrus capi fateatur*), sodaß sie gleichsam den Rahmen für das Enkomion Ferdinands bildet — eine elegante Möglichkeit, das Lob des regierenden Königs in den Panegyricus für seinen Statthalter einzubauen, ohne dessen Bedeutung zu schmälern.³⁷

Mit der Aktualisierung des Herculesmythos und der Erneuerung des antiken Purpurs in der Person Ferdinands, ist es Puteanus aber darüberhinaus geglückt, ein Standardthema der Panegyrik in sein Werk einzuführen: den Anbruch eines neuen goldenen Zeitalters unter dem gegenwärtigen Regenten (*fata Tyri redeunt, aureus orbis erit*). Es ist Ferdinands Purpur, der als Sonne über dieser neuen Zeit aufgeht: Damit ist ein weiteres Standardmotiv, ein Bild, das nicht nur im Herrscherlob seinen festen Platz hat³⁸, sondern bei Menander auch speziell für die Ankunft des neuen Statthalters (378) empfohlen wird,³⁹ mit einer

derung der Purpurfärberei durch die Beobachtung eines Hundes sprechen auch: Cass., *var.*, 1, 2, 7; Greg. Naz. *or.* 4, 131 D; vgl. K. Schneider, *purpura*, RE 23 (1959), 2001.

³⁴ In der Überschrift *Purpurae typus Hercules et Tyri fabula designatus* verwendet er für diese Präfiguration mit *typus* einen Terminus der Bibelexegese.

³⁵ Vgl. den Beitrag von M. Thøfner, ‘“Amico intimo, ingenio et arte pingendi celeberrimo: Erycius Puteanus and Theodor van Loon”, *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 49 (2000), 359-376.

³⁶ In iambischen Trimetern und Dimetern, dem häufigsten Epodenmaß des Horaz.

³⁷ Das Lob des Kaisers — wenn auch nur in Kurzform — darf in der Begrüßungsrede für einen Statthalter nicht fehlen: vgl. Menand. *rhet.*, 379.

³⁸ H. Wolfram, *Splendor imperii. Die Epiphanie von Tugend und Heil in Herrschaft und Reich, Festschrift zur Jahrtausendfeier der Kaiserkrönung Ottos des Großen* (Graz - Köln, 1963), bes. 144-148.

³⁹ Das Bild wurde in der Panegyrik für habsburgische Statthalter der Niederlande immer wieder gern aufgegriffen: So findet sich etwa in dem schon genannten Antwerpener

besonderen Note einbezogen: Puteanus illustriert den Aufgang der neuen Sonne Ferdinand (p. 4: *novam a novo sole lucem, novam a novo sospitatore salutem excipimus*) zunächst durch ein passend gewähltes Ovidzitat, in dem Purpur als Farbe der Aurora erscheint (*Met.*, 2, 113: *nitido patefecit ab ortu / purpureas Aurora fores*),⁴⁰ um schließlich den Purpur des Habsburgers direkt mit der Sonne gleichzusetzen, indem er ihm Strahlen zuschreibt, mit denen er seinen Untertanen Licht und Heil bringen soll (p. 78: *donec ipse ad tuos purpurae tuae radiis illustrandos venires*).

Sonnen- wie Herculesvergleich sind somit besonders geglückte Beispiele für das literarische Geschick, mit dem Puteanus panegyrische Standardthemen organisch in sein Gesamtkonzept einbindet. Dieses besticht durch die Idee, ein in seinen Grundelementen traditionelles Enkomion an den Purpur des Kardinalinfanten anzuknüpfen, und durch die von großer Belesenheit getragene vielfältige Variation der als Ausgangspunkt angesetzten Gleichung Ferdinand – Purpur. Der Gefahr, das durch zahlreiche antike Quellen gestützte Lob im Bild des Purpurs könnte sich in einer Anhäufung antiquarischer Gelehrsamkeit verlieren, ist Puteanus durch das übergreifende Konzept einer *renovatio purpurae*, einer Überbietung des antiken durch den neuen immateriellen, geistigen Purpur des Habsburgers entgangen. Er hat so ein panegyrisches Porträt des Kardinalinfanten geschaffen, das den Repräsentationsbildern eines Peter Paul Rubens ebenbürtig zur Seite treten kann.

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Druck für Erzherzog Ernst (s. o. Anm. 24) ein Gedicht mit dem Titel "Ernestus Belgii tenebras pellit"; bezogen auf Ferdinand erscheint der Sonnenvergleich sowohl in der *Pompa introitus Ferdinandi* (p. 11: *Sol Belgis exorte tuis*) als auch in dem eingangs zitierten Huldigungsgedicht des Jesuiten Guilielmus Becanus (*eleg.*, 2, 6: *Ecce nitet puro diffusum lumine coelum / cumque tuo vultu convenit ipsa dies / tuque quod in terris, hoc praestat in aethere Titan, / tu tenebras animis discutis, ille polo*).

⁴⁰ In diesem Sinn ist wohl auch das p. 141 abschließend kommentarlos abgedruckte Zitat von *Aen.*, 12, 79 (*Puniceis invecta rotis Aurora rubebit*) zu verstehen.

Jan PAPY

IN PRAISE OF THE OMNIPRESENT EGG:
ERYCIUS PUTEANUS' *OVI ENCOMIUM* (1615)*

“Je vous donne des œufs. L'œuf en sa forme ronde
Semble au Ciel, qui peut tout en ses bras enfermer,
Le feu, l'air et la terre, et l'humeur de la mer
Et sans estre comprins comprend tout en ce monde”
Pierre de Ronsard, *Les Amours Diverses*, XLVII (1578)

“Most philosophers must have been raised on chicken farms”
Sherwood Anderson, *The Triumph of the Egg* (1921)

1. Promulsis

“Perhaps you could call it *Aestuarium Bamelrodia*, for — as far as I can see — this is a lake inundating the whole land around the Mountain *Puteani*, which has the form of an egg. What is your opinion about adding the word *Ovum*? So it would be called *Ovum Puteani*. This would be all the more pleasant, because I have written a treatise on the egg, which was intitulated *Encomium Ovi* and was well noticed by everyone”.

In these words Puteanus wrote to his younger friend, the astronomer Michael van Langren who was working on a map of the moon and looking for appropriate names for the newly discovered areas on that planet.¹

* Postdoctoral Fellow of the Fund for Scientific Research - Flanders (Belgium). This is a revised and elaborated version of a paper read at the International Colloquium on Erycius Puteanus, which was organised at Leuven and Antwerp, 7-9 November 1996. I would like to thank Prof. Dr. R. W. Truman (Oxford, Christ Church College) and Prof. Dr. M. Laureys (Univ. of Bonn) who were so kind as to correct my English text, and Prof. Dr. T. Van Houdt (KULeuven) for his comments on a first draft of this text.

¹ Cf. J. J. Moreau, *Honderd veertien Nederlandse brieven van Erycius Puteanus aan de astronoom Michael Florent van Langren* (Antwerpen, 1957), p. 159. The original letter is kept in manuscript at Brussels, Royal Library, ms. 19837, fol. 125. The letter is dated at Louvain, 1 April 1645. On Van Langren's map of the moon, see H. Bosmans, 'La carte lunaire de Van Langren conservée aux Archives générales du Royaume, à Bruxelles', *Revue des questions scientifiques de Bruxelles*, 54 (1903), 108-139.

In so doing, Puteanus is not only showing his boundless childish vanity — the wish to immortalize his name, nobility and work — but also his satisfaction with his *Praise of the Egg*, a work which came out first in 1615,² thirty years before he wrote his letter to Van Langren. So, the question arises whether Puteanus' satisfaction is justified. And, what was he aiming at with his *Ovi Encomium*, a work he once described in a covering letter as “only a short encomium, hardly a book at all, expressing the purity of character of his friend”.³ In our attempt to answer those questions, we are in a rather good position, for we have at our disposal two important sources treating the genesis of Puteanus' *Praise of the Egg*.

In the first place there are Puteanus' letters to the dedicatee of his *Ovi encomium*, David Floritius (David-Floris de Riquebourg-Trigault),⁴ the intendant of Prince Philip-William of Orange Nassau. Puteanus even

² Puteanus' *Ovi encomium* was indeed quite successful, having been printed ten times. As a separate volume it was printed twice, at Louvain in 1615 and at Munich in 1617. It was taken up by Puteanus himself in his own collection, the *Suada Attica*, which was printed four times, in 1615, 1623, 1640 and 1644 (cf. F. Vander Haeghen - M.-T. Lenger, *Bibliotheca Belgica: bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas* (Bruxelles, 1964), t. IV, pp. 780-782 and 784). Further, Caspar Dornavius took it up in his *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Socraticae Joco-Seriae*, a collection of *encomia* issued in 1619 and 1670 (cf. R. Seidel (ed.), *Caspar Dornavius (Dornau) Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Socraticae Joco-Seriae. Schauplatz scherz- und ernsthafter Weisheiten. Neudruck der Ausgabe Hanau 1619, Texte der Frühen Neuzeit* (Goldbach, 1995), p. X, n. 7). T. Simar, *Étude sur Erycius Puteanus (1574-1646), considéré spécialement dans l'histoire de la philologie belge et dans son enseignement à l'université de Louvain*, Université de Louvain. Recueil de Travaux publiés par les membres des Conférences d'Histoire et de Philologie, 23 (Louvain - Paris - Bruxelles, 1909), p. XIV, and A. S. Pease, 'Things without Honor', *Classical Philology*, 21 (1926), 27-42 (p. 28, n. 1) both add another collection, in which the *Ovi encomium* was taken up four times: the *Admiranda rerum admirabilium encomia sive diserta et amoena Pallas disserens seria sub ludicra specie. Hoc est, Dissertationum Ludicarum, nec non Amoenitatum Scriptores Varii*, printed in 1636, 1644, 1666 and 1676.

³ Covering letter to Denis de Villers (Dionysius Villerius; 1544-1620), canon of Tournai and former friend of Lipsius, in which Puteanus offered him a copy of his *Ovi encomium* (cf. E. Puteanus, *Epistolarum Selectarum Apparatus Miscellaneus et Novus* (Coloniae, 1641), I, 55). Before World War II this copy, including Puteanus' autograph dedication, was kept at Tournai, Bibliothèque de la ville. See F. Vander Haeghen - M.-T. Lenger, *Bibliotheca Belgica: bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas* (Bruxelles, 1964), t. IV, p. 784).

⁴ From Puteanus *Ovi encomium*, we know that Floritius studied philosophy, law and medicine and obtained his degree at the age of sixteen. During his stay at Paris in 1613, Floritius urged Nicolas Pelloquin to publish a French translation of Puteanus' *Comus*, which was already issued at Paris in 1613 and made Puteanus' reputation in France. Pelloquin dedicated his translation to Floritius (cf. F. Vander Haeghen - M.-T. Lenger, *Bibliotheca Belgica: bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas* (Bruxelles, 1964), t. IV, pp. 767-768; Simar, *Étude sur Erycius Puteanus*, p. 78 and 197).

carefully collected these letters in a special *Centuria* of his *Epistolarum Atticarum Missus Secundi*⁵ in order to obtain the patronage of the prince for his *Palaestra Bonae Mentis*, now in decline, which was founded in 1610 and already stood under the patronage of Archduke Albert. Because of their “flattering character” — which is the opinion of Roersch and Simar⁶ — this collection of letters has not received the attention it deserves, although it contains a mass of information on several of Puteanus' works. Concerning Puteanus' *Ovum*, for instance, we learn that Puteanus wrote this encomium to compete with Floritius, who himself wrote a speech on the same theme, and that he thought imitation was the most appropriate way to honour his friend.⁷ Beyond this important key information concerning the reasons *why* Puteanus wrote his encomium, these letters also enable us to gain a clear understanding *what* exactly is happening when Puteanus is writing his *Praise of the Egg* for Floritius. The complex consequences of Puteanus' humanist *speech act* as regarded from a pragmatic linguistic level will therefore be treated separately in the last part of this contribution.

Secondly, there are Puteanus' motives of writing, put in a wider perspective in his letter of dedication of his *Suada Attica*, the first volume of Puteanus' collected works containing twenty of his orations held at Milan and Louvain.⁸ In this letter, dated 1 March 1615, Puteanus is not only thanking the *Tres Ordines Brabantiae* for his appointment as successor to Lipsius, but also hoping that “in this way the voice of Lipsius could still speak”, and that — still more important — “the things the unsurpassable Lipsius overlooked, could be taken up now”.⁹ By a special training at Puteanus' new institute students could reap the most exquisite fruits of eloquence: the art of speaking extempore about no

⁵ The third *Centuria* of Puteanus' *Epistolarum Atticarum Missus Secundi* in *Centurias tres divisi, Jam vero Centuria Singolari et Nova aucti*. We used the Cologne-edition of 1636; copy at the University Library of Louvain (nr. CaaA234).

⁶ Cf. A. Roersch, ‘Puteanus (Erycius) ou Eerrik de Putte’, in: *Biographie Nationale* (Bruxelles, 1905), t. 18, col. 329-344 (338); T. Simar, *Étude sur Erycius Puteanus*, p. 30.

⁷ Cf. E. Puteanus, *Epistolarum Atticarum Missus Secundi*, Cent. III, epist. 26. The letter is dated Louvain, 10 January 1614.

⁸ We have used the Elzevier-edition: *Erycii Puteani Suada Attica, sive Orationum Selectarum Syntagma. Item Palaestra Bonae Mentis, prorsus innovata*. Editio ultima, emendatissima (Amsterdam, 1644).

⁹ Cf. E. Puteanus, *Suada Attica* (1644), fol. *4v-*5r: “Voulistis enim lingua mea etiam loqui Lipsium, mea industria velut vivere mortuum; aut certe superasse artes, quae tantum virum intermori non sinunt... Et tamen tantum ingenio indulsi meo, ut, quia Successorem esse voulistis, non cessaret aemulatio. Igitur postquam sequi conatus sum quae praestitit, intendi industriae vires et praestare quoque ausus sum quae omisit”.

matter what subject. For this reason, Puteanus wants to show his sovereigns what this art really means by this selection of his orations. In his school a youth is trained to speak about a curious variety of subjects (*rerum curiosa varietate*),¹⁰ not to produce literature, but to be prepared for the political debate: the ancient connection of *sapientia* and *facundia*, of Mercury and Minerva. And a simple look at the collected orations gives indeed an idea of that curious variety: next to his *Praise of the Egg*, Puteanus tried his hand at an *In sclopium declamatio*, a *De sapientia mystica*, a *De officio iudicis*, a *De morte* and a *Laus parvi*, orations that were all given by Puteanus himself at the Faculty of Arts or at the Collegium Trilingue during the last four years of his professorship at Louvain as an example to be imitated by his students: “ut exemplo meo excitarem omnes atque dirigerem”.¹¹

All these orations belong to the genus demonstrativum and are put into Puteanus' typical Latin style, on which he had already explained his views in his *Laconismi Encomium* (issued at Milan in 1606). In a special explanatory note¹² following the letter of dedication in his *Suada Attica* Puteanus puts forward as his main exemplar the Attic orator Lysias, called “egregie subtilis scriptor atque elegans” by Cicero.¹³ The brevity of style Puteanus is aiming at is the one Phavorinus expounds in Gellius' *Noctes Atticae*: “If you take a single word from a discourse of Plato or change it, and even do it with the utmost skill, you will nevertheless mar the elegance of his style; if you do the same to Lysias, you will obscure his meaning”.¹⁴

However much Puteanus stressed the importance of the right rhetorical style, one can not but have the impression that his *Praise of the Egg* is to be situated in the long tradition of the ironic encomia,¹⁵ devoted to praise of what is usually considered as *quantité négligeable*, harmful, injurious, base, trivial, useless, ridiculous or obviously unworthy of praise. This rich tradition of “adoxography” goes back to Antiquity, starting with the early

¹⁰ Cf. E. Puteanus, *Suada Attica* (1644), fol. *6r: “Itaque ex orationibus scriptis et velut domo allatis habitisque constabit hoc munus. E scriptis, sed selectis, quae, ut mea est opinio, rerum curiosa varietate ad omne porro dicendi argumentum juventutem provovent”.

¹¹ Cf. E. Puteanus, *Suada Attica* (1644), in his final letter: *Lectori S.*, p. [620].

¹² Cf. E. Puteanus, *Suada Attica* (1644), *Character harum orationum*, fol. *11v-12r.

¹³ Cf. Cicero, *Brutus*, 9, 35.

¹⁴ Cf. Aulus Gellius, 2, 5. Cited in E. Puteanus, *Suada Attica* (1644), fol. 12r.

¹⁵ For a general survey and introduction, see A. Hauffen, ‘Zur Litteratur der ironischen Enkomien’, *Vierteljahresschrift für Literaturgeschichte*, 6 (1893), 161-185; and, now also, M. van der Poel, *De Declamatio bij de humanisten. Bijdrage tot de studie van de functies van de rhetorica in de Renaissance* (Nieuwkoop, 1987), pp. 199-205.

beginnings of Greek literature (with Homer and Gorgias) and flourishing during the second Sophistic in the Roman Empire. The sophistic dialectic training sought to prepare men to speak in public, in the assembly, the courtroom, and defending in these speeches either side of a question or even both sides. Yet what better training than this exercise of defending the indefensible or salvaging the universally rejected? Did not Aristotle already state that men desire to prove paradoxes in order that they may, if successful, be considered clever?¹⁶ Further, since the great interest in natural science had developed, praise of the more lowly forms of animal and vegetable life, of the minute or the least detail of the skill of the divine workmanship had become something fit for the true philosopher. As St Augustine remarked: "This work of His is so great and marvellous that not only in the case of man — a rational animal, hence more excellent and outstanding than all earthly animals — but even in the case of the tiniest little fly, it fills with amazement one who considers things well, and calls forth praise of the Creator".¹⁷ This offers a direct explanation for the abundance of praises of the ant, the bee, the parrot, the mice and the bed-bug. More indirectly the growing interest in natural science brought about encomia on a diversity of diseases and natural phenomena such as the quartan fever, blindness, sleep, old age and death.¹⁸

So, Puteanus joined a rich tradition deriving from Antiquity, which had been taken up already at the beginning of humanism and — for Northern Humanism — gives us the names of Erasmus, Heinsius, Pirckheimer, Scaliger and Lipsius,¹⁹ which crowd the pages of the most extensive collection, the *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Socraticae Joco-Seriae* (1619) of Caspar Dornavius.²⁰ The subtitle of this collection,

¹⁶ Cf. Aristotle, *Ethica Nicomachea*, 7, 2, 8 (1146a).

¹⁷ Cf. Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, 22, 24.

¹⁸ A syncretical survey is given by A. S. Pease, 'Things without Honor', *Classical Philology*, 21 (1926), 27-42.

¹⁹ On Lipsius and the tradition of the humanist *laudes*, see J. Papy, 'Lipsius and his Dogs: Humanist Tradition, Iconography and Rubens's *Four Philosophers*', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 62 (1999), 165-196.

²⁰ Full title: *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Socraticae Joco-Seriae, hoc est, Encomia et Commentaria Autorum, qua veterum, qua recentiorum prope omnium, quibus res, aut pro vilibus vulgo aut damnosis habitae, Styli Patrocinio vindicantur, exornantur. Opus ad Mysteria Naturae discenda, ad omnem amoenitatem, sapientiam, virtutem, publice privatimque utilissimum in Duos Tomos partim ex Libris editis, partim Manuscriptis congestum tributumque* (Hanoviae, 1619). Reprint: R. Seidel (ed.), *Caspar Dornavius (Dornau) Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Socraticae Joco-Seriae. Schauplatz scherz- und ernsthafter Weisheiten. Neudruck der Ausgabe Hanau 1619, Texte der Frühen Neuzeit* (Goldbach, 1995).

ranging 624 titles arranged under 169 headings, gives a more precise view on this humanist revival: “ad omnem amoenitatem, sapientiam, virtutem publice privatimque utilissimum”. For the humanist educational aim is two-fold: the learning of “elegantiores mores” through the help of the Socratic knowledge of virtue (*sapientia*) on the one side, and, the revaluation of the jest (*amoenitas*) on the other. This aim is also reflected in Dornavius’ choice of texts, for he took up four texts of Lucian, of which three belong to the most imitated ones in both sections: the *Praise of the fly* and the *parasite* belonging to the didactic form, and the *Praise of podagra* to the purely humorous.²¹ The fact Dornavius took up Puteanus’ *Ovi Encomium* is justified by the same concern, since Puteanus aimed at a similar combination of erudite recreation and a serious yet agreeable manner (*remissio erudita, amoenitas seria*).²²

2. Mensae primae

2.1 *Cena prima: the divine character of the egg*

In adoxography the rhetorical task of the *inventio* is a matter of major concern: the issues and possibilities more or less hidden in the object of praise, must be brought out.²³ Therefore, Puteanus’ principal motif is carefully chosen and elaborated throughout the entire oration: the egg is the greatest and unique miracle of Nature, it is a true, divine treasure and most useful for *esum*, *usum* and *lusum*, i.e. for food, use and play.

People can be amazed at a hurtling meteorite, a falling star, an earthquake, the birth of an hermaphrodite, Puteanus says, but where nature is most familiar, it is most wonderful: the web of the spider, the honey comb of the bees, the stocks of the ants. All this, however, is overshadowed by the nature of the egg. Nowhere else was nature as generous and

²¹ Cf. C. Robinson, *Lucian and his Influence in Europe* (London, 1979), pp. 98-99; C. Lauvergnat-Gagnière, *Lucien de Samosate et le Lucianisme en France au XVI^e siècle. Athéisme et Polémique* (Genève, 1988), p. 295. See also C. A. Mayer, ‘Lucien et la Renaissance’, *Revue de littérature comparée*, 47 (1973), 5-22. The *Praefatio ad Lectorem* of the *Admiranda Rerum Admirabilium Encomia, sive Diserta et Amoena Pallas* (see note 2), shows the same twofold aim by combining *amoenitas* and *seria* or *utilitas*.

²² Cf. E. Puteanus, *Ovi encomium, quo Summum et unicum Naturae Miraculum describitur* (Monaci, 1617), p. 3.

²³ Cf. H. Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik* (Stuttgart, 1990³), p. 146.

wasteful, as surprising and profitable. Yet, no one seems to know what an egg really is.²⁴ Take for instance the origin of the egg: which came first, the chicken or the egg? With this old riddle which is typical philosophical table-talk from Antiquity (Plutarch, Macrobius),²⁵ Puteanus opens his argumentation, which is more important than the conclusion itself. However, it is striking how closely Puteanus follows the discussion found in Plutarch's *Table-talk* and Macrobius' *Saturnalia*: an egg must have an origin, but in such a way that it could be born without a mother and at the same time be generating a mother. So, the seed must be the origin of everything, the egg the medium and the animal the product.²⁶ Nevertheless, the egg must be more perfect than the seed because it already has a form. So, one must conclude that the egg originates from the hen just as everything originates from mud.

Yet, the egg has not grown out of the mud as did all other living creatures,²⁷ since the egg generates 'immaculate' creatures that walk, crawl, swim and fly. There is no race, one might say, in which birth from the egg is absent: countless creatures of air, sea and land, amphibious, many-legged, two-legged and legless creatures are all produced by the egg.²⁸ The conclusion, then, is self-evident: the egg came into being together with Nature itself, so that it reaches over heaven and earth. Following the oldest wisdom, heaven and earth in their turn have their origin in the Orphic egg,²⁹ the domicile of the Gods and men and — as Proclus commented on Plato's *Timaeus*³⁰ — this egg is the same as the Platonic *ens*. Puteanus admits that this view has been rejected by the

²⁴ Puteanus' eulogy of the egg — if ever — has been remembered by modern scholars for only one of his quoted aphorisms: *Quid sit ovum, nemo tam rudis, ut nesciat; et tamen nemo tam perfectus, ut sciat*. Cf. H. B. Adelman, *Marcello Malpighi and the Evolution of Embryology*, Cornell Publications in the History of Science (Ithaca (New York), 1966), I, p. 54.

²⁵ Cf. M. Jeanneret, *A Feast of Words. Banquets and Table Talk in the Renaissance*. English translation by J. Whiteley - E. Hughes (Cambridge, 1991), p. 167.

²⁶ Cf. Plutarch, *Quaestiones convivales*, 2, 3 (636b).

²⁷ Cf. Plutarch, *Quaestiones convivales*, 2, 3 (637e).

²⁸ Cf. Plutarch, *Quaestiones convivales*, 2, 3 (636e) and Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, 7, 16, 6-7.

²⁹ Cf. Plutarch, *Quaestiones convivales*, 2, 3 (636d). Cf. O. Kern, *Orphicorum fragmenta* (Dublin - Zürich, 1972²), fragm. 60. On the Orphic egg, see R. Böhme, *Orpheus. Der Sänger und seine Zeit* (Bern - München, 1970), pp. 249-254; W. K. C. Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek Religion* (London, 1935), pp. 254-255, and also E. Wind, *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance* (Oxford, 1980), pp. 169-170.

³⁰ Cf. Proclus, *In Platonis Timaeum*, 30c-33c. Puteanus' explanations are based on Plutarch's *Quaestiones convivales*, 2, 3 (635e and 636d-e).

Christian philosopher Athenagoras, arguing that an immense egg came from Hercules and was divided into two parts, the upper one being heaven, the lower one being earth.³¹ Even Eusebius, following the Phoenician tradition of Sanchoniaton, says that mud first generated seed, of which wild animals came into being. Once these were endowed with reason (νοερά), they contemplated heaven and saw it as having the egg-form.³²

Nevertheless, Puteanus' statement remains categorical: the hen must be called the mother of nature and the symbol of fertility and this in spite of the view of Neocles of Croton, who was mistaken in saying that the egg from which Helen sprang fell from the moon, so that the moon-women (*Selenitides*) are the mothers of nature.³³ Besides, sexual difference is already effectuated at the origin: animals that come from an uterus have male qualities, those that come from an egg female. While nature generates a formed foetus in utero and, in that way is just following nature's will, the female task is multiple: the egg must be transformed into a foetus, which implies that the female must generate twice (the egg in the animal, the animal in the egg) and so procreates in deeper sense than the male.³⁴ Further, no other animal raises his head as much as the hen towards the oviform heaven, in that way manifestly indicating the cause of its pregnancy. This is also the reason why the hen daily lays an egg as it crows cheerfully, and — so to speak — expresses her gratitude with a 'song'. One would almost believe, Puteanus says, that an egg is a divine gift of Jupiter and that where an egg is being laid a deity dwells. The thesis of a correlation between the form of heaven and the egg, is grounded by Puteanus on the view of the old Phoenician writer Sanchoniaton of Tyrus and opposed to the opinion of Plutarch and others who conceive the universe as spherical or having the form of a top. Besides, recent efforts to scrutinize the universe with lenses open the path to new insights, so that the views of the ancient Orgiophants seem to gain significance: the egg being the domicile of the gods, one would be even inclined to believe that even a fragile tile is divine!

³¹ Cf. G. Bardy (transl.), *Athenagore. Supplique au sujet des Chrétiens*, Sources Chrétiennes, 3 (Paris - Lyon, 1943), cap. XVIII (p. 112).

³² Cf. Eusebius, *Praeparatio evangelica*, I, 10, §1-4. On Sanchoniaton, cf. H. Grimme, art. 'Sanchuniaton', in: G. Wissowa, *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart, 1920), I, 2, col. 2232-2244.

³³ Passage borrowed from Athenaeus, *Deipnosophists*, 57f and Plutarch, *Quaestiones conviviales*, 2, 3 (637b).

³⁴ Compare with Plutarch, *Quaestiones conviviales*, 2, 3 (637c).

For all those reasons, it is clear why eggs are loved at first sight, their miraculous form expressing divine dignity and inimitable perfection. More than with the similar sphere, itself a symbol of eternity because no beginning or end can be discerned in it, man is faced with the mystery of life and divine perfection of the pointed, curved and polished form of the egg, which no one can fully fathom and which reflects the egg's dignity.

But the Ancients were still more fascinated by the shining and dazzling whiteness of certain eggs, reminding them once again of the brightness of heaven, this being the reason why eggs gave their color to the royal diadem and the candidate's glittering white toga. Eggs with a purple shell, conversely, were regarded as an ill omen. After Lampridius' anecdote on Alexander Severus and Antoninus Diadumenus,³⁵ Puteanus relates Spartianus' story of the purple egg which was laid by a hen in the palace immediately after Antonius Geta was born. This egg was brought in and dashed upon the ground by his brother Bassianus, whereupon his mother Julia is said to have exclaimed "Accursed fratricide, you have killed your brother!":³⁶ prophecy which became afterwards abundantly true.

But, these being faults or degenerations of nature — as Puteanus puts it, after having treated all sorts of birds' eggs³⁷ — the color of the egg's core is the real treasure to recover. Not only does this inner matter contain gold and silver, but it is above all amazing to notice that the soft albumen is transformed into the hard egg-shell, which still contains albumen, so that inside the shell there is egg white and in the egg-white there is — in potency — the egg-shell, both being white as Aristotle already observed.³⁸ In connection with this, Puteanus tries to explain nature's mystery of generation starting from a forced etymology: the yolk or *vitellus*³⁹ is derived from *vita*, because it is the nourishment for every living creature. Besides, this gold-coloured yolk is intended more for nourishment than for generation, since — according to Pliny⁴⁰ — only eggs which are filled with yolk can generate chicks. So, the nutritive power of the yolk is the key to the generation, so that the Greeks called this yolk "the gold of the egg".⁴¹ Because of its importance, the

³⁵ Cf. *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, *Severus Alexander*, 13, 1; *Antoninus Diadumenianus*, 4, 1-6.

³⁶ Cf. *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, *Geta*, 3, 1-5.

³⁷ Following i. a. Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, 10, 74, 144.

³⁸ Cf. Aristotle, *De generatione animalium*, 3, 2, 1 (752a).

³⁹ In fact it is derived from *vitulus*, a little calf; cf. Plautus, *Asinaria*, 666.

⁴⁰ Cf. Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, 10, 74, 148.

⁴¹ See, for instance, Athenaeus, *Deipnosophists*, 376d.

yolk is placed in the centre (*meditullium*) of the egg, enclosed by the shell, the membrane and the albumen. In this way — Puteanus suggests — this “drop of blood” (*sanguinea gutta*) can be compared with the heart,⁴² which also comes into being in the first place and has the same central position, but it can even be compared with earth and heaven. As Varro⁴³ already pointed out, the earth is surrounded as well by a fluid and an earthen pot (*testa*), so that the whole is enclosed by an air bladder providing the necessary warmth (*calor*) for life. In a roundabout way through the ancient medical doctrine on the humours, Puteanus tries to expound the relation between the cold and warm fluids in the egg in order to give depth to his main view on the egg’s divine character. The simple recognition that a boiled egg is similar to the human corpse (it comes up after it has sunk; it grows pale) leads Puteanus to the conclusion that all real treasures are carefully stored at the centre of both the human body and the egg. As the Latin word for the human marrow, *medulla*, expresses at the same time dignity and quintessence,⁴⁴ so the inner part of the egg, too, must be considered as the best part. But, contrary to the human body, this quintessence is surrounded by a softer material and clearly distinct from the other parts. This elicits from Puteanus the quasi-lyrical description as “there being gold in silver, fire in water, topaz in crystal, saffron in snow, amber in flint glass”,⁴⁵ so that one cannot but admit in general that there is nothing more beautiful than the egg, for everything we love and esteem is contained in the egg’s divine form and play of colours.

If this divine character is well reflected in the fact that the egg contains the *ordo*, *elegantia* and *ornamenta mundi*, then it is once again expressed in the fact that the egg combines both strength and weakness:

⁴² Image taken from Pliny, *Naturalis historia*, 10, 74, 148.

⁴³ Cf. Probus, Verg. ecl. 6, 31 (ed. H. Hagen, *Appendix Serviana ceteros praeter Servium et Scholia Bernensia Vergilii Commentatores continens* (Hildesheim, 1961 [=1902])), p. 341: “Varro mundo ovum comparavit in Logistorico, qui inscribitur Tubero de origine humana, sic dicens: Caelum est ut testa, item vitellum ut terra, inter illa duo humor quasi ἰκμάς inclusus aer, in quo calor”.

⁴⁴ For *medulla* in this sense, see, for instance: Plautus, *Stich.*, 340-341; Cicero, *Tusc.*, 4, 10, 24; id., *Phil.*, 1, 15, 36; Ovid, *Trist.*, 1, 5, 9.

⁴⁵ Cf. E. Puteanus, *Ovi encomium, quo Summum et unicum Naturae Miraculum describitur* (Monaci, 1617), p. 47: “Putes in argento aurum, in aqua ignem, in crystallo chrysolithum, in nive crocum, in vitro electrum, in lacte purpuram natere”. Here, one can easily hear the echo of the alchemical symbolism, where the egg symbol occurs in many different forms and contexts; cf. H. J. Sheppard, ‘Egg Symbolism in Alchemy’, *Ambix. The Journal of the Society for the Study of Alchemy and Early Chemistry*, 6 (1958), 140-148.

nothing is stronger and breaks so easily at the same time, since no force or weight will break them when the eggs are perpendicular, but only when the oval is slightly inclined.⁴⁶ In this respect the egg must be regarded as the *optimum* and the *pessimum*. All the same, eggs are at their best when new-laid; when rotten, they have a nasty smell. So, Puteanus sighs, let this be a lesson to all those greedy and grasping merchants, who by means of tricks and holding thing back from the market⁴⁷ want to line their purses. Such greed despises nature's generosity and most perfect gift without having the good sense to enjoy this daily delicacy. Did not the Phrygian fabulist warn of this enough by giving the famous example of the goose that laid golden eggs?⁴⁸

2.2 *Cena secunda: the principal virtues of the egg*

Next to his *leitmotiv* of the divine character of the egg, Puteanus works out three principal virtues as being characteristic for the egg: the egg is most suited for *esum*, *usum* and *lusum*. As has been mentioned before, Puteanus gives extensive development to his rhetorical task of finding surprising topics illustrating the unique character of his object of praise.

In the first place, the egg is praised as the only existing nourishment on earth, even before mankind came into being. Ceres provided bread, the hen the 'sandwich filling'. From that moment on the egg swept all before one in the dining-room and this *ab ovo usque ad mala*, i.e. from the first course (*promulsis*) until the dessert (*bellaria*).⁴⁹ No wonder, since eggs can be found everywhere and in all varieties. In spite of the expression that an egg resembles mostly an egg,⁵⁰ differences can be discerned: though it is considered as an ἄδύνατον that an egg can stand

⁴⁶ As stated already by Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, 29, 11, 46.

⁴⁷ Here, Puteanus digresses by enumerating a lot of methods, recorded by Columella and Pliny, to save eggs in winter and summer, this by using salt, 'lomentum', chaff, bran or beans.

⁴⁸ Cf. Aesopus, *Fabulae*, 287 (ed. E. Chambry, Paris, 1985⁴, p. 126). Puteanus also gives the example of the widow who fed her chicken more and more in order to have more eggs, but ended without (Aesopus, *Fabulae*, 90 (ed. E. Chambry, Paris, 1985⁴, pp. 42-43).

⁴⁹ Cf. Horace, *sat.*, 1, 3, 6. Compare with Cicero, *Fam.*, 9, 20, 1: "integram famem ad ovum affero".

⁵⁰ Cf. Cicero, *Academica priora*, 2, 18, 57: "videsne, ut in proverbio sit ovorum inter se similitudo". See also Seneca, *Apocolocyntosis*, 11 and Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, 5, 11, 30.

upright without breaking the shell (as did Columbus), Puteanus states it is on the contrary peculiar to eggs, nuts, acorns and pears that they can, because all of them will stand on their most heavy side.

Already in Antiquity these differences in form and colour were connected with differences in quality. Aristotle,⁵¹ for instance, noticed that the longer eggs have a better taste, because they generate male animals; the more rotund, because they fail in their natural task by generating inferior females, taste more nasty. Treating of the so-called wind-eggs (*hypoemia*), Pliny remarked that these eggs are sterile, of smaller size and less agreeable flavour.⁵² If these eggs were not sterile, Puteanus comments in the margin, nature would produce a puffed up type of people. Fortunately, nature was so clever as to make the mother abort this unworthy foetus, so that arrogance and pride did not come to being. The pick of the bunch concerning the egg's size, however, is the magnificent *decumanum ovum*, thus called, according to Festus, because they are immense like the *decumani fluctus*, the tenth wave known as being a roller.⁵³ Still more impressive in size, however, are the twins (*geminum ovum*; *δίδυμον*), the sort out of which the Dioscuri came from, and the triplets (*trigeminum ovum*; *τρίδυμον*), this last sort being celebrated in Ausonius' riddle of the number three⁵⁴ as being the egg of the Dioscuri and Helen.

Of greater importance, however, for culinary use are the egg's four properties, since nothing is better, more easy to prepare, more clean and more safe than the egg. After having illustrated all sorts of preparation in a erudite culinary vocabulary gathered from Athenaeus' *Deipnosophists*, the immense encyclopaedia of the ins and outs of the question of food in the classical world scrutinized by the humanists,⁵⁵ Puteanus sets about elaborating this fourfold statement. Here we will focus on only the most striking of his arguments. First, no food is better than the egg: the ingestion of this sort of food is total, it purifies the blood and the nutritive value is optimal, since no other food is so nourishing in sickness without over-

⁵¹ Cf. Aristotle, *De generatione animalium*, 3, 1 (750b).

⁵² Cf. Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, 10, 166.

⁵³ Puteanus quotes the verse of Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 11, 530: "Vastius insurgens decimae ruit impetus undae". The superstitious belief that the tenth egg is the largest, has survived in England (cf. V. Newall, *An Egg at Easter. A Folklore Study* (London, 1971), p. 103).

⁵⁴ Cf. Ausonius, *Griphus Ternarii Numeri*, 10: "inde tridens triplexque Helenes cum fratribus ovum" (ed. R. P. H. Green, Oxford, 1991, p. 112).

⁵⁵ Cf. Jeanneret, *A Feast of Words*, pp. 67-72.

loading the stomach.⁵⁶ Secondly, no food is more easy to prepare: one does not need spices or fire, since — as in Antiquity — an egg can best be sipped up raw and new-laid. Suidas even mentions that the Babylonians could boil their eggs at any place without fire, simply by rotating the eggs in their slings (*funda*).⁵⁷ The third and fourth argument are taken together by Puteanus: the egg, he states, cannot be soiled by fire, soot or ashes while being warmed up, because its shell is a natural protection against every sort of defilement or poison. The Roman emperors therefore mostly ate eggs, but also because the egg itself is a powerful antidote. So the egg keeps its “sapor natus” by its shell, which can also be used as a recipient or cup. We will return to this subject when discussing Floritius’ role in Puteanus’ encomium, but will now pass on to Puteanus’ treatment of the egg’s use in the field of medicine, religion and daily life.

The *usus* of the egg is demonstrated clearly in medicine, so that one can simply state that without eggs there would not even exist any healing art. There is no need to seek for poultices, pills, antidotes or balsams, for each part of the egg and the egg as a whole have curative powers. As Pliny — Puteanus’ main source in this part — already reported, a most exquisite purifying toothpaste is prepared by the burning of an egg-shell without membrane.⁵⁸ If applied with myrrh, painful menstruation can be checked. The membrane peeled off the shell of a raw or boiled egg heals cracks in the lips and wounds at the shin-bone. The white of egg by itself is an appropriate remedy against sun-glare, scalds, erysipelas and infections of the anus; the yolk relieves the pain of a catarrh and eye-diseases, and cures cough, dysentery, nephritis and splenitis. Whole eggs, finally, must be mixed with rue, dill and cumin and taken in wine to make childbirth easier; they are moreover applied for snake-bites and complaints of the male organs. With a mixture of oil and cedar-resin itching and irritation of the skin are removed. Ultimately, since the egg is usefull for every kind of disease and is good for health in general, this miracle of nature is devoted to Aesculapius.

Also the use of the egg in religion can neither be surprising: in addition to its exceptional healing capacity, the divine character of the egg

⁵⁶ Here, Puteanus takes up the arguments of Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, 29, 11, 48.

⁵⁷ Cf. Suidas, s. v. Περιδινούντες: “περιτρέφοντες. οἱ δὲ Βαβυλώνιοι ἐντιθέντες εἰς σφενδόνας ᾗ καὶ περιδινούντες ἐν κύκλῳ, ἅτε οὐκ ὑπειροὶ τῶν αὐτοσχεδίων καὶ κυνηγετικῶν διαιτημάτων, ἀλλὰ μεμελετηκότες τὰ ἐν ἐρημίᾳ μηχανήματα, ἐφθόν καὶ ὤμὸν τῇ ῥύμῃ τὸ φὸν κατεσκεύαζον”.

⁵⁸ Cf. Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, 29, 11, 46-51.

destines it to have an important role in antique religion. For the lustration of the ship of Isis⁵⁹ the magicians not only needed fire, water and earth, but also the egg, as if it were an element too. This symbolism can already be seen in Zosimus' text, *The Nomenclature of the Egg is the Mystery of the Work*, in which the egg is likened to the Earth and, not unnaturally, regarded as containing the elements.⁶⁰ It has also influenced the *Turba Philosophorum*⁶¹ and the *Codex Ovide Moralisé*, which shows a teacher sitting at a desk, pointing to an egg and explaining that the membrane of it symbolizes air, the white the water, and the yolk the earth.⁶²

Less known, but deserving attention, is the influence of this thought on the famous poem of Ronsard, intitled *L'œuf*. In his excellent commentary on the poem, André Chastel has drawn attention to the 'scientific formula' used in Ronsard's poem, in which the influence of the *Ovide moralisé* is manifest, together with the hermetic and Platonic flavour derived from Proclus and Ficino. As Chastel well states, "toute la Renaissance a rêvé sur la merveille de la 'sphère', a fondé sur elle sa cosmologie, en illustrant fréquemment par l'image de l'œuf les rapports de la terre et du ciel qui l'enveloppe".⁶³

But the egg was also used for Greek and Roman purifications: for the purification of the bed of the beloved Ovid commends an egg;⁶⁴ the priest of Cybele demands even a sacrifice of one hundred eggs to stave off a catastrophe.⁶⁵ In the procession held at the end of the festival of Ceres the eggs, which were used to mark the rounds in the Circus, were carried about first.⁶⁶ And in divination, the so-called *φοσκοπία* consisted in putting eggs on the fire and observing how they sweated or

⁵⁹ Cf. Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, 11, 16.

⁶⁰ Cf. H. J. Sheppard, 'Egg Symbolism in Alchemy', 140-148 (especially pp. 142-143).

⁶¹ Cf. Sheppard, 'Egg Symbolism in Alchemy', pp. 145-146.

⁶² Cf. Newall, *An Egg at Easter*, p. 36.

⁶³ Cf. A. Chastel, 'L'"œuf" de Ronsard', in: *Mélanges d'Histoire littéraire de la Renaissance offerts à Henri Chamard* (Paris, 1951), pp. 109-111 (especially p. 111). See also F. Desonay, *Ronsard, poète de l'amour. Livre III: Du poète de Cour au chantre d'Hélène*, Académie Royale de Langue et de Littérature Française de Belgique (Bruxelles, 1959), pp. 198-199.

⁶⁴ Cf. Ovid, *Ars amatoria*, 2, 329-330.

⁶⁵ Cf. Juvenal, 6, 518. Compare with Athenaeus, *Deipnosophists*, 58a, where the comedy-writer Ehippos jests with the *ᾠὼν ἑκατόμβη*.

⁶⁶ The existence of this *pompa Cerealis* is doubted by H. Le Bonniec, *Le culte de Cérès à Rome. Des origines à la fin de la République*, Études et Commentaires, 27 (Paris, 1958), pp. 318-319.

burst, a practice Orpheus himself was supposed to have written a manual on.⁶⁷

Beyond its role in divination, the divine character of the egg is also reflected in its use in dream interpretation. As is shown by the works of Artemidorus, Nicephorus, Achemetes and Cicero, Puteanus remarks, the egg seems not have been made to be eaten, but to be dreamt of.⁶⁸ In dreams of portents or marvels the egg stands now for the pregnant woman then for a treasure of gold and silver.⁶⁹

In his discussion of the egg's utility in daily life — apart from its importance as everyday food already sketched above — Puteanus confines himself mentioning a few notable facts borrowed from Pliny and Athenaeus. First, the Pygmies covered their huts with mud, feathers and egg-shells⁷⁰ and the inhabitants of the Oonae islands live on birds' eggs and oats.⁷¹ Secondly, men can even live *in* the egg, as the Greeks, according to Clearchus, build their upstairs rooms in this form, calling them ὑπερῶα or simply φά (*coenacula*), since Helen was reared in an upper-story and so caused the report to spread that she had sprung from an egg.⁷² In daily life, further, the use of the egg can be as diverse as surprising: wood dipped in egg will not catch fire, and even cloth stained with it will not burn.⁷³ In addition, the brilliance of cinnabar is produced by painters by putting a coat of sandyx underneath and then adding a coat of dark purple mixed with egg. If they wish instead to produce the

⁶⁷ After the testimony of Suidas (s. v. Ὀρφεύς; cf. Kern, test. 223d). The Stoic Herma-goras of Amphipolis wrote also a περὶ φασκοπίας (cf. Suidas, s. v. Ἑρμαγ.). On Ooskopia, see also Dio Cassius, 41, 45 and the scholion on Persius, 5, 185: "Sacerdotes, qui explorandis periculis sacra faciebant, observare solebant ovum igni impositum, utrum capite an latere desudaret. Si autem ruptum effluerat, periculum ei portendebat, pro quo factum fuerat, vel rei familiari eius".

⁶⁸ Puteanus gives plenty of examples, one of which is taken from Artemidorus, *Oneirocritica*, 2, 43, where is stated that dreaming of an egg brings luck to physicians, dreaming of a few eggs prosperity, and dreaming of a lot of eggs anxiety and need. In a letter to Floritius, Puteanus explains that dreaming of eggs brings luck to physicians, since medicine originates in the egg, as is insinuated by Artemidorus himself by calling the egg τὸ τρόφιμον (cf. E. Puteanus, *Epistolarum Atticarum Missus Secundi*, Cent. III, epist. 53).

⁶⁹ Puteanus illustrates the last interpretation by examples from Cicero, *De divinatione*, 2, 65, 134 and Artemidorus, *Oneirocritica*, 5, 85. He also narrates a dream of one of his friends and fellow students in Padua.

⁷⁰ Cf. Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, 7, 26, 11.

⁷¹ Cf. Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, 4, 13, 95.

⁷² Puteanus took this story — without any references — from Athenaeus, *Deip-nosophists*, 57e-f.

⁷³ Cf. Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, 29, 11, 51.

glow of purple, they lay a coat of blue underneath, and then cover this with dark purple mixed with egg.⁷⁴

But, when Puteanus' *Ovi encomium* has caught any attention of modern scholars, this is due to Puteanus' last principal virtue of the egg, its importance for the *lusus*. It is not so much that Puteanus showed himself an erudite expert on the Roman circus, where wooden eggs, the so-called *ovaria*, were used to score the progress of different races.⁷⁵ Nor did Puteanus' explanation of the colours used by the different teams at the horse-races (colours which were representing different parts of the egg⁷⁶) struck their eye. The only issue that Puteanus broached and which received attention from scholars, concerns decorated Easter eggs (*Osterei*) and the German and Flemish festivities held at Easter.⁷⁷

Especially Puteanus' description of the famous egg dance (*ovi tripudium*) deserves particular attention. In most egg games the idea was to break the shells and eat the contents, but the point of the egg dance was to do as little damage as possible. As can also be seen on the painting of Pieter Aertszoon (ca. 1500-1575) and the engravings by Frans Huys (1522-1562) (after a painting of Pieter Bruegel), Hieronymus Cock (ca. 1510-1570) and Joannes Galle (1600-1672),⁷⁸ the egg dance was well known in the Netherlands during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Puteanus gives us the following description: a circle was marked out in chalk, and a goblet with eggs placed inside it on a

⁷⁴ Cf. Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, 35, 26, 44-45.

⁷⁵ Cf. Livy, 41, 27, 6: "Ova ad notas curricula numerandis"; Dio Cassius, 49, 43; Cassiodorus, *Variarum libri*, 3, 51, 10; Tertullian, *De spectaculis*, 8. Puteanus quotes *ad litteram* from Varro, *De re rustica*, 1, 2, 11. See also, Newall, *An Egg at Easter*, p. 25.

⁷⁶ In opposition with the views of Tertullian and Cassiodorus, as Puteanus states. Cf. Tertullian, *De spectaculis*, 9, 5 and Cassiodorus, *Variarum libri*, 3, 51, 1: at first there were but two colours, white and red. White was sacred to winter, for the glooming white of the snow, red to summer because of the sun's redness. Afterwards some dedicated the red to spring, and the blue to sky and sea or autumn.

⁷⁷ Puteanus is only quoted by name in Newall, *An Egg at Easter*, p. 292. K. Beitzl, 'Ei', in: J. Höfer - K. Rahner (eds.), *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* (Freiburg, 1959²), vol. 3, kol. 720-721, records Puteanus' description next to the description of Thomas Naageorgus in his *Regnum Papisticum* (1553). On the contrary, neither P. Sartori, 'Osterei', in: E. Hoffmann-Krayer - H. Bächtold-Stäubli (eds.), *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* (Berlin - Leipzig, 1934-1935), vol. VI, kol. 1327-1333, nor F. Eckstein, 'Ei', in: E. Hoffmann-Krayer - H. Bächtold-Stäubli (eds.), *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* (Berlin - Leipzig, 1929-1930), vol. II, kol. 595-644, make any mention of Puteanus' *Ovi encomium*.

⁷⁸ The painting entitled *Eierdans* (1557) of Pieter Aertszoon is now at the Rijksmuseum of Amsterdam. A reproduction of it and of the engravings mentioned can be seen in Newall, *An Egg at Easter*, p. 186, nrs. 6-9.

small pile of sand. Performers worked the eggs out of the circle as they danced and carried them around with their feet. Once they have shifted all eggs from its pinnacle to the floor, they were expected to put them back in their original position. If they broke an egg, they were obliged to suck it up.⁷⁹ But, who is leading the dance here, after all? Is not Puteanus himself decorating and etching his Egg, token of love for his friend Floritius?

2.3 *Cena tertia: the omnipresence of the egg*

In his following course meant to serve as a dessert to Floritius' own speech on the egg, Puteanus is not only recapitulating his main findings, while inserting new ones; he is also drawing up an inventory of all objects in the universe which show the image of the egg.

In so doing, he can display once again his skill of finding more or less dazzling arguments illustrating his paradoxical statement about the egg being one of nature's most unique and amazing miracles. The form of the egg can be found in heaven, which is the dwelling of the gods, in earth, in cities, in the form of the amphitheatre and the circus, in the Greek upper-stories and even in the human body, since, if considered as *homo ansatus* (i.e. the arms akimbo),⁸⁰ the human body reflects in its egg-form its divine origin. The eyes, the tongue, the ears, the head, the hands, the cranium, all of them are oviform. The last one even elicited the laughter of the Greek poet Nicias, according to whom a bald person became an entire egg (*ovum totus factus est*).⁸¹ Puteanus is not too shy even to bring to the notice of his audience the ovoid shape of testicles by narrating the story of the adulterer Didymos. For Diogenes hearing that Didymos was caught red-handed, advised that he should be suspended by his own name, δίδυμοι in Greek having the meaning of twins as well as testicles.⁸² But beyond the human body, the egg-form is also imitated by nature itself: Empedocles already called nuts, acorns, plums, pears and mulberries 'the eggs' of the trees,⁸³ just as Pliny called the leaf the

⁷⁹ Newall, *An Egg at Easter*, pp. 351-353 gives a quasi similar account, but does not make mention of Puteanus' version.

⁸⁰ Cf. Plautus, *Persa*, 308. Compare with *ansatum vas* (Columella, 9, 15, 5).

⁸¹ Cf. Anthologia Palatina, 11, 398: "ὅν ἅπας γέγονεν".

⁸² Cf. Diogenes Laertius, 6, 2, 51.

⁸³ Cf. H. Diels - W. Kranz, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* (Dublin - Zürich, 1966¹²), Empedocles B79 (I, p. 340); cited by Aristotle, *De generatione animalium*, 1, 23 (731a).

ear-rings (*elenchi*).⁸⁴ But man himself imitates nature still more: egg-shaped furniture as a laver (*pelvis*), a plate (*lanx*) or a spoon (*coclearium*) are more handy than round one; but even ships and musical instruments as the lyre are transformed into an egg-shape.

So, Puteanus' final conclusion is self-evident: the egg's image is to be found everywhere and all creatures are encompassed in the egg. But the greatest miracle — Puteanus ends his praise — may be that the egg itself exists in the first place, and that it is as it is. Therefore, the most difficult thing to do, is not to eat but to speak of the egg.⁸⁵

3. Mensae secundae: Floritius' egg-shaped cup, focus of Puteanus' praise

As regards content and form, Puteanus' discussion of the egg, shaping the themes of the divine character of the egg, its virtues and omnipresence, moves subtly towards the person of David Floritius, the intendant of Prince Philip-William of Orange Nassau. This, Puteanus himself had already announced to his friend in a preceding letter, in which he wrote he could not lay bare his heart totally in his dedication alone, and therefore would voice his feelings in the work itself.⁸⁶

Apart from the practical information on the reasons *why* Puteanus wrote his *Ovi encomium*, this third *Centuria* of Puteanus' *Epistolarum Atticarum Missus Secundi* provides a unique insight into *what* exactly is happening when Puteanus is writing his *Praise of the Egg* for Floritius. Puteanus' *speech act* as a linguistic action can be regarded as a form of social behavior in the *Respublica litterarum*.⁸⁷ In this way Puteanus' *Praise of the egg* in fact has become the 'Praise of Floritius'.

⁸⁴ Cf. Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, 9, 56, 113.

⁸⁵ Cf. E. Puteanus, *Ovi encomium, quo Summum et unicum Naturae Miraculum describitur* (Monaci, 1617), p. 120: "difficilius etiam dicas ovum quam comedas".

⁸⁶ Cf. E. Puteanus, *Epistolarum Atticarum Missus Secundi*, Cent. III, epist. 52. The letter is dated Louvain, 14 May 1614.

⁸⁷ On the so-called 'illocutionary' *speech act* and their understanding, see J. L. Austin, *How to do things with words* (Oxford, 1962), p. 94; P. F. Strawson, 'Intention and Convention in Speech Acts', *The Philosophical Review*, 73 (1964), 439-460; Q. Skinner, 'Conventions and the Understanding of Speech Acts', *The Philosophical Quarterly*, 20 (1970), 118-138 and Id., 'On Performing and Explaining Linguistic Actions', *The Philosophical Quarterly*, 21 (1971), 1-21.

As already mentioned before, the reason why Puteanus wrote his eulogy is in the first place obvious from the letter-collection that Puteanus dedicated to Floritius and his patron, Prince Philip-William: by writing flattering letters Puteanus made an effort to show his productive and educational capacity in order to obtain the patronage of the Prince for his declining Palaestra Bonae Mentis, which Puteanus even was willing to call the "Institutum Auriacum sive Nassovicum".⁸⁸

But, in spite of its coaxing character, this letter-collection gives us the key to understand Puteanus' *Ovi encomium* in a proper way, since Puteanus informs his friend Floritius that he has written his eulogy after the model of Floritius' own cup (*scyphus*), and that it would be magnificent if the printer modelled the pages of his *Ovum* on the form of the egg, so that the reader by opening the book, would admire the argument as much as the form of the book.⁸⁹ The goal of this special design is clearly suggested by Simias' poem shaped in the form of an egg.⁹⁰ The introduction of Floritius' cup in the central part of the oration, on the contrary, is a more sophisticated and polysemic panegyric of both the egg and Floritius' own person.

The whole passus is fitted in Pliny's argument that the egg-shell is a vase, a pitcher, a goblet and a glass at the same time. This reminds Puteanus of Floritius' statement — in his speech in appreciation of the egg — that the latter makes the finest and most graceful cup, an assertion that he substantiated by placing on his table an egg-shaped drinking cup. That nothing is healthier than wine we learn by the toasting, as it were, with an egg. But Floritius, with yet higher wisdom, thought the virtue of sobriety; for as often as a guest saw the egg-like cup, he knew that this wine-goblet was to be enjoyed with moderation out of regard for good good health, honest pleasure and constancy in friendship.⁹¹

⁸⁸ Cf. E. Puteanus, *Epistolarum Atticarum Missus Secundi*, Cent. III, epist. 3. The letter is dated Louvain, 6 October 1612.

⁸⁹ Cf. E. Puteanus, *Epistolarum Atticarum Missus Secundi*, Cent. III, epist. 53 and 63.

⁹⁰ Simias' poem — one of the first *technopaignia* — is included in Dornavius' collection; cf. R. Seidel (ed.), *Caspar Dornavius (Dornau) Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Socraticae Joco-Seriae*, p. 420. On Simias' poem, see R. Merkelbach, 'Simias' Ei 1-4', *Museum Helveticum*, 10 (1953), 68-69 and E. Legrand (ed.), *Bucoliques grecs. Tome II: Pseudo-Théocrite, Moschos, Bion, Divers*, Collection des Universités de France (Paris, 1967³), pp. 220-225.

⁹¹ Cf. E. Puteanus, *Ovi encomium, quo Summum et unicum Naturae Miraculum describitur* (Monaci, 1617), p. 77: "Ovum in poculum, an poculum dicam in ovum? Commutavit. Nec amplius sane commendare Liberi liquorem aut ingeniosius potuit, quam

Could there be a more sublime balance between Dionysian pleasure and respect for self-control, between frenzy and reason?

But, Floritius' guests were also exposed to the Platonic *pharmakon* of the banquet: both poison and remedy, alternatively malevolent and benevolent. For, as a man of erudition and high culture, the physician Floritius cultivated the *symposium* with his friends by 'drinking words': thus celebrating the extreme balance of opposites, the close affinity between Dionysian inspiration and philosophical sophistication pursued by the Humanists.⁹² Puteanus' eloquent friend Floritius — called in a pun on his name "florem hominum"⁹³ — also lavishes upon his guests the sweetness of honey and the savour of nectar,⁹⁴ following the Pindaric topos.⁹⁵ To Puteanus' taste, the best of Floritius' dishes apparently was his speech of thanks to the egg.

As it is the recurring paradigmatic scene throughout Athenaeus' *Deipnosophists* that it only needs a dish to be brought in or an object to attract attention, for the focus to shift immediately away from the thing (*res*) towards the word that it prompts (*verba*), this leading on to a learned discourse concerning it, one can easily imagine Floritius praising the egg-shaped cup standing in the centre of the *symposium*. Besides, is Puteanus not referring to Floritius' speech when he himself in his *Ovi encomium* takes over Athenaeus' passus on the egg and the Ooskyphia, those egg-shaped vases and goblets of which the old Nestor is said to

ut gallinae lacti compararet. Nihil salubrius vino esse iam discimus, ovo propinatur. Sed ille mihi altiori sapientia inculcare sobrietatem visus est, ut quoties conviva esses et ovum videres, bonae valetudini et honestae voluptati et constanti amicitiae scires poculum temperatum".

⁹² On this topic, see Jeanneret, *A Feast of Words*, pp. 62-70.

⁹³ In a letter addressed to Thomas Fienus, the Louvain Professor of Medicine, the court-physician Andreas Trevisius, mentions that Puteanus wrote a poem on Floritius, in which he alluded to Floritius' name by saying that if he were appointed at the Louvain Faculty of Medicine, this faculty would 'flourish' again (in Latin: *florere*). This letter, surviving only in manuscript, is at Brussels, Royal Archives, Papiers d'Etat et de l'Audience, 1462/2 (1618), and dated at Brussels, 18 January 1618.

⁹⁴ Cf. E. Puteanus, *Ovi encomium, quo Summum et unicum Naturae Miraculum describitur* (Monaci, 1617), pp. 77-78: "ut suavissimus tamen sit, condimentum ipse cibus sermone nectareo addit. Ferculis lautus est et delicatius tamen loquitur. Peream nisi tota coena audire conviva malit quam edere".

⁹⁵ Cf. Pindar, *Olympian Odes*, 7. Pierre de Ronsard also opens his first collection of *Odes* with this Pindaric comparison; cf. Ronsard, *Odes*, I, 2: "Comme un qui prend une coupe...". See also T. Schmitz, *Pindar in der französischen Renaissance. Studien zur seiner Rezeption in Philologie, Dichtungstheorie und Dichtung*, Hypomnemata. Untersuchungen zur Antike und ihrem Nachleben, 101 (Göttingen, 1993), p. 56 and 147; Jeanneret, *A Feast of Words*, pp. 133-134.

have owned one in silver?⁹⁶ Is this not again an indirect praise of his friend's humanist erudition and *savoir-vivre*? For Floritius' egg-shaped cup illustrated for certain men his philosophical understanding of how to attain the most balanced pleasure at a banquet, but it also argues his thorough knowledge of Athenaeus' work, that extraordinary orgy of erudition the Humanists were eager to dip into to embellish their speeches or letters.⁹⁷

In this respect, Puteanus' speech is a speech on a speech, the *imitation-dessert* Puteanus adds to Floritius' principal dish. But, apparently not satisfied with the crop his sharp mind has gathered,⁹⁸ Puteanus is doing still more: to his own *Ovi encomium* he adds a dessert: the attached sequence of laudations⁹⁹ showing once again his boundless capacity in the field of the *inventio*. Here, the imitation of Floritius manifestly has become an *aemulatio*. For Puteanus strove to serve *his* most divine meal, combining to the end *amoenitas* and *seria*: elegance (*elegantia*) in his speech (*lingua*) and *sapientia* in his *inventio*,¹⁰⁰ and thus renewing the interdependence between the mouth that eats and the mouth that speaks.

Therefore, Puteanus' pride of his *tour de force* well reflects his justified intellectual joy, as is sharply expressed in the distich meant as an epigraphical motto for his booklet but also accompanying Sadeler's

⁹⁶ Cf. E. Puteanus, *Ovi encomium, quo Summum et unicum Naturae Miraculum describitur* (Monaci, 1617), p. 79. Compare with Athenaeus, *Deipnosophists*, 503e-f.

⁹⁷ Especially since Athenaeus was translated into Latin (for the first time in 1556) and commented upon by Isaac Casaubon in 1597; cf. Jeanneret, *A Feast of Words*, pp. 161-171.

⁹⁸ As can be deduced from Puteanus' letter to Floritius, dated 14 May 1614, in which he pours out his heart confessing that he is not sure whether he has treated the egg with enough diligence (cf. E. Puteanus, *Epistolarum Atticarum Missus Secundi*, Cent. III, epist. 52). In his letter of 29 May 1614 he says he has done his best to write more diligently and discerning (cf. E. Puteanus, *Epistolarum Atticarum Missus Secundi*, Cent. III, epist. 58) and in his letter of 8 June 1614 he concludes by saying that he has treated the subject distinctly and skilfully only because his *Ovi Encomium* was written for Floritius (E. Puteanus, *Epistolarum Atticarum Missus Secundi*, Cent. III, epist. 63).

⁹⁹ Cf. E. Puteanus, *Ovi encomium, quo Summum et unicum Naturae Miraculum describitur* (Monaci, 1617), p. 102: "Nunc post somnia [i.e. Puteanus' exposition on dreams] amoenus etiam ero et laudibus hisce velut pompam adiecturus, in tota rerum natura imaginem ovi ostendam".

¹⁰⁰ Cf. E. Puteanus, *Ovi encomium, quo Summum et unicum Naturae Miraculum describitur* (Monaci, 1617), pp. 119-120: "Nullis laudibus satis extolli Ovum; maximum encomium est. Et tanquam omnem vincat eloquentiae maiestatem, a nemine hactenus (quod sciam) celebratum est. [...] Ego quidem de Ovo quia dixi, nec ab elegantia nec a sapientia recessisse videor: pulchrius nemo linguam, nemo ingenium occupavit".

etching *Ex Labore Cantus* illustrating the title-page of the edition of 1617:

*Ut laetum GALLINA canit post OVA triumphum,
Ex OVO doctus, sic PUTEANUS OVAT.*

As the chicken sings her happy triumph after having laid,
So Puteanus exults, instructed by the egg.

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HUMANISM IN THE NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN
NETHERLANDS. ERYCIUS PUTEANUS AND GERARDUS
JOANNES VOSSIUS*

The idea of the organisers of the Puteanus congress to provide some space for the contacts of this remarkable scholar with the not less famous humanist Gerardus Joannes Vossius in the North of the Netherlands, is not entirely new. Already in 1893, the Jesuit H.J. Allard published an article 'Gerardus Vossius en Erycius Puteanus', based on published sources.¹ In 1906, Théodore Simar wrote an article, entitled 'Erycius Puteanus et Gerard Vossius, d'après des documents inédits'.² This article was mainly based on material not yet published.³ Some of the letters that Simar had found, were included in his well-known monograph of a few years later, his *Etude sur Erycius Puteanus* of 1909.⁴ It is a pity, however, that the said article and the monograph are spoilt by inaccuracies and mistakes that could have been avoided even at that time.

During the first half of the seventeenth century both Puteanus as well as Vossius were at the lonely top as representatives of humanism in its latter days. After them times emerged in the cultural history of Western Europe. Both of them were bringing up the rear. I once referred to

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¹ In the *Prov. Almanak voor Limburg met adresboek voor het jaar 1893* (Roermond - Maastricht, 1893), pp. 213-249. Unfortunately I was unable to trace this article in the copies of this periodical that I consulted in various Dutch libraries. Only a few weeks ago, however, our colleague Marcus de Schepper found at the University Library of the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven a recently acquired copy of the *Almanak*. It has the same title page as the copies seen by me, but it does include Allard's article. So it seems that the *Almanak* appeared in two different editions, one for Belgian Limburg, and another for the Dutch province with the same name.

² In *Le Musée belge*, 10 (1906), 363-381 (in this article referred to as 'Simar 1906').

³ Simar mainly used letters from the Royal Library, Brussels, and from the University Library of Amsterdam. See the Appendix II to this article.

⁴ Simar 1909, pp. 228-236.

Vossius as someone who closed the gate. After their death, their work was quickly forgotten and only much later did both of them gradually receive the interest which they so richly deserved.⁵ Since Simar published his studies on Puteanus, much study has been made of the later period of humanism in the Netherlands. Making use of this research, I hope, in this short space, to throw some new light on the remarkable relationship between the two celebrities in the North and the South.

Old Ties of Friendship Renewed (1624-1630)

In July 1624 Vossius wrote his first letter to Puteanus from Leiden, where he was a university professor.⁶ A short paraphrase: "When I look back at the time when we were together at school in Dordrecht, I am a little surprised that only three of the many students of that time made a name for themselves by their writings. One of them is you, having published so much already. I may call myself number two although I am perhaps less gifted. The name of the third one escapes me but perhaps you can recall whom I mean. Let us carry on to make ourselves useful through our work as long as the Good Lord lets us. We should remain in touch with each other. You regularly sent me your regards when people from Leuven came this way and in your letters to your friends. I'll try to do the same but not just by sending my regards as this short letter shows. As a boy you were very kind and sympathetic. From what you publish I can see what you are now."

⁵ For the literature on Vossius, see Rademaker 1981, pp. 418-431; *Inventory*, pp. XIII and XX-XXIV; Nicholas Wickenden, *G.I. Vossius and the Humanist Concept of History*, *Respublica Literaria Neerlandica*, 8 (Assen, 1993). Recently, the following works were published on Vossius: C. S. M. Rademaker, *Leven en werk van Gerardus Joannes Vossius (1577-1649)* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1999); F. F. Blok, *Isaac Vossius en zijn kring. Zijn leven tot zijn afscheid van koningin Christina van Zweden 1618-1655* (Groningen: E. Forsten, 1999), and C. S. M. Rademaker - J. A. A. M. Biemans, *Vossius in verleden en toekomst. Een groot geleerde en het behoud van zijn manuscripten. Begeleidende teksten bij een tentoonstelling in de Universiteitsbibliotheek Amsterdam 18 maart - 29 april 1999* (Amsterdam: Universiteitsbibliotheek, 1999). The passage on Vossius as a 'hekkensluiter', a 'last comer who closes the gate behind a period', in Rademaker 1981, p. 353. For the literature on Puteanus' life and work, see Simar 1906; Simar 1909; J. J. Moreau, *Honderdveertien Nederlandse brieven van Erycius Puteanus aan de astronoom Michael Florent van Langren* (Antwerp- Amsterdam, 1957); W. Manders, *Erycius Puteanus, humanist en geleerde (1574-1646)* (Venlo, 1974).

⁶ Letter of Vossius to Puteanus 24.07.24. See the commentary in Simar 106, pp. 363-365. The letter 22.12.04 in the *Inventory* is in fact the letter 32.12.04.

Two months later Puteanus replied.⁷ Again paraphrased. "I felt embarrassed when I got your letter, written in such an elegant turn of phrase. Apparently you so much admired the little schoolboy Puteanus, that you still consider him to be your friend. Actually I have always done likewise: at school because of your kind and quick spirit and later when you became famous. The book you published about the historians writing in Greek is truly fantastic. It is an immortal work and from now on indispensable. Neither distance nor wars can separate us. We study the classics to make people better. Let others do their fighting, we want to bring peace a bit nearer. May this war soon be over so that we can soon meet again. You wrote to me first and asked me to renew our friendship. I feel ashamed that I didn't ask you first!"

In this way the tone was set, entirely in the fashion of the humanist correspondence of those days. Between 1590 and 1592, the two men had been at the Latin School of Dordrecht where they were educated by humanists like Joachim Orydrius and Cornelius Rekenarius.⁸ After his years in Italy, Puteanus had been professor in Leuven since 1606. Vossius had studied humanities and theology in Leiden. Between the years 1600 and 1615 he himself had been rector of the Latin School in Dordrecht. For a few years after that he had been the regent of the Leiden States College for theology students, a job that got little thanks in that time of theological conflicts. He was dismissed as regent in 1619 but he remained attached to Leiden University where, from 1621, he taught as a highly appreciated professor. Now both men were internationally known scholars of great fame. Vossius had just published his *De historicis Graecis libri tres* after he had earlier made a name for himself with his important studies about rhetoric and church history.⁹ His Leuven colleague had, at that moment, a considerable series of short and longer publications about the most varying subjects to his name.¹⁰

⁷ Letter of Puteanus to Vossius 24.09.28. See Simar 1906, p. 365.

⁸ On Vossius' school-time in Dordrecht and on his teachers: Rademaker 1981, pp. 13-22.

⁹ Vossius' most important books published until 1624: *Oratoriarum institutionum libri sex* (Lugduni Batavorum, 1606); *Historiae de controversiis, quas Pelagius eiusque reliquiae moverunt, libri septem* (Lugduni Batavorum, 1618); *De rhetorices natura ac constitutione* (Lugduni Batavorum, 1621); *Ars historica* (Lugduni Batavorum, 1623). See for the full titles and the later editions the bibliography of Vossius' works in Rademaker 1981, pp. 355-380. For Vossius' *De historicis Graecis libri quatuor* (Lugduni Batavorum, 1623), see Rademaker 1981, pp. 360-361, no. 13.

¹⁰ For Puteanus' work, see Simar 1909, *passim*, and especially *Bibliotheca Belgica. Bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas* (Bruxelles, 1963-1970), IV, 748-823 (A. Roersch).

Then the letter writing was halted for a while, perhaps due to the war situation? In 1628 the thread was picked up again. In May of that year Vossius wrote a recommendation for a few foreign students to his Leuven friend. A year before that he had sent Puteanus his last major publication, the one on the Latin writing historians, and he was pleased that Puteanus thought it was excellent. He got to know this from a letter of Puteanus to his friend Daniel Heinsius.¹¹ The final paragraph of Vossius' letter is interesting. In it he recalls a visit to Dordrecht by Puteanus and his wife, probably during the twelve-year truce, so most likely in 1612, when Puteanus came to Dordrecht because of the inheritance of his father¹². The epithet Vossius uses for Puteanus and himself is a realistic one. He says that both friends are 'polupais', the fathers of many children. Puteanus had seventeen children and Vossius twelve. Both had lost four children when these were still quite young.¹³

In May 1629 the two friends wrote to each other again. Vossius puts in a good word for the Polish brothers Slupezky de Conari and their governor Sowinsky. They had lived with him in Leiden for eighteen months and the name Puteanus was often bandied about.¹⁴ Puteanus sends Vossius his study on Flavia Domitilia.¹⁵ In July 1630 it is Puteanus' turn to

¹¹ Vossius to Puteanus, 28.05.1620 (not 28.12.20 as the *Inventory* mentions incorrectly). See Simar 1906, p. 366. The two students probably were Christopher and Casimir Sapieha, the sons of the Count Palatine of Vilna, who were with Puteanus in Leuven in the period 1625-1628. Vossius' mentioned work: *De historicis Latinis libri tres* (Lugduni Batavorum, 1627). He sent also his *Rhetorices contractae sive partitionum oratoriarum libri quinque* (Lugduni Batavorum, 1627; first edition ibidem, 1621). See Rademaker 1981, p. 363, no. 16. The letter of Puteanus to Daniel Heinsius d.d. 13 May 1628 can be found in *Viri Clarissimi Eryci Puteani epistolae ad Constantinum Hugenum et Danielem Heinsium, viros nobilissimos. Epistolarum Pars IV* (Coloniae, 1681), no. LXI, pp. 125-126.

¹² Simar 1906, p. 368.

¹³ For Puteanus' children see Simar 1909, pp. 33-36 and Excursus II on Justus Caecilii on pp. 271-280. For Vossius' children — Cornelia (1602-1605), Henricus (1604-1605), Joannes (1606-1636), Franciscus (1608-1645), Antonius (1609-1610), Matthaeus (1611-1647), Dionysius (1612-1633), Cornelia (1613-1638), Elisabeth (1615-1617), Isaac (1618-1689), Gerardus (1619-1640), and Johanna (1623-1640) — see Rademaker 1981, pp. 441-442 and *passim*.

¹⁴ Vossius to Puteanus, letter 29.05.12. See Simar 1906, pp. 369-371. On Mikolai (ca. 1604-1672) and Krzystof (born 1606) Slupecki de Konary and their governor Petrus Sowinsky, see Rademaker 1981, p. 165, and *Inventory*, p. 473.

¹⁵ Puteanus to Vossius, letter 29.05.20. See Simar 1906, p. 369. Puteanus' works intentioned in the letter: *Historiae Insubricae Libri VI* (Lovanii, 1614; also an edition Lovanii, 1630); see Simar 1909, pp. XVII, no. 25, and 165-170) and *De S. Flavia Domitilia, Clarissima Martyre, observatiuncula epistolica ad locum Martyrologii Romani* (Lovanii, 1629) (see Simar 1909, pp. XVII, no. 28, and 177-178).

put in a good word for two Polish noblemen and he sends Vossius his booklet about the Puteanus family. In that is also mentioned the Calenius family from Venlo. This name appears in the family tree of both Vossius and Puteanus, but the two correspondents don't know if they are related to each other through that family.¹⁶

It is certainly true that Vossius rekindled his old friendship with his colleague in Leuven out of sincere respect for his great erudition. However, to have a friend in the southern centre of learning had also some practical advantages — for example, for the many Dutch and foreign students attending the universities of Leiden and Leuven. A recommendation by a good friend could open doors that without such a good friend probably would remain closed. It wasn't too difficult to persuade the vain Puteanus to give in to any request. Early in his correspondence with his colleague in Leuven, Vossius, who on the whole wrote rather businesslike letters, would eat humble pie and use flattery. Puteanus lapped it up.

A Regular Correspondence (1630-1632)

From the end of 1630 many letters find their way from Leiden to Leuven and from Leuven to Leiden and after May 1631 to Amsterdam, where Vossius and his friend Caspar Barlaeus are to be appointed as the first professors at the Athenaeum Illustre, which is later to become the University of Amsterdam.¹⁷ In November 1630, Vossius sends his new and improved edition of his first great publication, the *Institutiones oratoriae*. He praises Puteanus' booklet on Flavia Domitilia and his *Historiae Insubricae*.¹⁸ Three weeks later, Puteanus sends a reply. He is full

¹⁶ Puteanus to Vossius, letter 30.07.27. See Simar 1906, pp. 371-372. The booklet on the Puteanus family: *Genealogia Puteanaea Bamelrodiorum Venlonensium ab origine urbis sive anno MCCCXLIII per utrumque sexum deducta* (Lovanii, 1630). The mother of Vossius' father Joannes (Vossius, or Alopecius) was Judith Caelen; she was the daughter of Johannes Caelen and Catharina van Budel, and the sister of Christophorus Caelen, the prior of the Roermond monastery of the Crutched Friars. See Rademaker 1981, pp. 2, 4, 21, 259, 432, 436, 440.

¹⁷ See Rademaker 1981, pp. 236-252. See also C.S.M. Rademaker, 'The Athenaeum Illustre in the Correspondence of Gerardus Joannes Vossius', *Lias*, 9 (1982), 1-55.

¹⁸ Vossius to Puteanus, letter 30.11.03. See Simar 1906, pp. 372-373. The new edition of Vossius' work: *Commentariorum rhetoricorum sive oratoriarum institutionum libri sex* (Lugduni Batavorum, 1630; first edition Lugduni Batavorum, 1606). See Rademaker 1981, p. 356, no. 3.

of praise about the book on eloquence and is glad with Vossius' appreciation of him sending the books he had written himself.¹⁹

We know of three letters from the year 1631 which Puteanus sent to Vossius and of three replies by the latter. But Simar came to a still higher number, as he dated two letters of Vossius and two replies of Puteanus from the year 1632 a year earlier. However, in those letters mention is made of the campaign of Stadtholder Frederik Hendrik against Venlo, Roermond and Maastricht, which took place in the summer of 1632.²⁰ Yet, altogether, there are sufficient letters to speak of a regular correspondence by which the two scholars kept each other informed about their scientific and personal weal and woe. Simar speaks of uninteresting and even banal letters, but I do not think it right. Almost all letters do at times contain one or more telling details. They are important for our knowledge of the life and work of both professors.²¹ We shall now deal with some items that are mentioned in the letters of the year 1631.

In his letter of January, 1631, Vossius writes that he has been asked to go to Amsterdam as professor to start the Athenaeum Illustre. He is kept busy with travelling and seeking advice, soon however he hopes to be able to take a decision.²² In June Vossius writes to Leuven, that he moved to Amsterdam in May, but that he is not able to give lessons as yet, as the University of Leiden is hindering the plans of Amsterdam. He enjoys, however, his grand salary and has no difficulty in spending his leisure well.²³ In his last letter of that year Vossius tells Puteanus that the governors of Amsterdam have gone to The Hague and that a decision concerning the Athenaeum Illustre can be expected soon.²⁴ Some days later it happens: Amsterdam has won the case and on the 8th of January 1632 Vossius starts the Athenaeum Illustre with an inaugural address *De historiae utilitate*.²⁵

¹⁹ Puteanus to Vossius, letter 30.11.23. See Simar 1906, p. 373.

²⁰ Simar dated the letters 32.09.04, 32.10.02, 32.10.14 and 32.11.14 in the year 1631. For the campaign of 1632 see J. J. Poelhekke, *Frederik Hendrik, Prins van Oranje. Een biografisch drieluik* (Zutphen, 1978), pp. 377-387.

²¹ For example Simar 1906, p. 372, 373, and 378.

²² Vossius to Puteanus, letter 31.01.20.

²³ Vossius to Puteanus, letter 31.06.25.

²⁴ Vossius to Puteanus, letter 31.12.05.

²⁵ Vossius' *De historiae utilitate oratio* (Amstelodami, 1631). See Rademaker 1981, pp. 367-368, no. 22. A Dutch translation in Gerardus Vossius, *Geschiedenis als wetenschap*. Uitgegeven, ingeleid en van aantekeningen voorzien door Cor Rademaker, *Geschiedenis van de wijsbegeerte in Nederland*, 9 (Baarn, 1990), pp. 50-71.

In 1631 not much happens in Leuven that is worth mentioning. In his first letter however, a letter of the 2nd of January, Puteanus is rather down. The city of Milan, to him his second home, has been hit by the plague, and there are thousands of victims to be mourned. In the Netherlands is no peace, as yet. No, there is no time to devote oneself untroubled to the studies!²⁶ But life at the university goes on. In Holland as well as in Leuven there is a coming and going of students, even from abroad. One of them is Jacob Skytte from Sweden, who is staying with Vossius and about whom the two scholars correspond. Vossius highly praises the governors of Sweden who put themselves out in their remote land for higher education.²⁷ In the letters which Vossius and Puteanus write to each other in the winter of 1631, they discuss a somewhat strange inscription on a Swedish coin.²⁸

Of course in their correspondence Vossius and Puteanus speak about publications and plans for publications. The Leuven scholar is glad about Vossius' positive appreciation of his *Historiae Insubricae*: he will include that appraisal in a new edition of the book.²⁹ Vossius has also kind remarks about the booklet of Puteanus about beguines.³⁰ Puteanus is enthusiastic when Vossius sent him the new edition of his already popular Latin grammar for schools. Vossius had revised the old grammar of Ludolphus Lithocomus, the book that was already used in Dordrecht when both men were young. This remarkable book should also, according to Puteanus, have to be introduced in the schools of the Southern Netherlands.³¹ The usual flattery is again in these letters. Puteanus: "When in a

²⁶ Puteanus to Vossius, letter 31.01.02. See Simar 1906, pp. 373-374.

²⁷ Vossius to Puteanus, letter 31.06.25, and Puteanus to Vossius, letter 31.07.18. On Jacob Skytte see Rademaker 1981, p. 277, and for the Skytte family and the higher education situation in Sweden, E. Wrangel, *De betrekkingen tusschen Zweden en de Nederlanden op het gebied van letteren en wetenschap voornamelijk in de zeventiende eeuw* (Leiden, 1901), *passim*.

²⁸ Puteanus to Vossius, letter 31.11.23, and Vossius to Puteanus, letter 31.12.05. See Simar 1906, pp. 377. The text on the coin: 'Gustavus Adolphus... Dux Estoni. Careli. nec non. Ingri.' This was Vossius' explanation for what Puteanus had read, namely 'Dux et Honicarels. nec non Ingri.'

²⁹ Puteanus to Vossius, letter 31.01.02. See Simar 1906, pp. 373-374.

³⁰ Puteanus to Vossius, letter 31.01.02, and Vossius to Puteanus, letter 31.01.20. Puteanus' study: *Eryci Puteani de Begginarum apud Belgas instituto et nomine suffragium quo controversia recens excitata sopitur* (Lovanii, 1630). Puteanus' thesis: Saint Begge and not the Liège priest Lambert de Bègue was the founder of the beguines. See Simar 1906, pp. 373-374, and Simar 1909, pp. XVII, no. 28, and 178-179.

³¹ Puteanus to Vossius, letter 31.11.23. Vossius published a lot of books for the Latin Schools, of which the most successful were his *Latina grammatica*, *Latina syntaxis* and

little while you are going to publish your great study on the Latin language, you will be called the new Varro!" Vossius, a little more matter of fact, hits the nail on the head when he kindly writes: "Both of us practise eloquence: I by laying down its rules, you, not less clever, by your beautiful use of phrases, whereby you reach the level of the classical authors."³²

Also in 1632 the two scholars regularly wrote each other letters: we have four letters of Vossius and three of Puteanus.³³ Puteanus sent his book on the new meridian, the *Circulus Urbanianus*. Vossius looked upon it as an outstanding piece of work.³⁴ Vossius asked his colleague in Leuven to keep an eye open for manuscripts of Caesar as his son Dionysius was working on a new edition of the book on the Gallic Wars. Alas, after some searching, Puteanus had to inform Vossius that he had not been able to find anything.³⁵ After Venlo had been captured by the army of the Republic, Puteanus, because of his family interests in that town, needed contact with influential governors in the North. Vossius helped him to enter into relations with the powerful councillor Simon van Beaumont.³⁶ Finally Vossius and Puteanus joined forces to provide the brilliant scholar Vopiscus Fortunatus Plempius from Amsterdam with a professorial chair at the Faculty of Medicine in Leuven. He was indeed appointed in 1633. Vossius was to miss this

Latina prosodia (first edition Lugduni Batavorum, 1626; augmented edition Lugduni Batavorum, 1631). See Rademaker 1981, pp. 364-366, no. 19. These books were in fact adaptations of Ludolphus Lithocomus' schoolbooks, published for the first time in Düsseldorf in 1575 and used in some Latin Schools in the Northern Netherlands. See Rademaker 1981, pp. 15 and 200-204.

³² Puteanus to Vossius, letter 31.11.23, and Vossius to Puteanus, letter 31.06.25. The quotation from Vossius' letter: 'Ita utrumque postea idem eloquentiae studium adamasse, atque etiam iis adjutum: me quidem praecepta ejus pro viribus in literas referendo, te vero, quod non paulo majoris spiritus, bene dicendo.' See *Epp. Col. I*, no. 138.

³³ See the Appendix II to this article.

³⁴ Puteanus to Vossius, letters 32.08.24 and 32.10.02, and Vossius to Puteanus, letter 32.09.24. Puteanus' studies: *Circulus Urbanianus* (Lovanii, 1632), and *De quatuor principibus diei* (Lovanii, 1632).

³⁵ On the Caesar manuscripts: Vossius to Puteanus, letters 32.05.14 and 32.10.14, and Puteanus to Vossius, letters 32.10.02 and 32.11.14. Dionysius' notes on Caesar's *De bello Gallico* have been included in the Caesar edition by Graevius from 1697. See Simar 1906, p. 376.

³⁶ On Simon van Beaumont (1574-1654): Vossius to Puteanus, letter 32.10.14, and Puteanus to Vossius, letter 32.11.14. On van Beaumont see *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek (NNBW)* (Leiden, 1911-1937), vol. I, cc. 262-265 (C.H.Ph. Meijer), where Puteanus is called one of his friends. Vossius corresponded with van Beaumont in the period 1632-1638. See *Inventory*, p. 446.

good friend, but did not want to begrudge him the honourable appointment in Leuven.³⁷

The Declining Days of an Old Friendship (1633-1646)

Relying on the number of letters Vossius and Puteanus exchanged with each other after 1632, the impression gains ground that the old friendship was fading. When taking the contents of the letters they wrote each other on an ever diminishing scale, that impression is more or less confirmed. However, one must not forget that the two scholars, who were in their final days, remained overburdened with work and also had to cope with much personal sorrow in their last phase of life. Vossius stood at the deathbed of all his children but one. Puteanus too had his share of anxiety with regard to his grown-up sons and daughters, and his beloved city of Leuven continued to suffer from the never ending war.³⁸ Old age, worry and pain are quite evident from the letters they still wrote each other.

At the start of 1633 Vossius writes: "Amidst my many occupations your welcome letter arrived. Although I was really busy, the messenger did not leave without an answer. Alas, I am somehow failing our friendship." He expresses the hope that Puteanus' son Justus Caecilius and his sister, who presently are in Dordrecht, will also visit Amsterdam. The letter ends with: "Nocte intempesta, ut fere soleo."³⁹

In July 1633 Vossius writes a letter of concern. Puteanus has published his political pamphlet *Statera pacis et belli*. Vossius is truly worried about its consequences. It is indeed a clever analysis of the political situation, but the suggestion of Puteanus therefore ending the war quickly is more honest than time can take. Puteanus is called to Brussels to give an account, but Vossius hopes that his fame and his many influential friends will save him from his predicament.⁴⁰ Vossius writes to

³⁷ On Vopiscus Fortunatus Plempius (1601-1671): Puteanus to Vossius, letters 32.11.14, 33.01.15 and 33.04.05, and Vossius to Puteanus, letters 32.12.04, 33.01.31 and 33.07.27. On Plempius see *NNBW*, VI (1924), cc. 1136-1137 (J. Kleijntjens).

³⁸ For Vossius' Amsterdam period, see Rademaker 1981, pp. 236-354, and Id., 'The Athenaeum Illustre', pp. 1-55. For Puteanus, Simar 1909, *passim*.

³⁹ Puteanus to Vossius, letter 33.01.15, and Vossius to Puteanus, letter 33.01.31.

⁴⁰ Vossius to Puteanus, letter 33.07.27. Puteanus' booklet: *Eryci Puteani belli et pacis statera, qua induciae, auspicio regio inter Provincias Regias et Foederatas tractari coeptae, expendentur* (Lovanii, 1633).

Hugo Grotius that he hopes for the best possible outcome for his friend in Leuven, whose honesty and great erudition he praises, but the brilliant professor is not really a good politician.⁴¹ It was awkward for Vossius that his 'collega proximus' Barlaeus wrote an *Anti-Puteanus* in which he angrily attacked the booklet of Puteanus.⁴² Did Puteanus know the name of the author? In his letter of November 1633 he sent Vossius greetings to Barlaeus, and at the beginning of 1634 Vossius mentioned in his letter to Puteanus that Barlaeus thanked him sincerely for it.⁴³

On the 3rd of January 1634 Vossius wrote a touching letter. He had lost his very promising son Dionysius in October. He wrote about it very extensively to Puteanus.⁴⁴ The response that came from Leuven, written on the 4th of February, was rather brief, but did not really lack warmth: 'To lose such a son is no doubt very hard. What happens to you, hurts me too. Such a gifted young man! I read your letter out to my friends who were equally distressed. Yet you have to bear the grief. God disposes and we have to obey.' In order to distract the mind Puteanus sends a booklet, his *De uno et omni*. He eagerly awaits the Latin translation by Dionysius of the contemporary historical work of Everhard van Reidt. The name of Dionysius Vossius will be made immortal in the *Bibliotheca Belgica* of Valerius Andreas. The letter ends with the words: 'Vale, et tibi vendica!'⁴⁵

⁴¹ Vossius to Hugo Grotius, 28 July 1633, in *Briefwisseling van Hugo Grotius*, vol. V (1632-1635), ed. B. L. Meulenbroek ('s-Gravenhage, 1966), no. 1862, pp. 155-156. Grotius' answer, dated 19 August 1633, *ibidem* no. 1872, p. 175.

⁴² Caspar Barlaeus (1584-1648), *Anti-Puteanus, sive politicocatholicus, Stateram Puteani inducias expendentis, alia Statera expendens* (Cosmopoli [=Amsterdam], 1633). The Dutch translation: *Het oordeel van seecker geleert man over den Weegh-Schael Enrycii Puteani*, s.l.a. See also Barlaeus' *Viri cujusdam primarii iudicium de Statera belli et pacis Ericii Puteani* (Leiden, 1633). See K. van der Horst, *Inventaire de la correspondance de Caspar Barlaeus (1602-1648)*, *Respublica Literaria Neerlandica*, 3 (Assen, 1978), pp. 15, 16 and 66. Also *Briefwisseling Grotius*, vol. V, pp. 141, 150, 155, 175 and 180.

⁴³ Puteanus to Vossius, letter 33.11.30, and Vossius to Puteanus, letter 34.01.03.

⁴⁴ Vossius to Puteanus, letter 34.01.03. Dionysius died 23 October 1633. On him Rademaker 1981, *passim*.

⁴⁵ Puteanus to Vossius, letter 34.02.04. Puteanus' book: *De uno et omni amoenitas bonae mentis: qua unius et sic omnis, vis ac proprietas, partim sermonis, partim rerum varietate explicatur* (Lovanii, 1623; another edition: Lovanii, 1633). Simar 1909, p. 282, no. 16: 'Dissertation sur les propriétés de l'unité, imitée de Boèce, *De unitate et uno*.' Dionysius' work: *Belgarum aliarumque gentium annales auctore Everardo Reidano Dionysio Vossio interprete* (Lugduni Batavorum, 1633), the translation of Everard van Reyd's *Historie der Nederlantscher Oorlogen begin ende voortganck tot den jare 1601* (Arnhem, 1626).

Then silence sets in. For many years the two old friends wrote no more to each other. However, we have to say that we do have a letter which Vossius wrote to Puteanus' son Justus Caecilius, and two letters of this son to Vossius, written in the summer of 1635 and the beginning of 1636. Justus and his sister had visited Vossius and afterwards travelled through Germany where the names of Vossius and Puteanus carried such a good ring. The son informed Vossius of his father's good health; that he is still working hard and is very happy with the friendship of Vossius.⁴⁶ And so we arrive at the last letters the two friends wrote each other, as far as we know, still in their own hand.

In March 1639 Vossius writes this last letter to Puteanus. He has learned from Plempius and Lambertus Vossius, who have visited him briefly from Leuven, that Puteanus and his family are keeping well. He hopes that Puteanus will realise his plan to publish his letters: they are an example of great eloquence. He also exhorts Puteanus to return to the real science to which he had already contributed so much. Such a great deal is still expected of him. Vossius speaks with the fullest confidence in the exceptional gifts of mind, Puteanus has, and knows that the old friendship will endure.⁴⁷

The last known letter from Puteanus to Vossius is of some three years later. He begins with apologising for his long silence, which has been due to the gravity of the times and the heavy load of work that is still expected of him. He presents an impressive list of items that are demanding his attention and of plans he still has: truly a letter of an old man busy winding up his life's work. He still mentions at the end that Anna Roemers Visser has been in Leuven with letters of recommendation by Constantijn Huygens and Caspar Barlaeus. Tesselschade's sister had come to bring her two sons to Leuven so that they could study at a Catholic university. The final words of this last letter are: "Iterum vale, et me semper ama!"⁴⁸

At the end of his life Puteanus was busy putting together, with his friend Michael Florent van Langren, a map of the moon, on which mountains, seas and valleys were to bear the names of scholars of repute.

⁴⁶ Vossius to Justus Caecilius Puteanus, letter 35.07.24, and Puteanus junior to Vossius, letters 35.08.16 and 36.02.01.

⁴⁷ Vossius to Puteanus, letter 39.03.29.

⁴⁸ Puteanus to Vossius, letter 42.08.30. See Caspar Barlaeus' letter to Puteanus, d.d. 31 March 1642 (the original RL-B, Ms. 19107, fol. 104r/v) and Huygens' letter d.d. 7 April 1642 (*Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens (1608-1689)*, ed. J. A. Worp ('s-Gravenhage 1911-1917), vol. III, p. 277).

Among those were certainly to be the names of Huygens, Heinsius, Barlaeus and Vossius. In May 1645 Puteanus wrote to Van Langren that a copy of the map with a covering letter had been sent to Huygens and that the map would also be sent to Heinsius, Barlaeus and Vossius. However, I have not come across any reference to this matter in the correspondence of Vossius. The map in question never became a success: soon it was pushed aside in favour of the more generally accepted map of Hevelius.⁴⁹ This little detail, however, makes it clear that till the end of his life Puteanus continued to see his old schoolmate as a much esteemed friend.

Two Scholars who Closed the Gate

Erycius Puteanus died on 17th September 1646 and Gerardus Joannes Vossius on 17th March 1649. Two well-spent lives came to an end, two great praiseworthy scholars laid down their tired heads to rest, firmly believing that they were passing on to a better life. Only one more time did the scientific world of those days pay homage to those two celebrities of late humanism, the homage they so rightly deserved. After this last homage silence quickly descended. Until the end of the seventeenth century only once in a while a work by Vossius and Puteanus was published but after the year 1700 it practically never happened any more.⁵⁰

The explanation by Huizinga as to why that happened is still the best summary of that phenomenon: "The great turning point of the human spirit in the seventeenth century was that of looking backward to looking forward. The task of the thinking reason became the search for new truths in place of the demonstration of old truth."⁵¹ The famous library of Vossius was shipped to Sweden, and it is quite symbolic that on the same ship René Descartes, the philosopher of the new era, also travelled.⁵²

⁴⁹ See Rademaker 1981, pp. 283-284; J. J. Moreau, *Honderdveertien Nederlandse brieven* (1957), p. 14, and Puteanus' letters to Van Langren d.d. March 1645 (no. 98, pp. 152-153), 30 May 1645 (no. 109, pp. 165-167), 10 June 1645 (no. 110, pp. 167-168) and 10 August 1645 (no. 111, pp. 168-169).

⁵⁰ For Vossius, see Rademaker 1981, pp. 344-354 (for his posthumously published works the bibliography on pp. 355-380, especially pp. 371-377). For Puteanus, see Simar 1909, *passim*.

⁵¹ See Rademaker 1981, pp. 353-354. The quotation: J. Huizinga, *Grotius' plaats in de geschiedenis van den menschelijken geest* in Id., *Verzamelde Werken*, Part II (Haarlem, 1948), p. 384.

⁵² Rademaker 1981, pp. 345-346, and F. F. Blok, 'The "Gerardus Joannes Vossius" Auction Catalogue', in Id., *Contributions to the History of Isaac Vossius' Library* (Amsterdam - London, 1974), pp. 18-20.

The life's work of Vossius and Puteanus was in fact to compile, once more, all the results of science and research that had taken place over the centuries. Both of them had devoted their best efforts towards this and they already knew that they were the last of their generation, as Vossius once wrote: 'Exsurgent post me alii et alii, qui felicius conentur.'⁵³ Admittedly, Vossius and Puteanus had their own style of working. Vossius compiled well-structured large reference works, to be used by all and sundry. The publications by Puteanus were highly imaginative and written in a brilliant, rhetoric style. Both, however, were utterly convinced that the best way to use their brilliant minds for the sake of public interest, was to compile for future generations the immense riches of the past.

In this life task the two men felt closely allied. In all differences of opinion they sincerely appreciated each other because they recognised in the friend the same faithfulness to the task they were undertaking. Over and again this becomes obvious in the way they wrote about one another in letters to other people and from the mutual appreciation that one comes across in their publications. The life-long commitment to their life's work was the gist and reason of this friendship, as Vossius wrote in one of his books, calling Puteanus 'ex studiorum conjunctione amicissimus semper!'⁵⁴

APPENDIX 1

Abbreviations

These are the abbreviations used in the Appendix II and in the notes.

App. Nov. Erycius Puteanus, *Epistolarum apparatus novus et miscellaneus* (Amsterdam, 1647).

⁵³ G. J. Vossius, *Poeticae Institutiones*, in Id., *Opera in sex tomos divisa* (Amsterdam, 1701), vol. III, Preface to the Reader, unnumbered pages.

⁵⁴ Just some places at random. Puteanus to Joannes Meursius, Lovanii 14 June 1624 (*App. Nov.*, Cent. III, no. 60): 'Clarissimae Doctrinae Virum Gerardum Vossium salvare jubeo.' Puteanus to Daniel Heinsius, Lovanii 14 September 1624 (*Puteani Epistolae ad Hugenium et Heinsium* (Coloniae, 1681), pp. 122-125, letters to Heinsius no. 60): 'Sed Vossium equidem ob candorem et doctrinam singularem et amo et suspicio: atque huius affectu semina etiam ab adolescentie haerent.' Vossius, *De artium et scientiarum natura ac constitutione libri quinque*, in *Opera*, tomus III, p. 198 (Lib. III, Cap. LXVII, Par. 28): 'Vir his summus... Eo in pueritia, biennio minor, Dordrechtii usus sum condiscipulo, ac deinde omni vita amico.' Vossius, *ibidem*, p. 91 (Lib. III, Cap. XXI, Par. 12): 'Vir clarissimus, ac in pueritia condiscipulus, et ex studiorum conjunctione amicissimus semper.'

- App. Post.* Erycius Puteanus, *Epistolarum apparatus postumus* (Lovanii, 1662-1663).
- c. The manuscript copy of a letter.
- Epp. Col.* *Gerardi Joannis Vossii et clarorum ad eum epistolae*, edited by Paulus Colomesius (London, 1690; later editions Augsburg 1691 and London 1693). Part I, letters written by Vossius, and Part II, letters written to Vossius. The Arabic figures give the numbers of the letters, which are the same in the three editions.
- Epp. Sel.* Vossius' *Epistolae selectiores*, to be found in his *Opera in sex tomos divisa*, Volume IV (Amsterdam, 1699). The Arabic figures give the numbers of the letters in this edition.
- Harl. The Harleian Manuscripts in the British Library, London.
- i. The imprint of a letter.
- Inventory* G.A.C. van der Lem and C.S.M. Rademaker ss.cc., *Inventory of the Correspondence of Gerardus Joannes Vossius (1577-1649)*, *Respublica Literaria Neerlandica*, 7 (Assen-Maastricht, 1993).
- m. The minute, or draft, of a letter.
- o. The original manuscript of a letter.
- Rademaker 1981 C.S.M. Rademaker ss.cc., *Life and Work of Gerardus Joannes Vossius (1577-1649)*, *Respublica Literaria Neerlandica*, 5 (Assen, 1981).
- Rawl. The Rawlinson Letters in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.
- RK The manuscripts in the possession of the Remonstrant Congregation at Amsterdam, given in permanent loan to the University Library of Amsterdam.
- RL-B Royal Library, Brussels.
- Simar 1906 Th. Simar, 'Gérard Vossius et Erycius Puteanus d'après des documents inédits', *Musée Belge*, 10 (1906), 363-381.
- Simar 1909 Th. Simar, *Etude sur Erycius Puteanus (1574-1646) considéré spécialement dans l'histoire de la philologie belge et dans son enseignement à l'Université de Louvain* (Louvain, 1909).
- UL-A The University Library of Amsterdam.

APPENDIX II

The Vossius-Puteanus Correspondence

The dates of the letters have been encoded in a series of figures giving the year, the month and the day. The letter written on 17 September 1624 has been encoded as 24.09.17. The codes of the letters written by Vossius have been printed in *italics*. Here we follow the codes used in the *Inventory*.

- 24.07.24 Vossius (Leiden) to Puteanus (Leuven)
 Quoties recolo primae aetatis memoriam
 Dated: MDCXXIV, IX Kal. Sextil.

 o: RL-B, Ms. 19112, sub voce, fol. 3r/v
 c: UL-A, RK III E 6, no. 12
 i: Simar 1906, pp. 364-365; Simar 1909, pp. 228-229
- 24.09.17 Puteanus (Leuven) to Vossius (Leiden)
 Pudore suffusus sum, cum literas
 Dated: XV Kal. Oct. MDCXXIV

 i: *App. Nov.*, cent. III, no. 74; *Epp. Col. II*, no. 456; *Epp. Sel.*, no. 69
 (incorrectly dated V Kal. Oct.; the letter has this date in the *Inventory*)
- 28.05.20 Vossius (Leiden) to Puteanus (Leuven)
 Menses jam aliquot sunt, clarissime
 Dated: MDCXXVIII, XIII Kal. Jun.

 o: RL-B, Ms. 19112, sub voce, fol. 13r and 14r, and the last page
 bound between fol. 3 and 4
 c: UL-A, RK III E 6, no. 58 (the date has been read as XIII Kal.
 Jan.; the letter has this date in the *Inventory*)
 i: Simar 1906, pp. 366-369; Simar 1909, pp. 229-231
- 29.05.12 Vossius (Leiden) to Puteanus (Leuven)
 Valde me oblectarunt literae quas
 Dated: MDCXXIX, IV Eid. Maias

 o: RL-B, Ms. 19112, sub voce, fol. 5r
 c: UL-A, RK III E 6, no. 70
 i: Simar 1906, pp. 369-371; Simar 1909, pp. 231-232
- 29.05.20 Puteanus (Leuven) to Vossius (Leiden)
 Libera tandem aliquando humanitatis nobis
 Dated: XIII Cal. Jun., MDCXXIX

 o: UL-A, RK III C 18, no. 39
 i: *App. Nov.*, cent. IV, no. 92; *Epp. Col. II*, no. 457; *Epp. Sel.*, no. 142

- 30.07.27 Puteanus (Brussels) to Vossius (Leiden)
De affectu in me tuo
Dated: VI Kal. Sextil. MDCXXX
o: UL-A, RK III C 18, no. 66
i: Simar 1906, pp. 371-372; Simar 1909, pp. 233
- 30.11.03 Vossius to Puteanus
Jam diu est, summe et
Dated: III Non. Nov., die Dominico (according to the content of the letter, this must have been written in 1630; see also Simar 1906, p. 372)

o: RL-B, Ms. 19112, sub voce, fol. 1r/v
c: Rawl. 84 A, fol. 25r/v
i: *Epp. Col.* I, no. 30; *Epp. Sel.*, no. 51
- 30.11.23 Puteanus (Leuven) to Vossius
Pro tam luculento munere, quod
Dated: MDCXXX, IX Kal. Dec.

o: UL-A, RK III C 18, no. 76
i: *App. Post.*, cent. III, no. 11
- 31.01.02 Puteanus (Leuven) to Vossius
Partem epistolae tuae, in hoc
Dated: Postrid. Kal. Januarias, anni novi MDCXXXI

o: UL-A, RK III C 18, no. 79
i: Simar 1906, pp. 373-374; Simar 1909, pp. 233-234
- 31.01.20 Vossius (Leiden) to Puteanus (Leuven)
Fatum quodammodo meum videtur, perpetuis
Dated: MDCXXXI, XIII Kal. Feb.

o: RL-B, Ms. 19112, sub voce, fol. 6r/v
m. Rawl. 84 A, fol. 29r
i: *Epp. Col.* 1, no. 136; *Epp. Sel.*, no. 177
- 31.06.25 Vossius (Amsterdam) to Puteanus
Magnam capio voluptatem, quoties cogito
Dated: MDCXXXI, VII Kal. Quinct.

o: RL-B, Ms. 19112, sub voce, fol. 7r
c: Rawl. 84 A, fol. 42r
i: *Epp. Col.* I, no. 138 (undated); *Epp. Sel.*, no. 181 (also undated)

- 31.07.18 Puteanus (Leuven) to Vossius
In tuis quoque litteris perillustrem
Dated: XV Kal. Sext. MDCXXXI

o: UL-A, RK III C 18, no. 96
i: Simar 1906, pp. 375-376; Simar 1909, pp. 234-235
- 31.11.23 Puteanus (Leuven) to Vossius
Ego vero pro munere ad
Dated: IX Kal. Dec. MDCXXXI

o: UL-A, RK III C 18, no. 103
i: Simar 1906, p. 377; Simar 1909, pp. 235-236
- 31.12.05 Vossius (Amsterdam) to Puteanus
Ipse credideram, vir clarissime, primis
Dated: MDCXXXI, Non. Decemb.

o: RL-B, Ms. 19112, sub voce, fol. 8r
c: Rawl. 82, fol. 24r
i: *Epp. Col.* I, no. 154; *Epp. Sel.*, no. 203
- 32.05.14 Vossius (Amsterdam) to Puteanus
Vellem, Amplissime Puteane, quoties aut
Dated: Prid. Id. Mai. MDCXXXII

m: Rawl. 84 A, fol. 67r
c: Rawl. 84 A, fol. 13r (year erroneously 1630)
i: *Epp. Col.* I, no. 181 (undated); *Epp. Sel.*, no. 237 (undated too)
- 32.08.24 Puteanus (Leuven) to Vossius
Quam familiaris sum, Clarissime Vir
Dated: IX Kalend. Sept. MDCXXXII

i: *App. Post.*, cent. III, no. 23; *Epp. Col.* II, no. 152; *Epp. Sel.*, no. 240
- 32.09.24 Vossius (Amsterdam) to Puteanus
Quot epistolas a te, tot
Dated: MDCXXXII, Prid. Non. Sept.

m: Rawl. 84 A, fol. 66r/v
i: *Epp. Col.* I, no. 149 (no year mentioned); *Epp. Sel.*, no. 196 (no year; Simar 1906 dated this letter and the following ones erroneously in 1631)

- 32.10.02 Puteanus (Leuven) to Vossius
Benigne et eleganter, de Circulo
Dated: MDCXXXII, Postr. Kal. Oct.

i: *Epp. Col. II*, no. 154 (dated 1632); *Epp. Sel.*, no. 243 (also dated 1632; Simar dates the letter in 1631)
- 32.10.14 Vossius (Amsterdam) to Puteanus
Literas tuas avide expectatas avidius
Dated: MDCXXXII, Prid. Id. Oct.

c: Rawl. 84 A, fol. 64r
i: *Epp. Col. I*, no. 152 (no year mentioned); *Epp. Sel.*, no. 199 (no year; Simar dated the letter incorrectly in 1631)
- 32.11.14 Puteanus (Leuven) to Vossius
Nos pergamus inter nos amare
Dated: Postr. Eid. Novemb. MDCXXXII

i: *Epp. Col. II*, no. 157 (dated 1632; Simar dates the letter incorrectly in 1631)
- 32.12.04 Vossius (Amsterdam) to Puteanus
Eadem hora, qua literas tuas
Dated: MDCXXXII, Prid. Non. Decembr.

o: RL-B, Ms. 19112, sub voce, fol. 2r/v (dated not MDCXXXII but MDCXXII; see Simar 1906, p. 379; in the *Inventory* this letter has been dated erroneously 22.12.04)
m: Rawl. 84 A, fol. 31r (*incipit*: Horis vix duabus postquam literas)
c: Rawl. 84 A, fol. 65r
i: *Epp. Col. I*, no. 155 (no year mentioned); *Epp. Sel.*, no. 204 (*idem*)
- 33.01.15 Puteanus (Leuven) to Vossius
Chrysogonum igitur nostrum suspensum tenebo
Dated: XVIII Kal. Febr. MDCXXXIII

i: *Epp. Col. II*, no. 164; *Epp. Sel.*, no. 254
- 33.01.31 Vossius (Amsterdam) to Puteanus
In mediis occupationibus gratissimae literae
Dated: MDCXXXIII, Prid. Kal. Febr.

o: RL-B, Ms. 19112, sub voce, fol. 9r/v
c: Rawl. 84 A, fol. 68r
i: *Epp. Col. I*, no. 157 (no year mentioned); *Epp. Sel.*, no. 209 (*idem*)

- 33.04.05 Puteanus (Leuven) to Vossius
Et Suadam et Musam Doctissimi
Dated: Nonis Aprilis, MDCXXXIII

i: *Epp. Col.* II, no. 167; *Epp. Sel.*, no. 261
- 33.07.27 Vossius (Amsterdam) to Puteanus
Etsi valde faveo novo honori
Dated: VI Kal. Sextil. An. MDCXXXIII

o: RL-B, Ms. 19112, sub voce, fol. 10r
c: Rawl. 84 A, fol. 71r
i: *Epp. Col.* I, no. 20; *Epp. Sel.*, no. 271
- 33.11.30 Puteanus (Leuven) to Vossius
Quae scribenda erant, mulier haec
Dated: Prid. Kal. Decemb. MDCXXXIII

i: *Epp. Coll.* II, no. 185; *Epp. Sel.*, no. 285
- 34.01.03 Vossius (Amsterdam) to Puteanus (Leuven)
Magnus me luctus tenet, mi
Dated: MDCXXXIV, III Non. Jun.

o: RL-B, Ms. 19112, sub voce, fol. 11r/v
c: Rawl. 84 A, fol. 77r/v
i: *Epp. Col.* I, no. 215; *Epp. Sel.*, no. 288
- 34.02.04 Puteanus (Leuven) to Vossius
Talem amittere filium, mi Vossi
Dated: Prid. Non. Febr. MDCXXXIV

i: *Epp. Col.* II, no. 187; *Epp. Sel.*, no. 290
- 35.07.24 Vossius (Amsterdam) to Justus Caecilius Puteanus (Leuven)
Magnae voluptati mihi filioque est
Dated: MDCXXXV, IX Kal. Aug.

o: RL-B, Ms. 19112, sub voce, fol. 12r
c: Rawl. 82, fol. 92r
i: *Epp. Col.* I, no. 265; *Epp. Sel.*, no. 353
- 35.08.16 Justus Caecilius Puteanus (Leuven) to Vossius
Ut Lovanium veni, visus sum
Dated: MDCXXXV, XVII Kal. Sept.

o: Rawl. 80, fol. 186r

- 36.02.01 Justus Caecilius Puteanus (Dantzig) to Vossius (Amsterdam)
Nuper dum Lubecae essem, molestus
Dated: Kal. Febr. MDCXXXVI

o: Rawl. 80, fol. 187r
- 39.03.29 Vossius (Amsterdam) to Puteanus
Jucundum mihi, maxime Puteane, fuit
Dated: MDCXXXIX, IV Kal. Aprilis

o: RL-B, Ms. 19112, sub voce, fol. 4r
c: Rawl. 84 A, fol. 89r
i: *Epp. Col.* I, no. 352; *Epp. Sel.*, no. 469
- 42.08.30 Puteanus (Leuven) to Vossius
Ditius quidem silui, non amoris
Dated: III Kal. Sept. MDCXLII (Simar dates the letter incorrectly
in 1632)

o: Harl.. 7011, fol. 124r-125r
i: *App. Post.*, cent. III, no. 69; *Epp. Col.* II, no. 345; *Epp. Sel.*, no.
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“AMICO INTIMO, INGENIO ET ARTE PINGENDI CELEBERRIMO”:
ERYCIUS PUTEANUS AND THEODOR VAN LOON

This essay begins to investigate Erycius Puteanus's engagement with the art of painting: it will show that, like many of his contemporaries, Puteanus viewed painting through classical theories of rhetoric. However, I shall argue that he gave these theories a rather unusual inflection, drawing on Catholic dogma regarding the motherhood of the Virgin Mary.

It is hardly surprising that the ever-inquisitive Puteanus was interested in painting. Indeed, he has been linked with his famous contemporary, the painter Peter Paul Rubens. For example, the figure on the far left in Rubens's *Self-portrait with Mantuan friends* of 1602 has been identified — probably incorrectly — as a portrait of Puteanus (fig. 1).¹ Yet, to my knowledge, the only truly concrete link between Puteanus and Rubens appears in a letter written by Puteanus to his friend Philippe Chifflet, dated the 14th of June 1640. In this letter Puteanus discusses a title-page designed by Rubens for Chifflet's edition of the decrees of the Council of Trent (fig. 2).² Actually, Puteanus did not entirely approve of Rubens's design. He disliked the oblique viewpoint into the council chamber and also thought the format ill suited to the painter's particular talents. These, Puteanus wrote, were too great to be contained in such a small picture.³

¹ This identification was made by H. G. Evers, but has since been disputed by J. Müller-Hofstede. For a full discussion of the literature on this painting, see A. Kersting and H. Vey, *Katalog der Niederländischen Gemälde von 1550 bis 1800 im Wallraf-Richartz-Museum und im öffentlichen Besitz der Stadt Köln mit Ausnahme des kölnischen Stadtmuseums* (Cologne, 1967), pp. 94-95. Another link has been made by E. McGrath, who considers one of Puteanus's texts as a source for a title-page by Rubens. However, she seems to labour under the misapprehension that Puteanus was a Jesuit. E. McGrath, 'Rubens's *Musathena*', *Journal of the Courtauld and Warburg Institutes*, 50 (1987), p. 244.

² For a full catalogue entry on this image, see J. R. Judson and C. van de Velde, *Book Illustrations and Title-pages*, Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, XXI (London-Philadelphia, 1978), vol. 1, pp. 316-319.

³ 'De Frontispicio quid dicam? Non hinc mihi totum Rubenii ingenium placet: qui magnus fortassis in parvâ imagine esse non potuit... Deinde cur exedræ a tergo potius quam ad fronte spectantur?' Puteanus to Chifflet, 14th June 1640. Here quoted after A.

Puteanus's critical terms have a certain resonance. Consider the following extract from a letter by Rubens, sent in 1621 to an agent of James I of England. The aim of this letter was partly to secure the contract for the Whitehall ceiling. In other words, what follows is Rubens's sales pitch.

... je confesse d'estre par un instinct naturel plus propre à faire des ouvrages bien grandes que des petites curiositez. Chacun a sa grâce; mon talent est tel que jamais entreprise encore, quelle fust desmesurée en quantité et diversité de suggets a surmonté mon courage.⁴

In the letter to Chifflet written nineteen years later, Puteanus simply gives a negative inflection to these terms. This is not to say that he had read Rubens's letter, but rather that he was aware of the terms used by the painter to promote his own work. Thus it seems that Puteanus was highly engaged with painting, as he was aware of current terms of art criticism.

Yet, in the light of Puteanus's letter of 1640, it would seem that the limited connections between Rubens and himself are not the most fruitful means of investigating the scholar's engagement with painting. After listing his objections to Rubens's design, Puteanus admits that he may be mistaken. Therefore, he says, he will consult the judgement of "elegantissimi nostri VANLONI..."⁵ Puteanus then indicates that he prefers this artist by classifying him amongst the best of painters.⁶ Thus it follows that an investigation into Puteanus's engagement with painting should focus on the works of this "Vanloni".

1. Puteanus and Theodor van Loon

This immediately raises the question: who was Theodor van Loon, and what was his relation to Puteanus? Although presently rather

Castan, 'Les relations du peintre Théodore van Loon avec la Citadelle de Pallas à Louvain', *Bulletins de l'Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, 3me série - 7 (1884), p. 208, ellipsis added.

⁴ Rubens to William Trumbull, 31st September 1621. Here quoted after M. Rooses - C. Ruelens *Correspondance de Rubens et documents épistolaires concernant sa vie et ses oeuvres* (Antwerp, 1887-1909), vol. 2, pp. 286-287 (doc. 225), ellipsis added.

⁵ Puteanus to Chifflet, 14th June 1640. Here quoted after Castan, 'Les relations du peintre Théodore van Loon avec la Citadelle de Pallas à Louvain', p. 208.

⁶ "...et, quia æmulatio jam RUBENII sublata est, principis pictorum." See Castan, 'Les relations du peintre Théodore van Loon avec la Citadelle de Pallas à Louvain', p. 208, ellipsis added.

neglected, van Loon was both quite famous and quite successful. He was born in Brussels around 1582, and, like so many other painters of his time, he travelled to Italy as a young man.⁷ When he returned, van Loon became an employee of Wenceslas Coeberger, court architect to the Habsburg rulers of the Southern Netherlands. It became the painter's duty to supply altar-pieces for the ecclesiastical projects undertaken by Coeberger for his Habsburg patrons.⁸

Yet it seems that van Loon aspired to be his own master. On the 30th of October 1621 the city council of Leuven passed a resolution in response to a petition recently submitted by "... zekeren schilder wezende zeer expert in zyne conste, mete name Theodoro..."⁹ This resolution granted van Loon highly favourable conditions should he settle in Leuven as an independent master, including exemption from the control of the painters' guild.¹⁰

Van Loon did not avail himself of this offer straight away, because on the 30th of November 1623 Puteanus wrote him a letter, addressing it to Brussels. The contents of this letter indicate a very firmly established friendship: it is headed by the declaration which is the title of this essay, and in it Puteanus warmly affirms his affection for, and his desire to see, van Loon.¹¹ Indeed, this letter may be one of the factors which persuaded the painter to settle in Leuven around 1623.¹² Van Loon's friendship with Puteanus ended only with his attendance at the latter's death-bed, on 10th April 1646.¹³ After this date, van Loon seems to have settled temporarily in Maastricht, where he died in February 1649.¹⁴

⁷ Van Loon stayed in Rome between 1602 and 1609. T. Cornil, 'Théodore van Loon et la peinture italienne', *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome*, 17 (1936), 188-191.

⁸ These were projects such as the new chapel at the castle of Tervueren and the large church built in Brussels for the newly arrived Teresian Carmelites. See Cornil, 'Théodore van Loon et la peinture italienne', pp. 191-192.

⁹ This document is quoted in full in V. Brughmans, *Les Peintures de Th. van Loon à Montaigne* (Leuven, n.d. [1935]), pp. 10-11, n. 4.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

¹¹ 'Cogita, inquam; & ad me, qui hæc, vero impulsus amore, scribo, ama. Scis me tuum esse, sed & te meum scio. Hic me nexus fortassis liberiolem facit, quia sollicitum habet. Frui autem te velim, tecum esse, colloqui, philosophari. Res sive privatas, sive Patriæ spectem, neminem habeo, cui æquè animi mei arcana credam. Vera amicitia quàm rara est! sed nostra vera est, quam res nullæ umquam humanæ solvent.' Puteanus to van Loon, 30th November 1623. Here quoted after E. Puteanus, *Epistolarvm Selectarvm Apparatus* (Antwerp, 1637-1639), cent. III, ep. XLV, pp. 99-100.

¹² Cornil, 'Théodore van Loon et la peinture italienne', pp. 193 & 198.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 198.

¹⁴ W. Hupperetz, 'Nieuwe gegevens over de zeventiende-eeuwse Zuid-Nederlandse schilder Theodorus van Loon', *De Maasgouw: Tijdschrift voor Limburgse geschiedenis en oudheidkunde*, 116 (1997), col. 139.

Although very little is known about van Loon as a person, the phrasing of the 1621 resolution of the Leuven city council suggests that he was ambitious: he had submitted a petition demanding privileges normally offered to well-established court painters. Rubens, for example, was exempt from the control of the Antwerp painter's guild.¹⁵ That van Loon could extract such promises from the city council also suggests that they considered him not only highly competent, but also an attractive financial asset for the city. This was a shrewd judgement, for van Loon was indeed to become a very successful painter in financial terms as may be deduced from his recently published will and probate inventory.¹⁶

An indication of van Loon's artistic reputation may be found in Anthony van Dyck's *Iconography*, published around 1644.¹⁷ This publication consists of portraits of contemporary worthies, including Puteanus himself (fig. 3), but heavily biased towards painters. It has been argued convincingly that the aim of this publication was to promote the painter's art.¹⁸ Therefore it seems likely that van Loon was included because van Dyck considered him an ornament to his profession (fig. 4). This interpretation is supported by the text beneath van Loon's portrait, which presents him as a "pictor hvmanarvm figvrarvm maiorum Lovanii". Within contemporary art theory, this emphasis on the human figure would have classified van Loon as a history painter; and the latter was generally considered the most elevated category of artistic endeavour.¹⁹ Moreover, the title given to van Loon in the *Iconography* fits with what is known of his works. Nearly all of these are monumental altar-pieces like the seven great canvasses for the church at Scherpenheuvel (see for example figs. 5 and 6).²⁰ Yet two portraits currently in a Private Collection have been

¹⁵ For a discussion of the relation between Rubens and the St. Luke's guild of Antwerp, see Z.Z. Filipczak, *Picturing Art in Antwerp 1550-1700* (Princeton, 1987), pp. 82-83.

¹⁶ See Hupperetz, 'Nieuwe gegevens over de zeventiende-eeuwse Zuid-Nederlandse schilder Theodorus van Loon', cols. 139-144.

¹⁷ M. Mauquoy-Hendrickx, *L'Iconographie d'Antoine van Dyck* (Brussels, 1956), vol. I, p. 43.

¹⁸ Filipczak, *Picturing Art in Antwerp 1550-1700*, pp. 106-108.

¹⁹ For a lucid overview of art theory in the Netherlands during the seventeenth century, see B. Breninkmeyer-de Rooij, 'Theories of Art', in B. Haak (ed.), *The Golden Age: Dutch Painters of the seventeenth century* (London, 1984), pp. 60-70.

²⁰ For a tentative list of van Loon's works excluding those at Scherpenheuvel, see Brughmans, *Les Peintures de Th. van Loon à Montaigu*, pp. 21-28. This list contains only paintings of religious subjects, apart from the two portraits and one still life with birds. Another two still lifes by van Loon, one of flowers and one of fruit, were auctioned by William Bullock in London on 13th April 1820, as lots no. 0083 and 0084. Finally, there is

attributed to van Loon, and traditionally the sitters have been identified as Puteanus (fig. 7) and his wife.²¹ In the opinion of the present author this attribution is unconvincing as the seemingly relatively young sitters wear mid-seventeenth century fashions. Puteanus's own writings confirm that van Loon did indeed paint a portrait of his professorial friend; but this was done some time before 1619.²²

2. Puteanus, paintings and miracles

What, then, was the precise nature of Puteanus's engagement with the works of van Loon, and with painting in general? In this context the most revealing document is Puteanus's letter to his friend Giovanni Battista Sacco, dated the 6th of June 1623. It should be noted that this letter was published during Puteanus's lifetime.²³ Indeed, it may have been written with publication in mind. For this reason, the letter may be considered as more than simply a private statement.

The letter to Sacco contains a lengthy defence of Puteanus's approach to one of his own projects, a Latin edition of the miracles of Our Lady of Scherpenheuvel.²⁴ Puteanus's reason for including such a defence in the semi-public context of a Latin letter might have been that similar miracle narratives — published by Justus Lipsius, Puteanus's predecessor as Professor of Latin Letters and History at Leuven — had elicited violent disapproval from certain Protestant scholars.²⁵ I shall argue that

one firmly attributed portrait by van Loon, an image of Joost Bouckaert, first parish priest of Scherpenheuvel. See L. Duerloo & W. Thomas (eds.), *Albert et Isabella 1598-1621 (catalogue)* (exh. cat. Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels, 1998), pp. 248-249.

²¹ See for example Brughmans, *Les Peintures de Th. van Loon à Montaigne*, p. 23.

²² Van Loon's as yet unidentified portrait of Puteanus may be dated before 1619, as it was shown by Puteanus to the Archduke Albert and the Infanta Isabella at that date. See E. Puteanus, *Arx Lovaniensis a principibus lustrata* (Leuven, 1619), pp. 25-26. There is only one portrait which may be firmly attributed to van Loon. For details of this, see note 20 above.

²³ It was included in Puteanus, *Epistolarum Selectarum Apparatus* (Antwerp, 1637-1639), cent. III, ep. XXII, pp. 43-45.

²⁴ The miracles of Our Lady of Scherpenheuvel had first been published in the vernacular by Philip Numan, city secretary of Brussels. See F. van der Haeghen - M. T. Lenger, *Bibliotheca Belgica. Bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas* (Brussels, 1964), IV, 480-483.

²⁵ Lipsius had published two books of miracle narratives: J. Lipsius, *Diva Virgo Halensis* (Antwerp, 1604) and J. Lipsius, *Diva Sichemiensis siue Aspricollis: Noua ejus Beneficia & Admiranda* (Antwerp, 1605). The former text was translated into Dutch and simultaneously lampooned by a Protestant author, whilst the latter was the subject of a

a crucial part of Puteanus's defence of his miracle narratives was the "parergon" or by-work. This concept derives from classical theories of rhetoric, but it was also current within seventeenth-century art theory.

Puteanus's letter to Sacco certainly contains an implicit reference to parerga. The relevant passage begins with a complaint that — in their unedited form — the miracle narratives are all rather similar. Therefore, says Puteanus, one must add "condimentum" — verbal similitudes and allusions — in order to illustrate the true greatness of the miracles.²⁶ Now, the term "condimentum" may be elucidated by reference to Franciscus Junius's definition of "parerga" as it appeared within his *De Pictura Veterum* of 1637. Junius was the friend and brother-in-law of one of Puteanus's many intellectual correspondents, Gerhard Johann Vossius.²⁷ I am not suggesting that Puteanus actually read Junius's book, for in any case the dates are incompatible. However, Junius's text is effectively a compendium of quotations drawn from classical theories of rhetoric, and then applied to painting. For this reason the book is a useful indication of how such theories informed the attitudes to art current amongst seventeenth-century scholars. With regards to parerga, or "by-works" as he also calls them, Junius draws on Quintilian, Pliny and Galen to define them as ornamental additions to paintings. He then refers to Philostratus, who calls parerga "condimenta picturae".²⁸ Clearly, such "condimenta picturae" may be related to Puteanus's own verbal condiments.

vitriolic Latin attack. See [A. van Oosterwijk] *I. Lipsii Heylighe Maghet van Halle. Hare weldaden ende Miraculen ghetrouwelick ende ordentlick wtgheschreven. Wt de Latijnsche in onse Nederlantsche tale ouergheset, deur eenen Liefhebber der eere sijns eenigens Salichmakers; tot bespottinghe der Pauselicke Roomsche Afgoderije...* (Delft, 1605) and G. Thomson, *Vindex veritatis. Adversus Ivstum Lipsivm Libri duo* (London, 1607). See also J. Papy, 'Une imitation de Catulle 4, la *Dedicatio pennae Iusti Lipsi* de François de Montmorency', *Les Etudes Classiques*, 40 (1992), 253-261.

²⁶ 'Argumentum feré ubique uniforme est, ægrotare; remedia, sed frustra adhibere; votum Divæ concipere; ad Collem ire; sanari. Ergo ut paritas condimentum acciperet, προοιμιάζειν placuit, & quidem ποικίλως. Sententiae vero si quæ sint, similitudines, figuræ allusiones, magis magisque Miraculorum magnitudinem illustrabunt.' Puteanus to Sacco, 6th June 1623. Here quoted after Puteanus, *Epistolarvm Selectarvm Apparvts* (Antwerp, 1637-1639), cent. III, ep. XXII, p. 44.

²⁷ For a biography of Junius and an account of the contents of his book and its reception, see the editors' introduction to F. Junius, *The Literature of Classical Art* (Berkeley-Los Angeles-Oxford, 1991), vol. I, pp. xxi-lxxxiii. For the relationship between Puteanus and Vossius, see the article by C. S. M. Rademaker 'Humanism in the Northern and the Southern Netherlands: Erycius Puteanus and Gerardus Joannes Vossius' in this issue of *Humanistica Lovaniensia*.

²⁸ F. Junius, *De Pictura Veterum Libri tres* (Amsterdam, 1637), p. 220. The quotation is from Philostratus *Imag.* I, 13, 6 (314K5).

The concept of the *parergon* is also a useful means of understanding the remainder of Puteanus's defence of his miracle narratives and their verbal condiments. Essentially, this is a defence against the charge of *hubris* — against the accusation that it is vainglorious to embellish the already miraculous acts of God. Puteanus's argument culminates with an analogy drawn between his own work and a "*picturâ potissimum sacrâ*". Puteanus states that it is not so much the sacred subject of such a painting which is admirable, but rather the skill with which it is painted. He then develops this by reference to the altar-pieces which his friend van Loon is currently making for the pilgrimage church at Scherpenheuvel. Puteanus asserts that these images are a triumph of art, and that the miraculous may be seen in their very beauty.²⁹ Hence he proposes a parallel between verbal embellishments and painterly skill: the former is to show the true greatness of miracles, while the latter renders the miraculous visible.³⁰ Yet these 'manifestations' of the miraculous are qualified by the concept of the *parergon*. In his *De Pictura Veterum* Junius insisted that *parerga* must remain subordinate within paintings.³¹ Thus Puteanus is implying that verbal condiments cannot be *hubristic*, precisely because they are mere ornaments, by-works ancillary to the central and Divine work given within the sacred narrative.

Yet on another level, Puteanus's defence of his verbal embellishments also begins to destabilise the hierarchy of Divine work and ancillary by-work, the hierarchy of the sacred narrative and its narration. By asserting that the miraculous may be seen in the beauty of van Loon's images, Puteanus implies that the skilful rendition of sacred stories carries its own holy charge, precisely because it is the means by which the Divine is communicated, made visible and tangible. Thus for Puteanus, the

²⁹ 'Sic in picturâ potissimum sacrâ, non argumentum tantum, sed artificium æstimamus: sic in ipsò tot Miraculorum theatro ingeniosus THEODORI VANLONII summi amici nostri & popularis occupandus erat penicillus; ut ars triumpharet, ipsæque imagines pulchritudine suâ nonnisi Miracula viderentur.' Puteanus to Sacco, 6th June 1623. Here quoted after Puteanus, *Epistolarum Selectarum Apparatus* (Antwerp, 1637-1639), cent. III, ep. XXII, pp. 44-45. Van Loon was working on at least six of the paintings for Scherpenheuvel between 1623 and 1628. Cornil, 'Théodore van Loon et la peinture italienne', pp. 193-194 and 196.

³⁰ This parallel between painting and writing may be understood as a particular inflection of the Horatian dictum 'Ut pictura poesis' much favoured by art theoreticians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. See R.W. Lee, 'Ut Pictura Poesis': *The Humanistic theory of painting* (New York, 1967), especially pp. 3-8.

³¹ Junius, *De Pictura Veterum Libri tres* (Amsterdam, 1637), p. 220.

by-work — the successful narration of the sacred — is not simply a dispensable ornament, but rather a means of communicating the Divine.

3. Divine labour

Puteanus's defence of his verbal condiments in his letter to Sacco may be elaborated by reference to Marian theology. Already in the fifth century the Virgin Mary had been defined as *Theotokos*, the mother of God. This dogma affirmed that the Virgin was the human mother of God, the means by which Divine was made incarnate — that is, rendered physical, manifest and tangible. Yet, while the Virgin was indispensable as the mother of Christ, she nevertheless remained ancillary, literally the handmaid of the Lord.³² There is an obvious parallel between the role of the Virgin within the Incarnation and the role given by Puteanus to painters and writers of the sacred: both the former and the latter render the Divine manifest and tangible. In any case, Puteanus was certainly aware of the dogma surrounding the Virgin's motherhood. In 1618, on the feast of the Annunciation, he gave an elaborate and entirely orthodox speech on this subject to the Marian sodality in Leuven.³³

This parallel — between the Virgin birth and the narration of the sacred — may seem rather far-fetched. However, it should be remembered that Puteanus's verbal condiments were to be applied to the miracles of Our Lady of Scherpenheuvel. Moreover, it may also be justified by reference to Puteanus's comments on another, now apparently lost painting by van Loon. This painting was a *Nativity of Christ* originally destined for the church at Scherpenheuvel, and it is referred to in several of the letters sent by Puteanus to his friend Chifflet between 1625 and 1640.³⁴ When Puteanus first referred to the painting in 1625, he already

³² For a lucid account of the historical and theological complexities of the term *Theotokos* see G. Miegge, *The Virgin Mary. The Roman Catholic Marian Doctrine*, transl. W. Smith (London, 1955), pp. 53-67.

³³ This speech was subsequently published: see E. Puteanus, *De Annvnciatione Virginis-Matris Oratio* (Antwerp, 1618).

³⁴ Unfortunately, the letters concerning van Loon's *Nativity* have not been published in a coherent, chronological form. They may be found partly in Castan, 'Les relations du peintre Théodore van Loon avec la Citadelle de Pallas à Louvain', and partly in M. de Maeyer, *Albrecht en Isabella en de schilderkunst: Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van de XVIII-eeuwse schilderkunst in de zuidelijke Nederlanden* (Brussels, 1955), pp. 373-374 (docs. 194-196) and p. 395 (doc. 238).

wanted it for the altar of the sadly neglected chapel in his home, the castle at Leuven.³⁵ The only problem was that Puteanus could not afford it.³⁶ At last, after many and complex machinations, Chifflet purchased the painting in 1640, and simply gave it to his friend.³⁷

One of Puteanus's final letters on the *Nativity* draws a clear parallel between the Virgin's motherhood and the painting of sacred narratives. This letter is also addressed to Chifflet and dated 8th of June 1640; and in it Puteanus gratefully acknowledges his receipt of the painting. He begins by practising what he preached in his letter to Sacco, namely by commending the great artifice of the painting.³⁸ However, this does not mean that Puteanus simply ignores the sacred subject. Immediately after praising the skill of the painter's hand, he ponders, "... sic nasci, sic collocari sanctissimus Infans debuit, ubi Virgo puerpera erat et stabulum cubile."³⁹

This rather sudden shift — from artistic skill to the birth of Christ — hinges on the deponent verb "nasci", which means "to be born", but also, amongst other things, "to be produced".⁴⁰ Therefore, by using the verb "nasci", Puteanus is not simply expressing his envy of those present at the Virgin birth. He is also implying that this privilege has been granted to the actual painting: it was made where Christ was born. Now, on one level this may be understood as a reference to a certain Platonic concept. In the *Symposium* it is argued that poetry is a child conceived within the poet's mind.⁴¹ However, by linking painterly skill and Divine

³⁵ See Puteanus to Chifflet, 19th April 1625, published in *Ibid.* p. 373 (doc. 194). Puteanus had lived in the castle at Leuven since 1614. See Simar, *Étude sur Erycius Puteanus (1574-1646)*, p. 11.

³⁶ By 1631 Puteanus was more or less begging Chifflet for money to pay for the painting. See Puteanus to Chifflet, 26th June 1631, published in Castan, 'Les relations du peintre Théodore van Loon avec la Citadelle de Pallas à Louvain', p. 207.

³⁷ See Puteanus to Chifflet, 8th June 1640, published in Castan, 'Les relations du peintre Théodore van Loon avec la Citadelle de Pallas à Louvain', pp. 207-208.

³⁸ 'In pictura, novam artis elegantiam admiratus sum, et liberiores ingenii manum...' See Castan, 'Les relations du peintre Théodore van Loon avec la Citadelle de Pallas à Louvain', p. 207, ellipsis added.

³⁹ *Ibid.* pp. 207-208, ellipsis added.

⁴⁰ The complex meaning of 'nasci' could also be transposed to seventeenth-century Dutch. For example, in the 1642 edition of Cornelis van Kiel's dictionary 'ghebooren worden' is translated by the Latin phrases 'nasci, enasci, exoriri, provenire in vitam, suscipi in lucem'. C. van Kiel, *Kilianus Auctus seu dictionarium Teutonico-Latino-Gallicum* (Amsterdam, 1642), p. 124.

⁴¹ For an excellent account of this concept and its application during the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period, see E. R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, transl. W. R. Trask (New York, 1953), pp. 132-134.

birth, Puteanus gives a particular inflection to this concept. He constructs a parallel between the painter's work and the Virgin's birth of Christ: both may be described as holy labour, as making the Divine visible. Thus the painter does not simply conceive platonically, that is, in his mind. Rather, he must also contribute physically, like the Virgin, to the bringing forth of the Divine.

This sanctification of the painter's work echoes Puteanus's letter to Sacco, already published when Puteanus received the *Nativity*. Yet Puteanus's emphasis on the painter's work found its clearest expression in the Dutch epigram which he composed and published on the subject of "Schilderye".

Acht de mael-konst/acht de handt/
Die ons schildert met verstandt.
Weynigh stucken: een/maer schoon/
Ryck van Werck/van Eer/van Loon.⁴²

According to the first two lines of this poem, painting should be guided by the mind, but also executed with skill. The last two lines emphasise this balance between mind and hand. The epigram then concludes with a pun, which implies that, although he is not prolific, van Loon's paintings are laboriously crafted and therefore both beautiful and rewarding.

Puteanus's model of painting — as Divinely inspired, but mediated by human labour — is significant in the context of early seventeenth-century attitudes to painting. Zirka Filipczak has described the attempts of some of the painters of Antwerp to promote painting as a liberal, rather than a mechanical art. She argues that this led to a new emphasis on the intellectual side of painting, complemented by great reticence concerning the actual, physical work involved in the making of a picture.⁴³ For example, of the three dozen painters included in van Dyck's *Iconography*, only two carry the tools of their trade.⁴⁴ However, as should be

⁴² H. vanden Born, [E. Puteanus] *Sedigh Leven, Daghelycks Broodt* (Leuven, 1639), p. 260, original emphasis. For the entirely convincing attribution of these epigrams to Puteanus, see Van der Haeghen — Lenger, *Bibliotheca Belgica*, IV, 807-809. On the epigrams in general, see E. Puteanus, *Sedigh Leven, Daghelycks Broodt*, ingeleid en toegelicht door H. Dehennin, *Litteraire tekstedities en bibliografieën*, 1 (Gent: Koninklijke academie voor Nederlandse taal- en letterkunde, 1999). The link between the 'Schilderye' epigram and van Loon was first made by Brughmans, *Les Peintures de Th. van Loon à Montaigne*, p. 12.

⁴³ Filipczak, *Picturing Art in Antwerp 1550-1700*, pp. 98-123.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

clear by now, Puteanus's attitude to painting, at least to religious painting, was quite different and also quite unusual. On a very general level, his views could be related to those of a small, but select minority who understood painting in neo-platonic terms; namely as a Divinely inspired activity.⁴⁵ Yet he differed even from this minority precisely because he considered the painter's actual, physical work as a means of rendering the Divine visible and tangible.⁴⁶ (And this, by the way, also begins to explain why Puteanus was somewhat ill-disposed towards Rubens. The prolific output of the latter's workshop was based, at least in part, on delegating most of the actual making of his paintings to subordinate assistants.⁴⁷)

Puteanus's unusual sanctification of the painter's work was developed at least partly to defend his own approach to sacred narratives. For this reason, his perception of painting as Divine labour is of moment not only to art historians. The implication is that he also saw his own work, perhaps especially his writings on religion, as a mediation of the Divine.

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⁴⁵ This view was articulated by writers such as Albrecht Dürer, Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo and Federico Zuccharo. *Ibid.*, p. 87. In particular, Lomazzo was highly influenced by Marsilio Ficino and other neo-platonist writers. A. Blunt, *Artistic Theory in Italy 1450-1600* (Oxford, 1989), p. 143, note 1.

⁴⁶ Puteanus's happy conjunction of the painter's mind and hand may in fact be understood as peculiarly Netherlandish. See S. Alpers, *The Art of Describing. Dutch Art in the seventeenth century* (London, 1983), especially pp. 72-118. However, it should be noted that Alpers is only really concerned with the Northern Netherlands. Her argument is developed in a more flexible manner — with clearer implications for the Southern Netherlands — in W. S. Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon: Karel van Mander's Schilder-boeck* (Chicago, 1991).

⁴⁷ See Filipczak, *Picturing Art in Antwerp 1550-1700*, pp. 81-84.



Fig. 1. P. P. Rubens, *Self-portrait with Mantuan Friends*, oil on panel, c. 1602, 77.5 x 101 cm, Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne. (Copyright: Rheinisches Bildarchiv, Cologne)



Fig. 2. C. Galle the Younger after P. P. Rubens, Title-page, *Sacrosancti et Oecumenici Concilii Tridentini*, engraving, c. 1648, 12 x 5.7 cm. (Copyright: Museum Plantin-Moretus, Antwerp)

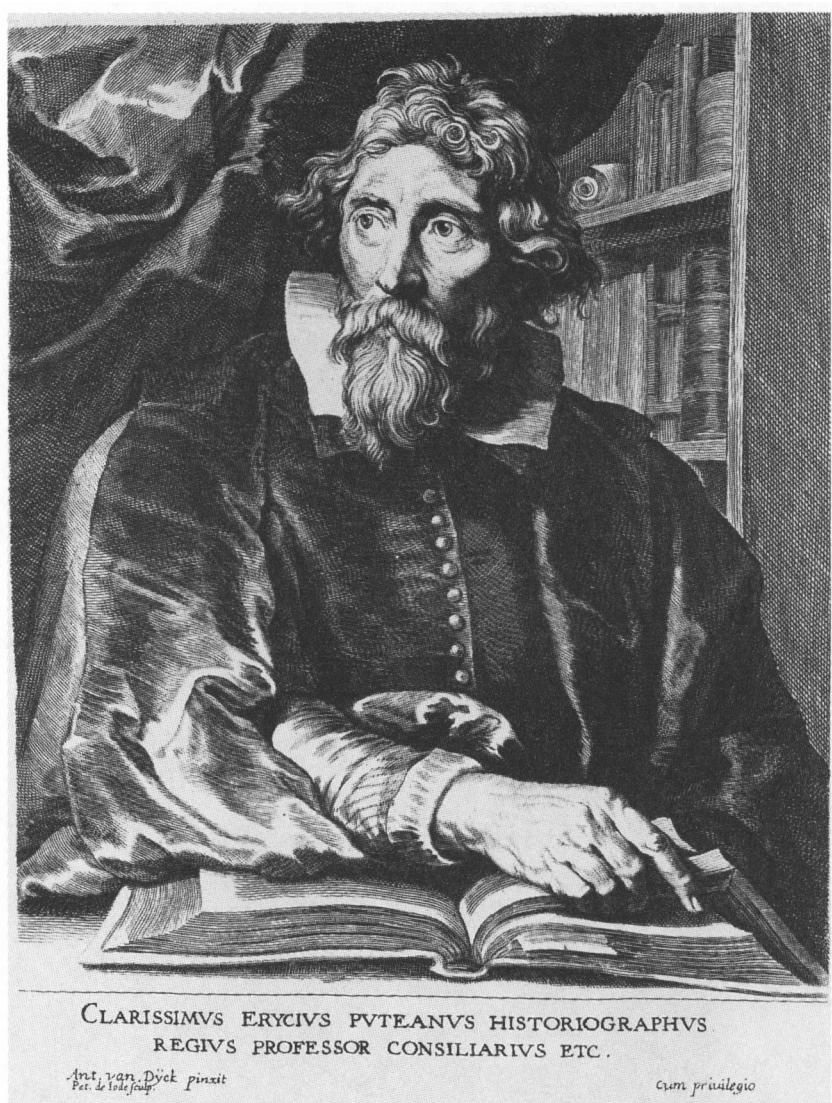


Fig. 3. P. Pontius after A. van Dyck, *Erycius Puteanus*, engraving, c. 1626-1633, 24.5 x 17.8 cm. (Copyright: Prentenkabinet, Centrale Bibliotheek, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven)



Fig. 4. P. de Jode after A. Van Dyck, *Theodor van Loon*, engraving, c. 1626-1633, 25.4 x 18.6 cm. (Copyright: Prentenkabinet, Centrale Bibliotheek, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven)



Fig. 5. T. van Loon, *Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple*, oil on canvas, c. 1623-1628, 209 x 192 cm, Basilica of Our Lady, Scherpenheuvel. (Copyright: IRPA/KIK, Brussels)



Fig. 6. T. van Loon, *Nativity of the Virgin*, oil on canvas, c. 1623-1628, 209 x 192 cm, Basilica of Our Lady, Scherpenheuvel.
(Copyright: IRPA/KIK, Brussels)

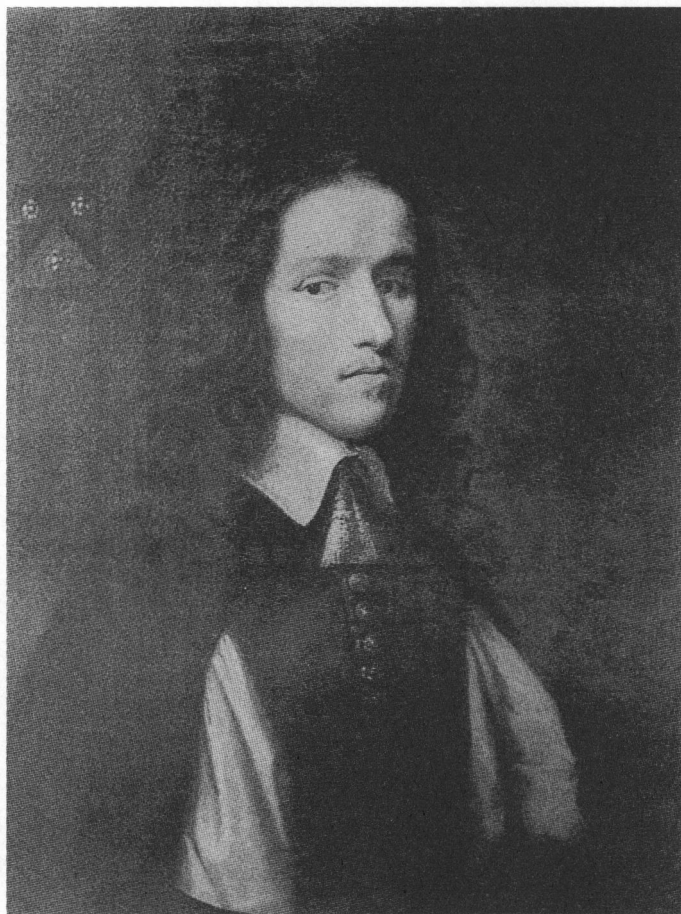


Fig. 7. Attributed to T. van Loon, *Erycius Puteanus* (?), oil on canvas, c. mid-seventeenth century, dimensions unknown, Private Collection. (Here reproduced after V. Brughmans, *Les Peintures de Th. van Loon à Montaigu*, Leuven, n.d.)

Gilbert TOURNOY

ERYCIUS PUTEANUS, ISAAC CASAUBON
AND THE AUTHOR OF THE *CORONA REGIA**

Several papers presented at the 1996 Conference on Erycius Puteanus dealt with Puteanus's friendships: "Puteanus and Nicolaus Vernulaeus", "Puteanus and Theodor Van Loon", "Puteanus et Pierre Gassendi", "Puteanus and Gerardus Vossius", "Puteanus et Alberto Struzzi: histoire d'une amitié", and "Une amitié pour la vie: Puteanus et Godefroid Wendelin". On occasion, however, Puteanus also made a few enemies by using his pen as a weapon in the political and religious quarrels of his time. These disputes started with the spread of the Reformation throughout Europe, as is well documented in the correspondence of humanists, especially that of Erasmus in the first decades of the 16th century. For instance, in Erasmus's letter of October 19, 1519 to the young Cardinal Albert of Brandenburg we read how conservative theologians, who resented the blossoming of the humanities and the revival of Antiquity, tried to link Erasmus's name with that of Luther and so to make him suspect:

Ubi libri Lutheri prodiissent, velut ansam nacti ceperunt linguarum, bonarum literarum, Capnionis et Lutheri, imo et meam causam eodem fasce complecti... Sed haec arte commiscuerunt, ut comuni invidia degravarent omnes bonarum literarum cultores.¹

(English translation by Mynors):

* An earlier version of this paper was read at the International Colloquium on Erycius Puteanus (Leuven, 1996). I was then not aware of the paper Winfried Schleiner presented at Wolfenbüttel in 1994; its conclusion was that the attribution of the *Corona regia* to Schoppe "zumindest zweifelhaft erscheinen muss". See Winfried Schleiner, 'Frühe Detektivarbeit zur Entlarvung des Autors der Corona regia', in *Kaspar Schoppe (1576-1649), Philologe im Dienste der Gegenreformation. Beiträge zur Gelehrtenkultur des europäischen Späthumanismus*, ed. by Herbert Jaumann (Frankfurt am Main, 1998), pp. 423-434.

I wish to thank Drs. M. de Schepper and Dr. I. De Smet for commenting on a first draft of this article, and Prof. Dr. G. Hugo Tucker for correcting my English.

¹ P. S. Allen - H. M. Allen (eds.), *Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, 4 (Oxford, 1922), letter 1033, p. 105. Hereafter quoted as Allen.

When Luther's books had appeared, as though this gave them a handle they began to tie up the ancient tongues and the humanities and Reuchlin and Luther and even myself in the same parcel... They have cunningly confused all these things to lay on all who follow the humanities a load of ill-will which all share.²

Erasmus himself, and every intellectual with him, was eventually forced to take a stand in favour of one camp or the other. A few years later, on November 13, 1524, Juan Luis Vives wrote in the letter he sent from London to Erasmus that he was

surprised that so few books by the ancients come out now that are printed in Germany. These things written either for Luther or against him have put all thought for other kinds of literature out of the heads of the reading public.³

(Original Latin text):

Etiam miror tam raros nunc prodire veterum libros excusos in Germania. Ista vel pro Luthero vel in Lutherum excusserunt de pectoribus studiosorum omnem aliarum rerum curam.⁴

No wonder then that literary life was under a lot of strain, and that creative and literary writing gradually shifted to polemical invective on the one hand, or withdrew into the safe boundaries of pure philology on the other. Is it not striking that four fifths of the literary production of the prominent humanist Thomas More — who earned enduring fame with his *Utopia* — was written in English and was designed to defend ecclesiastical doctrines and institutions?⁵

The situation hardly improved over the next few decades, even if more open-minded humanists did not let their religious convictions become an obstacle to maintaining relations with colleagues adhering to another faith. One of the most outstanding — and pious — humanists of

² *The Correspondence of Erasmus. Letters 993 to 1121. 1519-1520.* Translated by R. A. B. Mynors. Annotated by P. G. Bietenholz (Toronto - Buffalo - London, 1987), letter 1033, pp. 114-15. See also letters 1119, 1127, etc.

³ *The Correspondence of Erasmus. Letters 1356 to 1534. 1523 to 1524.* Translated by R. A. B. Mynors and A. Dalzell. Annotated by J. M. Estes (Toronto - Buffalo - London, 1992), letter 1513, p. 419.

⁴ Allen, vol. 5, letter 1513, p. 577.

⁵ See *Antwerp, Dissident Typographic Centre. The Role of Antwerp Printers in the Religious Conflicts in England (16th century)*, ed. by D. Imhof - G. Tournoy - F. de Nave (Antwerp, 1994), p. 89.

the second half of the sixteenth century was Isaac Casaubon.⁶ Born in 1559 at Geneva into a French Huguenot family, he was appointed professor of Greek in his native town at the age of twenty-three, and got married in September 1583. When his first wife died, he took a second wife, Florence, daughter of the printer Henri Estienne (II), in 1586, moving to Montpellier in 1596 and subsequently to Paris in 1600. After the assassination of his royal patron Henry IV in 1610 Casaubon left France for England, where he stayed until his death in 1614. His wanderings are in perfect accord with his religious beliefs: born a Calvinist, Casaubon was reluctant to become a Catholic in Paris, and finally found the best of the two traditions united in the Anglican Church. As a classical scholar Casaubon made his name through his editions and translations of, and commentaries upon, Greek texts, such as those of Diogenes Laertius (1583), Strabo (1587), the New Testament (1587), Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1588), Athenaeus (1590), Aristotle (1590), Theophrastus (1592) and so on. His notes on Diogenes Laertius in 1583 and his commentaries upon Theocritus in 1584, both published under the name of "Hortusbonus",⁷ impressed Justus Lipsius. The then Leiden professor sent Casaubon his greetings via his Genevan colleague Denys Godefroy (1549-1622) and the young lawyer Peter van Brederode.⁸ Casaubon's modest and flattering reply started a friendship which was never hampered by the spiritual peregrinations of either Lipsius or Casaubon. A few years later, Lipsius's successor at the University of Leiden, Joseph Scaliger, read through Casaubon's edition of Theophrastus, and decided that the young scholar was worthy of his friendship.⁹ A new triumvirate — mirroring that of Erasmus, Vives and More in the first half of the 16th century — was about to dominate the intellectual world.

⁶ For Casaubon, see M. Pattison, *Isaac Casaubon 1559-1614*. Second Edition (Oxford, 1892); C. B. Schmitt, 'Theophrastus', in P. O. Kristeller - F. E. Cranz (eds.), *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum*, II (Washington, 1971), pp. 260-63; and the entry by Jean Jehasse in *Centuria latinae. Cent une figures humanistes de la Renaissance aux Lumières offertes à Jacques Chomarat*, réunies par Colette Nativel, Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 314 (Genève: Droz, 1997), pp. 255-260.

⁷ Not "Hortibonus", as Lipsius — and with him a few others — erroneously assumed. See *Iusti Lipsi Epistolae. Pars II: 1584-1587*, eds. M. A. Nauwelaerts - S. Sué (Brussels, 1983), p. 391, letter 560.

⁸ *Ibid.*, letters 560 and 561. Casaubon indeed signed his copy of Cassiodorus's *Variae* (Paris: S. Nivellius, 1583) twice: the first time as "Is. Casaubon", the second time as "Isaacus Hortusbonus". This copy is now kept at the British Library, C.80.a.1

⁹ *Illustriss. viri Iosephi Scaligeri Iulii Caes. a Burden F. Epistolae omnes quae reperiri potuerunt, nunc primum collectae ac editae* (Lugduni Batavorum, 1627), letter 35, 7 May 1594.

During his stay in France, Casaubon was relatively sheltered from any polemical assaults against him, partly through the protection of the king and partly because of the possibility that he might convert to the Catholic faith. However, he was not completely detached from the political and religious skirmishes raging around him. In 1602 he sent his friend Scaliger the anti-Jesuit piece *Histoire notable du Père Mangot*.¹⁰ Although Scaliger had to endure much more hostile fire than Casaubon, he seems to have enjoyed these continual controversies. Both men were very upset, however, by the *Amphitheatrum Honoris*, published by Carolus Scribani in 1605, which Scaliger pointedly called an *Amphitheatrum horroris* in a letter of 1606 addressed to Casaubon.¹¹ When in 1607 the converted Protestant Gaspar Scioppius published his *Scaliger Hypobolimaesus* ('the supposititious Scaliger') the two friends mutually exhorted each other not to react, but to pass over in silence the calumnies about them spread by their adversaries.¹² Only Casaubon, however, seems to have been able to contain himself. Scaliger not only retaliated with his *Fabulae Burdoniae Confutatio*, but he also found his friend Daniel Heinsius ready to defend his honour with a Menippean satire, the *Hercules tuam fidem sive Munsterus Hypobolimaesus*, which Scaliger sent to Casaubon in April 1608, followed by the augmented version a few months later, in August 1608.¹³

The situation changed after the assassination of Henry IV in 1610, when Casaubon moved to England, where he was well received by King James I. In France, the former adviser and confessor to the king, the Jesuit Pierre Coton (1564-1626), tried to defend his Order against the accusation of having actually encouraged the murder by promoting the theory of tyrannicide. Coton's piece was immediately countered by the Calvinistic *Anti-coton*, against which in its turn a *Response apologétique à l'Anti-coton* appeared at Pont-à-Mousson still in the same year 1610. The English king urged Casaubon to react. Casaubon could not but indulge the king's wish, and in 1611 his *Ad Frontonem Ducaeum S. I.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, letter 72.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, letter 126.

¹² *Ibid.*, letter 133.

¹³ *Ibid.*, letters 137 and 142. The sequence of events and the various invectives concerning this controversy have been discussed by Ingrid A. R. De Smet, *Menippean Satire and the Republic of Letters 1581-1655*, Travaux du Grand Siècle, 2 (Genève: Droz, 1996), pp. 160-84. See also Anthony Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger. A Study in the History of Classical Scholarship. II. Historical Chronology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), pp. 747-48.

Theologum epistola, in qua de Apologia disseritur appeared in London. In this open letter to his old Jesuit friend Fronton le Duc Casaubon took the opportunity to settle his score with Carolus Scribani, who had fiercely attacked him in his *Amphitheatrum honoris*. Echoing the letter which Scaliger had sent him a few years beforehand (ep. 126), Casaubon also called it the *Amphitheatrum horroris*. It took only a few months for his epistolary tract to be widely known and discussed, not only in France, but also in Germany, Italy and the Netherlands.

At that moment Erycius Puteanus appeared on the scene with the publication of his *Stricturae*,¹⁴ his confutation of Casaubon's open letter to Fronton le Duc. In a letter of 7 July 1612, Puteanus disclosed that the tract was written in the house of the Italian diplomat and merchant Alberto Struzzi,¹⁵ who at that time was staying in Brussels. From this same letter it appears furthermore that his work was in the press at that moment, and that Puteanus hoped to see it printed when he returned home from Venlo, where he would be going the following day and where he was intending to stay for a few days: "Io domani andarò verso Venlo, e sarò presto di ritorno.... Il mio libro contra Casaubono, il quale scriveva (*sic!*) in casa di V. S., si stampa adesso, et credo che sarà finito quando ritornerò." This means that the *Stricturae* were undoubtedly published in July 1612.¹⁶ The final version was most probably composed in May or June of that same year. Indeed, on 7 May 1612 Puteanus had written to Struzzi that he eagerly wished to go

¹⁴ *Eryci Puteani in Is. Casauboni ad Front. Ducaem S. I. Theologum V. C. epistolam Stricturae. Liber prodromus* (Lovanii, apud Io. Christoph. Flavium, MDCXII). Before the First World War the copy bearing the autograph dedication to the first librarian of this library, Valerius Andreas (1588-1655), was kept at the University Library of Leuven; see *Bibliotheca Belgica. Bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas. Fondée par Ferdinand Van der Haeghen. Rééditée sous la direction de Marie-Thérèse Lengier. Tome IV* (Brussels, 1964), p. 775, no. P188.

¹⁵ See M. A. Echevarría Bacigalupe, *Alberto Struzzi. Un precursor barroco del capitalismo liberal*, Avisos de Flandes, 4 (Leuven, 1995), p. 38.

¹⁶ See M. A. Echevarría Bacigalupe, 'Erycius Puteanus et Alberto Struzzi: histoire d'une amitié', elsewhere in this volume. I have checked the text of this letter (and the others) against the original kept at Brussels, Algemeen Rijksarchief, Papiers Le Mesureur, liasse 11 (letter 2). Puteanus had to deal with some problems concerning the estate after the death of his father, who died more than a year before (see the first letter in his *Epistolarum Reliquiae*, Lovanii, 1612, pp. 1-2). He was not able to return as soon as he had expected, however, but had to stay away from home for an entire month; see M. Z. Boxhorn (ed.), *Eryci Puteani v. cl. ad Constantinum Hugenum et Danielem Heinsium viros nobiliss. epistolae* (Lugduni Batavorum, 1647), ep. 24 (17 August 1612), p. 53: "Atque ego totum mensem a conjuge liberisque lare sejunctus exantlavi. In Gelria fui, tribunalia adivi...".

to Brussels,¹⁷ but that his wife needed him at her side. She was in the last phase of a pregnancy and gave birth to a child named Georges on 10 May 1612.¹⁸ So it is likely that Puteanus's journey to Brussels and the composition of his tract took place a few days or weeks after this event. Be that as it may, to see Puteanus enter the lists is rather surprising, since he did not know Casaubon personally, and as far as I have been able to ascertain no letters were ever exchanged between them. So the question arises: why did he want to involve himself in this dispute?

In his introductory letter to Remaclus Robertius (Remacle Roberti), superintendent at that time for the army's provisions in the Low Countries,¹⁹ Puteanus explains that his reasons were twofold. Firstly "ut Christianum affectum meum promerem" — to make clear his own Christian beliefs; and secondly "moremque viris maximis geram" — because he was summoned to do so by important men. In the letter which he sent on 17 August 1612 to his Protestant friend Daniel Heinsius, along with a copy of the *Stricturae*, Puteanus repeats this assertion, adding that one of these men was Cardinal Federico Borromeo, his patron when he stayed at Milan.²⁰ There are reasons to believe, however, that Borromeo was not at all aware of Puteanus's move before he actually received a copy from the author.²¹ In fact, the Cardinal was still trying — through the mediation of Fronton le Duc — to persuade Casaubon to move to Milan and work at the Palatine school there.²² A more obvious explanation, which may have occurred to Daniel Heinsius,

¹⁷ Brussels, Algemeen Rijksarchief, Papiers Le Mesureur, liasse 11, letter 1: "Sed vide, quam non possim quod maxime cupio, venire, evolare, te complecti. Uxorem vicini signa puerperii terrent, et tam maritum clamat, quam aliae Lucinam solent, cum uterum dolor laxat. Itaque detineor et velut domi ligor."

¹⁸ Georges died in October of the same year. See T. Simar, *Etude sur Erycius Puteanus (1574-1646) considéré spécialement dans l'histoire de la philologie belge et dans son enseignement à l'Université de Louvain* (Louvain, 1909), p. 34.

¹⁹ Remaclus Robertius was the brother of the more famous Jesuit Jean Roberti (1569-1651), to whom J. Vannérus dedicated a notice in the *Biographie Nationale*, 19 (Brussel, 1907), coll. 515-532. Remaclus is also known as a correspondent of Justus Lipsius. See A. Gerlo - H. D. L. Vervliet, *Inventaire de la correspondance de Juste Lipse 1564-1606* (Anvers, 1968), s. v.

²⁰ Boxhorn, ep. 24, pp. 53-57: "Stricturae meae cuiusmodi sint, hic nunc videbis... Me absente editae sunt... Ab illustrissimo Borromaeo et a magnorum virorum quadam manu incitatus sum."

²¹ Puteanus sent a copy to Cardinal Federico Borromeo, along with a letter dated August 31, 1612 (Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, MS G 257 inf., fol. 252).

²² T. Simar, 'Erycius Puteanus, Isaac Casaubon et Jacques Ier, roi d'Angleterre', *Bulletin bibliographique et pédagogique du Musée Belge*, 14 (1910), 65-77 (p. 67, n. 2).

viz. that the *Stricturae* were written at the instigation of the Jesuits, is categorically denied by Puteanus.²³ The basic reason for the composition of the tract is formulated in Puteanus's prefatory letter to the reader. There he suggests that Casaubon has left the safe haven of philology to set foot on unfamiliar ground. No matter how great a scholar he may be, he must be rebuked when attacking the Church, the Pope and the Jesuit Order, and Puteanus considers himself to be the perfect challenger: "nec tantulus ego, ut loqui metuum". So Puteanus thought it an honour to stand up to the most conspicuous humanist and Protestant writer of his time and to drive him back into the camp of letters, where he belonged ("hominem igitur e litterarum castris profugum... stricturis, velut telis, petii").

In his letter to the reader Puteanus states furthermore that he has seen Casaubon's *Epistola* rather late and that he has waited for some time to see if Fronton le Duc himself or somebody else would react: "sero epistolam vidi et Frontonem ipsum aut alium hac militia clarum expectare coepi, qui hostem conficeret." This statement suggests that Puteanus began to write his pamphlet only a month before he wrote his prefatory letter to the reader. That letter is undated, but it was probably composed on the same day, or at least in the same week, as the dedicatory letter to Remaclus Roberti, which is dated 16 June 1612.

However, this chronology, as Puteanus presents it, does not fit the facts. Casaubon's letter to Fronton le Duc is dated 25 October 1611. If Casaubon's tract was printed in the course of the following few days, it may very well have been known in France and the Netherlands before the end of the year. Indeed, already in a letter of 15 March 1612, to his intimate friend Maximilian Plouvier, secretary to the Count of Emden, Puteanus declared his intention of writing against Casaubon, and a few days later he announced that he had begun to do so and that he wished to finish his invective as soon as possible.²⁴ Puteanus's Milanese friend Giovanni Battista Sacco was informed about the same time of this project. In May 1612, he wrote to Puteanus: "Haud dubito quin gloriosum

²³ Boxborn, ep. 24, p. 55: "De iis, quos nosti, cave suspicari. Scribere coeperam priusquam vel tenuis rumor mea iis insinuasset consilia". That the Jesuit Scribani even might have held his pen is suggested by L. Brouwers, *Carolus Scribani S. J. 1561-1629. Een groot man van de Contra-Reformatie in de Nederlanden* (Antwerp, 1961) p. 150.

²⁴ Brussels, Royal Library, MS 6523, fol. 121^r: "Hac septimana calamus, qui Casaubono destinatus est, movebo." *Ibid.*, fol. 326^r: "Ceterum in Casaubonum calamus iam promoveo, et hodie aliquid adhuc scripsi. Aliud vis? Hoc negotium nunc meum, et absolvam quantocumque."

tibi sit futurum scribere in Causabonum (*sic*) qui causam tam malam foveat”.²⁵ Even his enemies were aware of his project at a very early stage. On 2 April 1612 Casaubon himself announced to the French humanist and lawyer Jacques Bongars (1554-1612) that Erycius was preparing an epitaph for him as if he were lost to the Muses: “Erycius Puteanus parat mihi epitaphium tanquam Musis mortuo”,²⁶ thus summarizing rather well the idea introducing the *Stricturae*. How then can Puteanus claim that he saw Casaubon’s letter “rather late”, that he waited some time for a reaction before deciding to put his hand to the work only a few weeks before its publication in July?

When Casaubon finally saw Puteanus’s pamphlet, sent to him by King James, at the beginning of September, he wrote about it in his letter of 25 September 1612 to Daniel Heinsius.²⁷ According to a letter by Puteanus to Heinsius, Casaubon seemed not to have taken the *Stricturae* so badly, and in the spring of 1613 Puteanus even sent him, through the mediation of their mutual friend Heinsius, a parcel.²⁸ However, Puteanus then heard somehow that Casaubon was still intending to refute his *Stricturae*, while preparing a major work; he warned Heinsius that he was not the kind of man to be disparaged with impunity and that Casaubon would be wise to refrain from any calumnies or insults.²⁹

The work in question was the *De rebus sacris et ecclesiasticis Exercitationes xvi ad Baronii Annales*, in which Casaubon criticized the many

²⁵ Brussels, Royal Library, MS 19112bis. This letter seems to be missing now (information supplied by Drs. M. de Schepper), but is mentioned by Simar (n. 22), p. 69, n. 1.

²⁶ T. Janson. ab Almelooven (ed.), *Isaaci Casauboni epistolae* (Rotterdam, 1709), p. 456, no. 786.

²⁷ J. Russell (ed.), *Isaaci Casauboni Ephemerides cum praefatione et notis*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1850), II, 943; T. Janson ab Almelooven, p. 487, no. 834: “Vidisti P<uteani> librum, quem ante aliquot dies rex ad me misit. Legi avide, et ne dissimulem, capiebat me scriptionis elegantia. Sed dolet mihi, virum eruditum tam fatue, tam insulse, tam perditae patronum agere doctrinae parricidialis... Minatur in extremo libro fulmina, tonitrua, et nescio quas διοσημείας. Sancte iuro tibi, non aliter affici me talium scriptorum lectione, quam si nihil ad me pertinerent.... Constitui silere, donec opus perfecero; tum, si Deus volet, unica praefatione omnes istos canes intrepide aggrediar.”

²⁸ See Boxhorn, ep. 25 (dd. 25 March 1613), pp. 57-58: “Fasciculum utrumque, qui adjunctus est, ut in Britanniam mittas, rogo. Alter ad Casaubonum est, qui non pessimo animo, ut audio, Stricturas meas tulit.”

²⁹ See Puteanus’s letter to Heinsius dd. 19 July 1613, published in Boxhorn, ep. 27, pp. 61-63 (p. 63): “Amicum tuum audio iam paratum habere, quod Patribus opponat; in eo scripto et Stricturas meas rejici. Sapiet, si a conviciis calumniisque abstinebit... Ego in omnem eventum ille ero, quem non impune hostis vituperabit malignus aut petulantia scriptionis contemnet.”

errors found in the *Annales* of the famous church historian Cesare Baronio.³⁰ By the time he finished it, he was so exhausted that he died a few months later, on 11 July (1 July, o. s.), 1614.

The fact of Casaubon and Puteanus being at loggerheads brought in its wake a most unpleasant consequence for the latter. A year after Casaubon's death a biting satirical tract against the English king was published under the name of Casaubon, *Isaaci Casauboni Corona Regia, id est Panegyrici cuiusdam vere aurei, quem Iacobo I, Magnae Britanniae Regi, Fidei Defensori, delinearat, fragmenta, ab Euphormione inter schedas τοῦ μακαρίτου inventa, collecta, et in lucem edita*.³¹

According to the title, the author claimed that this "panegyric" had been found by 'Euphormio' amongst the papers of the deceased.³² The printer's address on the title page is: "Pro Officina Regia Ioannis Bill, Londini 1615". This is a fictitious address, of course. In fact, it was printed at Leuven by John Christopher Flavius,³³ who was able to set up

³⁰ Anthony Grafton has discussed a small portion of this work by Casaubon in the fifth chapter of his book *Defenders of the Text. The Traditions of Scholarship in an Age of Science, 1450-1800* (Cambridge/Mass. - London, 1991), pp. 145-161. For Baronio's *Annales*, see now Ch. Mouchel, 'Eloquence et méditations dans la première Centurie des Annales Ecclésiastiques de César Baronio (1588)', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 54 (1992), 81-110.

³¹ The MS copy in the British Library, Burney MS 362, ff. 29-36, has the following inscription in Meric Casaubon's hand: "A divelish Pamflet by G. Shoppius against K. James, etc. under the name of Is. Casaubon"; see *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the British Museum*. New Series, Vol. I. Part II: *The Burney Manuscripts* (London 1840), p. 98. In the Royal Library at Brussels, there survive three seventeenth-century MS copies (MSS 13925, II.4247 and II.4549); see J. Van den Gheyn, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*, 7 (Brussels, 1907), pp. 44-45, no. 4637 and p. 670, no. 5255. Another copy is kept at the University Library of Gent, MS 513; see A. Derolez, *Inventaris van de handschriften in de Universiteitsbibliotheek te Gent* (Gent, 1977), p. 44 (information supplied by M. de Schepper). According to Simar, 'Erycius Puteanus, Isaac Casaubon', p. 73, n. 3, still another MS copy is kept at the University Library of Leiden; a sixth one, at the University Library of Leuven, must have perished during the first World War. Furthermore, Antonius Sanderus mentions two MS. copies kept at the Cathedral Library of Tournai in his *Bibliotheca Belgica Manuscripta* (Insulis, 1641), p. 210 and p. 214.

³² Is it not at this Euphormio that the anonymous poem prefacing François Garasse's reworked version of his *Horoscopus Anticotonis* (Ingolstadt, 1616: *Horoscopus Anticotonis auctor et pene novus*) aims above all — especially since Casaubon is also mentioned —, rather than directly at the protagonist of John Barclay's famous best-seller *Euphormionis Lusinini Satyricon*, as has recently been proposed by Ingrid De Smet (*Menippean Satire*, pp. 190-92)?

³³ As has been pointed out in the catalogue of the Bodleian Library, and also by Anna E. C. Simoni, *Catalogue of Books from the Low Countries 1601-1621 in the British Library* (London, 1990), p. 103, no. C.44.

a printing press at Leuven in 1611 thanks to the intercession of Erycius Puteanus and during these years virtually acted as the personal printer of Erycius Puteanus. In the event, the *Corona Regia* was hardly flattering to the king. It was a most virulent and venomous attack against his origins and his ancestors, his morals and his theological aspirations. No wonder then that the king tried to find out who the real author was in order to proceed against him. Hitherto, modern scholarship has tended to assume that the real author was the born mud-slinger Gaspar Schoppe or Scioppius (1576-1649), who kept out of harm's way, having been so astute as to introduce his own name, next to that of Bellarmine, as a possible author.³⁴ At the time, William Barclay also came briefly within range, but soon it was Schoppe's old friend Erycius Puteanus who fell under suspicion.³⁵ His *Stricturae* against Casaubon evidently had not been forgotten. The English king remonstrated with Archduke Albert, who instituted a thorough investigation into the pamphlet's authorship, but without any success. James I pursued the matter further by opening an inquiry of his own. One rumour had it that some students had seen the treatise in the handwriting of Puteanus before it was published; according to another rumour Puteanus had confessed his authorship to the apostolic nuncio Bentivoglio. A special envoy, Sir John Bennet, was sent in March 1617 to Brussels in order to demand the opening of a new inquiry and the immediate punishment of the author and of the printer. Puteanus saw what was coming and he mobilized all his friends at the Court. He himself maintained his innocence, accusing the witnesses of perjury in a tract, the *Rufi et Gibbosi Periurium in caussa Coronaria*,

³⁴ See Mario D'Addio, *Il pensiero politico di Gaspare Scioppio e il machiavellismo del Seicento* (Milan, 1962), pp. 121-122; G. Dünnhaupt, *Personalbibliographien zu den Drucken des Barock*. Zweite Auflage, 6 vols (Stuttgart, 1990-1993), V, 3734-92, no. 45; Winfried Schleiner, 'Scioppius' Pen against the English King's Sword: the Political Function of Ambiguity and Anonymity in Early Seventeenth-Century Literature', *Renaissance and Reformation / Renaissance et Réforme*, 26 (1990), 271-84.

³⁵ See L. Willaert, 'Négociations politico-religieuses entre l'Angleterre et les Pays-Bas Catholiques (1598-1625) d'après les papiers d'Etat et de l'Audience conservés aux Archives Générales du Royaume de Belgique à Bruxelles', *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, 6 (1905), 47-54, 566-81, 811-26 (especially pp. 823-25); T. Simar, 'Erycius Puteanus, Isaac Casaubon et Jacques Ier, roi d'Angleterre', *Bulletin bibliographique et pédagogique du Musée Belge*, 14 (1910), 65-77 (p. 74); Willem Schrickx, *Foreign Envoys and Travelling Players in the Age of Shakespeare and Jonson*, Rijksuniversiteit Gent — Werken uitgegeven door de Faculteit van de Letteren en Wijsbegeerte, 173 (Wetteren: Universa, 1986), pp. 284-287; Sonia P. Anderson, 'The Elder William Trumbull: a Biographical Sketch', *The British Library Journal*, 19 (1993), 115-132 (p. 122)..

published in 1616 in Leuven according to Paquot.³⁶ However, although the English king threatened to break off all diplomatic relations, the archduke did not agree to punish his royal councillor and historiographer or to open a new inquiry. If that had happened, probably Puteanus would not have been saved, even though innocent.

The whole affair gave Puteanus quite a shock. In a letter sent seven years later to his former pupil Frederick de Marselaer (1584-1646),³⁷ Puteanus vented his spleen: only very few people were interested in his scholarly occupations; his rivals were numerous and his friends not to be trusted. Life had brought him nothing but troubles, and on top of all that he had been unjustly accused of being the author of the *Corona Regia*.

The main interest of this plaintive letter, however, is that in it Puteanus explicitly stated that he had discovered the real author of this mock-panegyric: it was one of his friends and former pupils ("dotibus, cura mea excultis"), belonging to a wealthy family ("a quo fortunarum subsidium expectabam"). The man in question subsequently departed for Bohemia, probably serving in the army of Ferdinand II, who in 1619 had been deposed as King of Bohemia in favour of the Palatine Elector Friedrich V, and who had gone on in 1620 to defeat the troops of his rival. Now, in 1613 Friedrich V had married Elisabeth Stuart, daughter of King James I of England. Hence Puteanus's ironic allusion: "novo scilicet regi coronam detractus, qui socerum eius famoso libello coronaverat" ("with the intention of taking the crown away from the new King, after having crowned his father-in-law with a slanderous tract").

The main elements in this letter point, without a shadow of a doubt, to Puteanus's favourite pupil and younger friend Cornelius a Breda (Brussels, 1588-1620).³⁸ After his studies in the Brussels

³⁶ J. N. Paquot, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire littéraire des dix-sept provinces des Pays-Bas, de la Principauté de Liège, et de quelques contrées voisines*, 3 vols (Louvain, 1765-1770), III, 97. The tract is given as lost by Simar (n. 17), p.14, but a copy is kept at the Bodleian Library, shelfmark Vet. M1 c.3 (32); the catalogue gives 1617 as possible date of publication (information kindly supplied by Dr. I. De Smet).

³⁷ On this famous author and magistrate, see A. Wauters, in *Biographie Nationale de Belgique*, 13 (Brussels, 1894-95), coll 854-60, and M. Hoc, in *Bibliotheca Belgica*, IV, pp. 208-19. See now also J. Papy, 'Some Unpublished Latin Verses and Letters by Jacobus Wallius SJ (1599-1690) to Fredericus Marslaris and One Unknown Letter to Constantijn Huygens', *Lias: Sources and Documents relating to the Early Modern History of Ideas*, 26 (1999), 23-56.

³⁸ See A. Wauters in *Biographie Nationale de Belgique*, 2 (Brussels, 1868), coll. 913-14. It should be noted that the catalogue of the Bodleian Library points to both Cornelius Breda and M. Pluvier as the authors (mentioned by I. De Smet, *Menippean Satire*, p. 189, n. 130). One wonders on what basis this attribution was made.

school of the Augustinians, he became a *contubernalis* in Puteanus's house during the year 1607-8. He impressed his professor so favourably that Puteanus considered him a son and a true friend, and put him into his *Comus*, easily recognizable under the anagram 'Aderba'.³⁹ Breda then went to Italy for another two years (November 1608-1610), with a most encomiastic testimonial from Puteanus in his pocket.⁴⁰ Upon receiving an alarming letter from Puteanus concerning the health of his mother, Breda returned home.⁴¹ He afterwards joined the imperial army — perhaps in the company of John de Marselaer, one of Frederick's brothers — only to die subsequently at Krems in the year 1620. The entire plot to which Puteanus had fallen victim became clear to him some time after the death of the author. It is probable that the latter's mother had asked Puteanus to look through the belongings of her deceased son, and so truth was revealed to him.

It must have been an enormous shock to Puteanus to discover that his favourite pupil, whom he trusted as no one else,⁴² had served him such a trick and trifled with his reputation. It is also almost unbelievable that Puteanus never recognized the print-types used nor suspected that the book was printed by the printer he had worked with during the years 1611-1615. Or may we assume that Puteanus did recognize the types, that the printer refused to reveal the name of the author to him, and that this was the main reason for the rupture between Puteanus and Flavius and for the latter's sudden departure from Leuven?

*

* *

To complement these researches, we here offer the text of Puteanus's testimonial for Breda (see n. 40), as well as a complete transcript of

³⁹ *Eryci Puteani Epistolarum Reliquiae* (Lovanii, 1612), letter 39, p. 33; *Eryci Puteani Epistolarum Apophoreta* (Lovanii, 1612), letter 33, p. 45: "Totum apud me annum egit, tam familiariter ac frater, tam modeste ac filius; et sic eum habeo, fratrem, inquam, filiumque", and *Ibid.*, letter 94, p. 107: "Ego vero quem formavi, filium habeo."

⁴⁰ *Eryci Puteani Epistolarum Bellaria* (Lovanii, 1612), pp. 141-42.

⁴¹ *Eryci Puteani Epistolarum Reliquiae* (Lovanii, 1612), letter 6, p. 7.

⁴² *Eryci Puteani Epistolarum Reliquiae* (Lovanii, 1612), letter 20, p. 22: "Hoc ingenium singulariter aestimo. Iuvenis est, qui ad meum gustum sapit, et quo amico secure possum uti."

Puteanus's letter (no. 5 in the factitious volume held at the University Library of Leuven as MS A35).⁴³ It is preceded by the address: "Nobilissimo et amplissimo / Domino D. Fred. de Marselaer, / Equiti, / Consuli Bruxellensi./ Bruxellam", which confirms the year-date; Frederick de Marselaer was in fact made burgomaster of Brussels for the first time in 1623.

APPENDIX

I. Puteanus's testimonial for Cornelius a Breda

Testimonium I viri dignitate et virtute magni, doctrina clari, affectu mei.

Probitatis, eruditionis et modestiae testimonium legite, et quem commendo, complectimini. Hic meus est, et tanquam patrem me aut fratrem habet, Cornelius a Breda, origine Belga, et Aderbae nomine in *Como* sive *Phagesiposiis* mihi celebratus.

Stirpem et sanguinem si quis cernat, nobilis est, sed indolem animumque ad omnem humanitatem et elegantiam direxit, meliorum litterarum studio atque historiarum insigniter excultus. Rarae ingenii dotes velo modestiae adumbrantur. Aetas tenera adhuc (quatuor vix lustrorum) et puro pudore se commendat. Reliqua quae latent, aetatem vicerunt, amanda et aestimanda, si propius aut familiarius noscantur. Mores vero iudiciumque virum indicant, aptum aliena et longinqua lustrare, observare, usurpare./ Ab umbra igitur ad lucem se transfert, visurus, imo collaturus cum experientia rerum, quae audivit aut legit; vos visurus quoque et culturus, qui dignitate, virtute, doctrina et affectu in bonos eminentis. Me auctore se transfert et itineris omnem fructum meis consiliis hic metietur. Vos magni, vos clari, vos mei, vultu et animo benigno hunc iuvenem excipite, dirigite, prosequimini, quicquid feceritis, cum foenore a me relaturi. Ipse dignum se amore et benevolentia vestra (ita spondeo) praestabit; ego vero accepisse beneficium videbor, ac rependam. Tanquam ipse veniam, hic mitto; et, ut in caussa mea verecundior sum, ita hic encomii libertatem pudor retardat. Itaque breviter vos rogo, ut qui bene mihi vultis, huic ostendatis. Nam e mea disciplina, contubernio et sinu abito, ut vestro auctus amore benevolentiaque eodem revertatur. Deus faciat; vos autem, qui bona ingenia amatis ac fovetis, laetissima felicitatis copia beet.

Lovanii, XV. Kal(endas) Septembris, MDCVIII.

⁴³ This volume, containing eighteen letters addressed by Puteanus and his son Justus-Caecilius to F. de Marselaer, was bequeathed to the University Library by Henry de Vocht.

II. Puteanus's letter to Frederick de Marselaer

Nobilissime et amplissime domine et amice, a Puteano tuo salve.

- In eodem adhuc statu sum, tui tamen memor, quemadmodum brevi videbis. Caeterum, ut agi omnia video, in nauseam animus inclinatur. Paucis omnino studiis quae tracto curae sunt; plures aemuli, dubii amici. Vita mea hactenus quid nisi molestia fuit, morbis, curis, imo et calumniis obnoxia? Ne quid deesset
 5 mali, aliena quoque delicta sustinui. Repete animo Britannicum illud negotium, et innocentiam meam improbiissima in discrimen suspicione adductam. Interim bonus auctor subduxerat se (et hunc pariter iam mecum nosti) ut noceret amico, cui vel maxime obstrictus erat. A quo fortunarum subsidium expectabam, paene exitium venit: sic ille, ne quid mihi deberet, ingenii dotibus, cura mea excultis,
 10 abusus est. Hinc sollicitus ille metus, tectae curae, in cunctis trepidatio. Quid plura? Ut armis tutus esset, militatum abiit, in Bohemiam profectus est, novo scilicet regi coronam detracturus, qui socerum eius famoso libello coronaverat. Scena post obitum mihi patuit, cum schedas apud matrem relictas librosque inspexissem.
- 15 Sed de his satis. Nunc cum morbo mihi negotium est; quem si vicero, de rebus meis consilium apud te capiam.
 Vale. Lovanii, in Arce, septimo Eidus Novembres MDCXXIII.

1 *in margine sinistro add.* Haec famulo dictavi, qui manum, ut vides, meam imitatur.
 12-17 *in margine sinistro add.* Uxor mea morbum suum pariter trahit, non depositura, nisi una foetum.⁴⁴ Ergo felices isti Lucinae labores sint, et prosperum laetumque puerperium. Ego Dominum De Percke⁴⁵ iam invitavi, ut infantem, quem Deus dabit, e sacro fonte suscipiat. Uxor nunc mea Dominam coniugem tuam⁴⁶ pariter invitat. Frater et soror nonne sic recte sociantur? Ergo vel Guilielmum parvulum, vel Margaretam parvulam habebimus.

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⁴⁴ Their daughter Margaretha was baptized December 11, 1623.

⁴⁵ William de Baronaige (Bernage), lord of Perk (†1626).

⁴⁶ Frederick de Marselaer had married Margaret de Baronaige in 1619.

Eugenija ULČINAITĖ

THE RECEPTION OF PUTEANUS'S STYLE AND IDEAS IN 17TH-CENTURY LITHUANIA

It is reasonable to believe that Erycius Puteanus' books and his ideas were first spread in Lithuania by the people who studied at Leuven University during the first half of the 17th century. Nicolaus Radivilus and Albrechtus Stanislaus Radivilus (future Chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and writer of memoirs) were among his students in 1609; even four members of the Sapieha family: Nicolaus, Christophorus, Fredericus et Alexander Casimirus, sons of Vitebsk Palatine attended Puteanus's lectures during 1610-1611.¹ For that reason, it is likely that the academic level and the fame of Leuven University encouraged the Sapiehae to continue educating their children at that University. Moreover, Alexander and Albrechtus, sons of Vitebsk Palatine, Casimirus and Thomas, sons of Naugardukas Palatine and last but not least, Christophorus, Nicolaus and Casimirus Leo (future Chancellor of Lithuania), the children of Vilnius Palatine Leo Sapieha, came to Leuven in 1625.² It is very important to note that the latter Sapieha invited Justus, Erycius Puteanus' son, to stay with him in Vilnius in 1636.

Puteanus kept corresponding with those people, presented them with his books, which were later handed over to the Library of Vilnius University. Consequently, this Library owns two books by Erycius Puteanus at present: *Doctrinae politicae fontes, ex Aristotelis libro I et II De republica* (Lovanii, 1627) and *Palaestra bonae mentis* (Lovanii, 1611) together with the manuscript inscriptions, presented by Casimirus Sapieha.

According to Polish scholar Stanisław Kot, Erycius Puteanus could not be compared to Justus Lipsius either as a philosopher or as a literary critic, however, "Europe was enthralled by his stylistic talent, literary

¹ See S. Kot, 'Stosunki Polaków z uniwersytetem Lowańskim', *Minerwa Polska*, 1 (1927), p. 212.

² Cf. *Ibidem*, p. 215.

skills and publicistic temperament”.³ The discussion which took place among European philologists at the end of the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th century on the question of imitation divided them into two opposing camps of “Ciceronians” and “anti-Ciceronians” or “Attic followers”, and Erycius Puteanus belonged to the latter.

Justus Lipsius, the fellow-countryman and teacher of Erycius Puteanus, was the founder and unquestionable leader of this trend. He had made efforts to revive the ideas of Stoicism and legitimize the style of Seneca and Tacitus, the representatives of the Roman “Silver Age”.⁴ Justus Lipsius and his supporters began to strengthen two very important viewpoints of 17th-century literature and aesthetics. First of all, Cicero was not the only author to follow: he was one of a great many creators of the past and the present, and everyone had to take what was best from those authors. Second, a style was not only a model of an “objective situation”, as it had been suggested by the antique understanding of *genera dicendi*, but it was also an expression of an author’s individual way of thinking and mode of narration, his talent (*ingenium*), taste (*gustus*), choice and tasks. This rapidly changing situation was well reflected by the lectures on rhetoric read in the 17th century, their authors’ viewpoint on imitation and self-expression.⁵

Lipsius himself described his style as: “Alia enim quaedam a prioribus meis haec scriptio, cui nitor ille abest et luxuria et Tulliani cincinni: pressa ubique, nec scio an quaesita nimis brevitās. Quae me tamen nunc capit. Timanthem pictorem celebrant, quod in ejus operibus plus semper aliquid intellexeretur, quam pingeretur: velim in mea scriptione” (This writing of mine is different and differs from earlier writers. There is neither redundancy of the Ciceronian style nor its adornment or elegance, it is concise and perhaps too “laconic”. However, that is exactly what I really like at the moment. The painter Timanthes is praised, because in his works one could always understand more than what was painted: I would like this to be the case with my writing”).⁶

³ Cf. *Ibidem*, p. 209: “Europę podbił jego talent stylistyczny, zdolności literackie i temperament publicystyczny”.

⁴ Cf. Morris W. Croll, ‘Juste Lipse et le mouvement anticiceronien à la fin du XVIe et au début du XVIIe siècle’, in J. Max Patric - Robert O. Evans (eds.), *Style, Rhetoric and Rhythm* (Princeton - New Jersey, 1966), pp. 12-13.

⁵ E. Ulčinaite, *Teoria retoryczna w Polsce i na Litwie w XVII wieku* (Wrocław, 1984), pp. 123, 144-156.

⁶ See Croll, ‘Juste Lipse et le mouvement anticiceronien’, p. 17.

Therefore, conciseness, simplicity, sententious utterances, avoiding usage of syntactic parallelism common to Cicero, escaping of consonance and rhythm, metaphoric narrative and conceptualism are considered to be the essential features of Lipsius' style.⁷

Erycius Puteanus took over the position of his teacher in Leuven University in 1607 and analyzed the new style, which was often called "Attic" or "laconic", in many of his treatises, speeches and letters. In his work *Thyrsi philotesii sive amor laconisans styli et sermonis aculei* (Lovanii, 1609) Puteanus also noted that the "laconic" or "acute" style "rages without fury, strikes without a blow, and is not the son of Venus, but the son of Virtue, the alumnus of faithfulness and constancy" ("Qui alibi Lingulaca, hic Lacon, qui arcu alibi aut igni armatus, hic Thyrsis, et sine furore furit, sine plaga ferit; non Veneris, sed Virtutis puer, Fidei et Constantiae alumnus").⁸ This piece of work was more of a practical nature where Puteanus explained *sermonis aculei* — acute, sententious utterances, and their usage. Here are some of these "*aculei*": "Sapiens ubique civis et amicos ubique invenit" or "in amore laus, in laude amor".

The term "*aculeus*" used by Erycius Puteanus had its analogues in the works of other authors, too. For example, the French rhetorician Nicolaus Caussin (*De eloquentia sacra et humana libri XVI*, Parisiis, 1619) used the noun *acutum* or the adjective *stylus acutus*. Mathias Casimirus Sarbievius named the first part of his poetics "*De acuto et arguto sive Seneca et Martialis*". The term "*acumen*" was extremely popular in the rhetoric of the 17th century and often used to have the following description: "Acumen est discors concordia et concors discordia subiecti et praedicati in oratione".⁹

Erycius Puteanus associated "laconic" style with wisdom and emphasized an underlying suggestion and majesty (*in brevitae auctoritas quaedam et majestas est*), and pointed out that it were best if rulers, statesmen and nobles used it: "Dignum imperio Principem non Virtus aut Fortuna tantum, sed Sapientia et Facundia a populo secerunt, magnae et divinae dotes. Sapientiae interpres Facundia est: sed illa fida, stricta et vibrantium velut sententiarum aculeis instructa, quam Spartani olim, Lycurgi instituto, coluerunt" ("The ruler worthy

⁷ Cf. *Ibidem*, p. 28.

⁸ E. Puteanus, *Thyrsi philotesii sive amor laconisans styli et sermonis aculei* (Lugduni Batavorum, 1630), Praefatio.

⁹ M. K. Sarbiewski, *Wykłady poetyki (Praecepta poetica)* (Wrocław, 1958), p. 10; M. Radau, *Orator extemporaneus* (Amstelodami, 1661), p. 39.

of his rule is distinguished from the crowd not only by Virtue or Fortune, but also by wisdom and eloquence, great and divine gifts. Eloquence is the interpreter of Wisdom, the one which is honest, concise and, as it were, supplied with the acuteness of quivering *sententiae*, that which was once cherished by the Spartans who followed Lycurgus").¹⁰

The fact that Puteanus' own style, which had already received the name of "stylus Puteani" in the middle of the 17th century, began to be analyzed in academic courses in rhetoric, showed a quick spread of new ideas in the educational system of the time, the way they were cherished and analyzed alongside with traditional questions.

In the rhetoric course *Prolusiones epistolicae, historicae et oratoriae, alias Bigos jezuicki* (no reference to the author) read in 1645 in Kalisz it was noted that Puteanus might have been the source of imitation both in letter writing and in historical works. Since one should avoid poetic loftiness and rhetoric figures in writings of this nature, Puteanus' works were a possible source of learning: "Omnis poetica affectatio et sollicita figurarum cura abesse debeat. Hic Puteanum vide".¹¹

The rhetoric courses in school curricula of the 17th century made a division of traditional styles which had existed from antiquity, i.e. "high style" (*genus summum, grave*), "middle" style (*genus mediocre*) and "low" style (*genus infimum, humile*); however, this division was updated with new notions and definitions: "Ex nominibus authorum in Asiaticum seu Ciceronianum, Atticum seu Acutum, Laconicum vel Senecianum; ex ratione materiae dividitur in stylum Historicum, Eru-ditum, Sententiosum, Allegoricum" as it was mentioned in the course *Proteus oratorius varias eloquentiae formas metamorphosi Tulliana indutus* (no indications of the author) read in Kalisz in 1674.¹² In this regard, Erycius Puteanus was often quoted as the most prominent representative of the "Attic", "acute", and "laconic" style together with the masters of stylistics, such as Justus Lipsius, Nicolaus Caussin, Jacobus Pontanus. Puteanus' style was considered to be adequate in expressing serious and weighty thoughts, letter writing, concise, laconic and captivating speeches: "Stylus Puteani estque epistolaris,

¹⁰ E. Puteanus, *Pompa prosoponctica* (Lovanii, 1639), p. 47. (Praefatio XV: *In Laconismum*).

¹¹ Manuscript BJ 2507, p. 38. (BJ - Bibliotheca Jagiellonica Cracoviensis).

¹² Manuscript PAN 1332 II, p. 65. (PAN - Bibliotheca Academiae Scientiarum Poloniae in Kraków).

familiaris, gravibus sensibus, breviter tamen ordinatis, abundans. Huic est proximus stylus Lipsii".¹³

Puteanus' work *Facula distinctionum ad omnem lectionem et descriptionem necessaria* (First ed. Lovanii, 1610) was written to discuss questions of syntax: it explained the structure, parts, the basics of rhyming, rhythm, etc. of that period. As far as structure, examples, and definitions are concerned, the work had much in common with the textbook on rhetoric *Praxis oratoria sive praecepta artis rhetoricae* (1st ed. Brunsbergae, 1648) by the Lithuanian Jesuit Sigismundus Lauxmin. The textbook consisted of the lectures by S. Lauxmin read in Neswyż Jesuits College from 1631 to 1635. It is hard to state whether Lauxmin himself was acquainted with any of Puteanus' works and made use of them (since Puteanus himself did not mention his name), although the similarity of statements and sources reflected trends of rhetoric and stylistics, as well as the same scholastic problems, open intellectual space where the exchange of scholastic thoughts and their reception took place and what was common for all Europe.

There is an opinion that Leuven attracted Lithuanian and Polish noblemen with its monarchist ideas and attempts to keep them away from Jesuit influence.¹⁴ Leuven University was one of few catholic universities in Europe to educate their students for public life and civil and political activities.

In the introductory part, *Ad civem et virum bonum*, of the work *Doctrinae politicae fontes* (Lovanii, 1627) Erycius Puteanus directly addressed Christophorus and Casimir Sapiehas, putting emphasis on the importance of wisdom, education and virtue in the life of the noblemen and sovereign. Therefore, "moral traditions, modesty and virtuousness" ("mores, qui nihil nisi virtutem, modestiam, pietatem spirarent") were the features Puteanus recognised in the personalities of his students. According to Puteanus, only an honest and educated man could rule the country, and Aristotle's thoughts, summarized and presented in Puteanus' book, were intended to help one to achieve this goal: "Just imagine a good man and a good citizen, educated and experienced in ruling the country, one who consults the interests of the country rather than his own advantages, pursue what is honorable, not what is useful. This

¹³ Manuscript VUB F3-2087, p. 183. (VUB - Bibliotheca Universitatis Vilnensis).

¹⁴ B. Otwinowska, *Modele i style prozy w dyskusjach na przełomie XVI i XVII wieku* (Wrocław, 1967), p. 144.

man can be called a statesman" ("Virum et Civem bonum Tibi propone, doctrina instructum, Reipublicae peritum, qui Patriae magis quam suis commodis intentus, non quod utile, sed quod honestum sectatur: hic Politicus est").

In his treatise *Elementa basilica*, dedicated to the same addressees, the emphasis was also put on the importance of "virtue" (*virtus*) not as the dominance over the ruler's personality, but as the factor of influence on the public: "Virtus Principis, nisi ad omnes derivetur <...>, sepeliri in fonte aquam dixerim". (Unless the virtue of a ruler is applicated to everybody, I would call it water buried in a spring).¹⁵ However, virtue was taught with humanities (*litterarum studia*) at the same time, and Puteanus devoted quite a few of his lectures to this question¹⁶ as well as his work *Palaestra bonae mentis* (Lovanii, 1611), which stated that: "In Palaestra bonae mentis animi ingeniique cultus esto, id est doctrinae ac virtutis sophiae ac suadae" ("let the spirit and mind, science and virtue, wisdom and eloquence be taught at the school of the noble soul").

This work by Puteanus was well known and read in Lithuania. Vilnius University Library received it as a present from Casimirus Leo Sapieha, Chancellor of Lithuania [copy VUB, BAV 70.6.13 with dedicatory inscription]. A comment upon it was unexpectedly found in the work dedicated to the centennial anniversary of the Society of Jesus *Gratiae saeculares* (Vilnae, 1640) by Albertus Wiuk Koiałowicz, Jesuit and Lithuanian historian. Expressing his gratitude to the founders and patrons of Vilnius University, Albertus Koiałowicz put emphasis on the importance of humanities which, according to him, were the "teachers of virtue" (*virtutum magistrae*), "custodians of piety" (*custodes religionis*), "bulwarks of the republic" (*fulcra Reipublicae*). Without this knowledge "people tend to turn into beasts and the citizens into enemies" (*homines ferae sunt, cives hostes*). Albertus Koiałowicz recognized that this was not an original quotation of his, but one of the "Belgian Nestor Erycius Puteanus" ("mellea verba BELGICI NESTORIS ERYCI PUTEANI"), however, he did not mention the exact source of the quotation. This was likely to be a free-style reflection of Puteanus' thoughts from the latter's work *Palaestra bonae mentis*.

The poet Mathias Casimirus Sarbievius (1595-1640) also made Erycius Puteanus' name famous in Lithuania. Three editions of poetry

¹⁵ Quoted according to E. Puteanus, *Pompa prosphonetica* (Lovanii, 1639), p. 114.

¹⁶ Cf. E. Puteanus, *Suada Attica sive orationum selectarum syntagma* (Amstelodami, 1644), pp. 79, 89, 206, 243 and *passim*.

by Sarbievius were even published in Antwerp, the most important publishing center of the Low Countries. Ode 29 from Lyric Book III was dedicated to “Belgian friends” (Lyric. III, 29: *Ad amicos Belgas*). There followed the listing of eleven famous Belgian Jesuits (Joannes Bolandus, Maximilianus Habbequius, Joannes Tolenarius, etc.) and Erycius Puteanus. Sarbievius called him the “reviver of the old kingdom of Panaetian wisdom” (*Panaetianae scientiae regum prisca reponeres*), “disseminator of truth” (*veri magister*), “not less important than Socrates” (*Socrate non minor*). Erycius Puteanus returned the kindness in the collected work *Epicitharisma eruditorum virorum ad auctorem poemata*, published in 1632 in Sarbievius’ poetry book *Lyricorum libri quatuor* (Antverpiae, 1632):

Romanus ore, natione Sarmata,
Cultissimi vir ingenii,
Ab axe flammam frigido Sarbievius,
A nocte lumen invehens,
Vertit quadrigas orbita Phoebi nova,
Nivesque mundi calfacit.¹⁷

Thus, the relationship between Lithuania and Leuven University as well as among the most famous Belgium humanists — Justus Lipsius, Erycius Puteanus and Nicolaus Vernulaeus significantly enriched the cultural panorama of 17th-century Lithuania. Evidently, this relationship not only contributed to a new understanding of style and literature, but also enriched them with modern political ideas, and philosophical viewpoints, backed by famous Lithuanian politicians, statesmen, and men of letters. It can be boldly stated that without this relationship the cultural vision of 17th-century Lithuania would have been poorer.

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¹⁷ “He is Roman in speech, Sarmatian in origin// A man of remarkable erudition,// Sarbievius who from the northern regions brought fire// and light from night,// Who turned Phoebus’ chariot to a new orbit// And melted the snows of the world”.

Johan VERBERCKMOES

PUTEANUS' *DEMOCRITUS, SIVE DE RISU*

In december 1611 Erycius Puteanus gave a public oration on laughter at the University of Louvain. Although an unusual subject for a learned disputation, it seemed an appropriate choice for the distinguished latinist, at that time thirty-five years old and just a few years before appointed successor to Lipsius at the *Collegium Trilingue*. Four years earlier, in 1607, Puteanus had praised the joyfulness (*amoenitas*) of the Belgian youth in his inaugural lecture at Louvain university.¹ The year after that, in 1608, the Louvain humanist had proved to be a skilful and witty satirist in his *Comus*.² Moreover, in the year 1611 Puteanus edited and published two satiric dream orations by Petrus Nannius, one of his predecessors at Louvain.³ On the other hand, as a pedagogue, Puteanus urged his pupils to collect sayings, expressions, examples and facts and arrange them in a thematic order in order to use this material for their conversations and rhetorical exercises.⁴ The speech on laughter is a clear example of this writer's and orator's strategy. Puteanus was well prepared to tackle a light-handed subject matter, which referred to the youthful boisterousness of his audience as well as to his skills as a master presenting 'commonplaces' about a trivial topic.

The speech on Democritus and laughter was part of a Saturnalian program of *Quaestiones Quodlibeticae* tackled by Puteanus in 1611.⁵ These discussions on any subject had been held at the faculty of Arts in Louvain yearly since 1427. According to the statutes of the faculty, the professor who

¹ *Iuventutis Belgicae laudatio: in qua melioris naturae & disciplinae imago* (Lovanii: Ex officina Gerardi Rivii, 1607).

² I. A. R. De Smet, *Menippean Satire and the Republic of Letters 1581-1655* (Genève: Droz, 1996), pp. 109-111.

³ D. Sacré, 'Nannius' *Somnia*', in *La satire humaniste*, ed. R. De Smet (Leuven: Peeters Press, 1994), pp. 77-93 (p. 80).

⁴ Th. Simar, *Étude sur Erycius Puteanus (1574-1646), considéré spécialement dans l'histoire de la philologie belge et dans son enseignement à l'Université de Louvain* (Louvain: Université de Louvain, Paris: A. Picard, and Bruxelles: A. Dewit, 1909), p. 161.

⁵ Unfortunately, the *Acta Facultatis Artium* for 1611 do not confirm this, cfr. Brussels, Algemeen Rijksarchief, Oude Universiteit Leuven, 714, f. 500 r^o-v^o.

held the chair that year, was asked to comment on whatever question was put before him. He could develop an argumentation in favour or against the thesis presented. His audience, colleagues as well as students, were free to ask him questions. For many a professor, the *Disputationes Quodlibeticae* proved to be the perfect occasion to try out new ideas, amidst an atmosphere of temporary hilarity. The *Disputationes Quodlibeticae* were indeed organised each year around the feast of St. Lucy on 13 December, which integrated them into the winter cycle of carnival festivities, a cycle which in the Latinate milieu of the University was associated with the Roman Saturnalia (17 to 23 December).⁶ Next to serious items, funny questions were tolerated on the agenda of the *Disputationes Quodlibeticae*, as long as they were not scandalous, defamatory, or in any other way offensive, as Valerius Andreas formulated it, adding that the jokes would attract more listeners.⁷

In the printed version of his oration, Puteanus anticipates Andreas' remark, when he assures his readers that nobody needs to fear pain or shame, because he is only speaking about laughter. In the last lines of the printed text, the humanist returns to this issue, when he informs his audience and readers that each year, during this ritual, laughter and joy are looked for, but without damage to either honour or personal dignity, except that people clap their hands and stamp their feet to express their laughter.⁸ To understand this last phrase correctly, one must know that expressing laughter with generous body language was generally not admitted among the intellectual elite and considered a phenomenon of uncivilized peasants and ignorants. Although Puteanus himself seems to suggest that in a joyful atmosphere such expressive laughter might not be uncommon, on the other hand he also stuck to the tradition by adding in his printed version after the text of his speech a *sententia* by the Greek author Johannes Stobaeus (ca. 500 A.D.), in which to laugh at the top of one's voice and with a shaking body is simply condemned.

⁶ J. Caro Baroja, *Le Carnaval* (Paris: Gallimard, 1979).

⁷ V. Andreas, *Fasti academici studii generalis Lovaniensis* (Lovanii: Hieronymus Nempaeus, 1650), p. 250: 'Et ut hujusmodi actum Quodlibeticum auditores frequentiores visitent, permissum est jocosa serijs miscere, modo non sint turpia, diffamatoria, vel ullâ ratione offensiva'. The *Disputationes Quodlibeticae* are not mentioned in the first edition of Andreas' *Fasti* (Louvain, 1635).

⁸ E. Puteanus, *Democritvs, Sive De Risv Dissertatio Satyrnalis: Publicè Lovanii habita* (Lovanii: Io. Christoph. Elavivm [sic], 1612), pp. 2 and 22. I consulted the copy in a miscellany in Leuven, University Library. Cfr. F. Van der Haeghen, *Bibliotheca Belgica. Bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas*, ed. M.-Th. Lenger, 5 vols (Brussel, 1979), IV, p. 775.

The text of Puteanus' public speech on laughter was published in 1612 by the Louvain printer Johannes-Christoforus Flavius, with whom he co-operated from 1611 to 1617. The dedication of *Democritus, sive de risu* is dated 6 October 1612. A second edition was published by Flavius in 1614.⁹ In the course of the seventeenth century Puteanus' Saturnalian dissertation was also included in a compilation of paradoxical *encomia*, the *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Socraticae Joco-Seriae*, edited by Caspar Dornavius, first published in 1619 and several times reprinted.¹⁰ A Dutch translation under the title *Vasten-avonts praatje, van Democritus, of den lach* was included in the collection *Veeler Wonderens Wonderbaarelijck Lof* (Amsterdam, Samuel Imbrecht and Adam Sneewater, 1664), which was also published in a Latin version under the title *Admiranda rerum admirabilium encomia* (Nijmegen, Typis Reineri Smetii, 1676). The Dutch translation of Erycius Petreamis' text — as he is erroneously named — follows the Latin original closely, but contains many typographical errors.

Erycius Puteanus was not the only author to publish Latin dissertations on the topic of laughter in the early decades of the seventeenth century.¹¹ In the sixteenth century mainly medical doctors had written seriously on laughter.¹² Others had only briefly touched upon the subject in that age. Puteanus himself dedicated the printed version of his dissertation to a medical doctor, David Floritius Riquebourg-Trigault, councillor and physician of prince Philip-William of Orange-Nassau. At the end of the sixteenth century the University of Marburg apparently specialized in learned questions on laughter. Philippus Matthaeus (1554-1603), professor of rhetoric at the University of Marburg, replied to a question on laughter, which the student Casparus Diepelius from Frankenberg, Hessen, had asked on 20 December

⁹ J. N. Paquot, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire littéraire des dix-sept provinces des Pays-Bas, de la principauté de Liège et de quelques contrées voisines* (Louvain: de l'imprimerie académique, 1768), XIII, pp. 396-397.

¹⁰ C. Dornavius, *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Socraticae Joco-Seriae. Schauplatz scherz- und ernsthafter Weisheiten. Neudruck der Ausgabe Hanau 1619*, ed. R. Seidel (Goldbach: Keip Verlag, 1995), pp. 778-780.

¹¹ M. A. Screech and R. Calder, 'Some Renaissance attitudes to laughter', in *Humanism in France at the end of the Middle Ages and in the early Renaissance*, ed. A. Levi (New York, 1970), pp. 216-228. This "interim report" on humanist writings on laughter is far from complete, but has the merit of having pointed out a topic of research in Latin studies, which still awaits further study.

¹² D. Ménager, *La Renaissance et le rire* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1995).

1582: *Quaestio, an ridere liceat: et si licet, unde risus oriatur?*¹³ The Neapolitan pedagogue Nicander Jossius published in 1580 an *Opuscula de voluptate et dolore, de risu et fletu* [...], which went into a second edition in Frankfurt in 1603 under the title *Tractatus novus utilis et iucundus de voluptate et dolore, de risu et fletu* [...] *Cui accesserunt Antonii Laurentii Politiani de risu eiusque causis et effectis libri duo, antea nunquam editi*. The treatise by Antonius Laurentius Politianus was also published separately in Marburg in 1606 as *Dialogus pulcherrimus et utilissimus de risu ejusque causis et consequentibus*.¹⁴ The Marburg professor Rudolphus Goclenius senior (1547-1628) as well as his son Rudolphus Goclenius junior (1572-1621), also professor at Marburg University, wrote theses on the physiology of laughter, which also elicited a response from the Marburg student Ioannes Kuhlius.¹⁵

For Puteanus laughter was a sign of wisdom. He repeated it several times. 'The man who involves himself in literature and likes wisdom, can laugh'.¹⁶ Or, as it sounds in the conclusion, 'we are joyful and learn at the same time' ("hilares sumus, & simul erudimur"). And even more strongly and with emphasis, 'jokingly we move to virtue' ("cum joco ad virtutem imus").¹⁷ This certainly echoes Erasmus' *Praise of Folly*. It nevertheless seemed worth emphasizing that learned people could laugh. Indeed, according to the accepted medical opinion of Puteanus' days, learned people had plenty of melancholic humour and were less prone to laughter. Juan Luis Vives (ca. 1492-1540) had written in *De anima et vita* (1538): "Intense thinking prevents both emotion and laughter. For these reasons the laughter of prudent and wise people is more rare and subdued, a smile rather than laughter. Their thoughts are important and intense; only few things are new or unusual to them because they have foreseen and pondered everything. Furthermore, people of great intelligence have a bodily temperament that predisposes them to black bile. Intelligent people forbid themselves to burst out with laughter as an improper form of

¹³ Dornavius, *Amphitheatrum*, pp. 764-766 [= 774-776].

¹⁴ H. Schüling, *Bibliographisches Handbuch zur Geschichte der Psychologie: das 17. Jahrhundert* (Giessen, 1964), pp. 109 and 122.

¹⁵ Dornavius, *Amphitheatrum*, pp. 766-777 [= 776-777]; Schüling, *Bibliographisches Handbuch*, p. 76.

¹⁶ Puteanus, *Democritvs*, unpaginated dedication: "ridere posse hominem, qui Litteras tractat, & Sapientiam amat".

¹⁷ Puteanus, *Democritvs*, p. 22.

behaviour".¹⁸ Puteanus thus seemed to speak against much accepted wisdom.

The emblematic figure in the focus of Puteanus' speech was Democritus. Again this points to the *Praise of Folly*. Erasmus of Rotterdam was one of the first authors to make a convincing case for Democritus' laughter. The Greek philosopher Democritus (ca. 465-ca.360 B.C.) became very well known in the sixteenth century, not for his theories, but for the stories that surrounded him about his unending laughter, which according to many authors mocked the foolishness of the world. In that respect Democritus nearly always appeared in a combination with the weeping philosopher Heraclitus.¹⁹ It was rather exceptional, however, that Democritus was simply preferred to Heraclitus, as Puteanus did in his speech when comparing the two philosophers' attitudes. Erycius Puteanus definitely profited from the specific situation and ritual to make his claim for the laughing philosopher. The hilarious occasion paved the way for a plea for Democritus. The Louvain humanist therefore also started his speech (or at least the printed text made after it) with a long apology for a free laughter, against the advice of the Academy of Athens, which, according to Aelianus, rejected any insults and coarse jokes in its seat.²⁰ On the other hand, choosing the side of Democritus was not as such revolutionary. It fitted into the wider educational strategies of Puteanus.

Five arguments sustained Puteanus' thesis. It seems plausible that they responded to the questions put before him at the time of the "disputationes". In the middle of his argument, for instance, Puteanus calls out: 'I doubt and wait', and a bit further on, when he has presented the objection: 'what shall I answer'?²¹ The first argument put forward by Puteanus is that laughter is a natural reaction of the human body and, moreover, as natural as weeping. By presenting this argument, the

¹⁸ J. L. Vives, *The Passions of the Soul. The Third Book of De Anima et Vita*, edited and translated by C. G. Noreña, *Studies in Renaissance Literature*, 4 (Lewiston-Queenston-Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1990), p. 58. The Latin text in J. L. Vives, *De Anima et Vita*, ed. M. Sancipriano (Padova: Gregoriana, 1974), p. 580.

¹⁹ J. Jehasse, 'Démocrite et la renaissance de la critique', in *Études seiziémistes offertes à Monsieur le Professeur V.-L. Saulnier par plusieurs de ses anciens doctorants*, *Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 177 (Genève: Droz, 1980), pp. 41-64; Th. Rütten, *Demokrit - lachender Philosoph und sanguinischer Melancholiker. Eine pseudohippokratische Geschichte*, *Mnemosyne, Bibliotheca Classica Batava, Supplementum*, 118 (Leiden: Brill, 1992); Ménager, *La Renaissance et le rire*.

²⁰ Puteanus, *Democritus*, pp. 2-3.

²¹ Puteanus, *Democritus*, p. 11.

learned professor does little more than repeat the conventional knowledge of the day concerning the physiological aspects of both bodily expressions. According to many authors laughter proceeded from joy and joy was an emotion which expanded the heart. This expansion in turn affected the intestines and the chest. Joy also showed itself on the face, as was widely believed in popular physiognomy. Human bodies were shaken by joy and displayed laughing faces, just as they showed tears when being overcome by sadness. 'Nobody will ever despise tears', Puteanus exclaimed, 'why then is laughter despised'?²² Laughter and weeping were moreover very similar, the Louvain humanist argued, because of the simple fact that they seemed exchangeable. Joy could end in tears and sadness in laughter. The affinity between these two passions had been thoroughly discussed in the sixteenth century. Laughter and sadness were very similar expressions, many argued, because both produced the same liquid, tears. As Puteanus put it, 'if laughter is kicked out of the chest and the face, the tears are expelled at the same time, because they love each other'.²³ It was therefore difficult to make a distinction between the two. Montaigne, for instance, had said in his *Essays* that it was difficult to see on a painting whether the portraited figure was going to laugh or to weep.²⁴

While basically repeating old arguments about the parallels between laughter and weeping, Puteanus nevertheless put his own emphasis. A soul cannot be pure and serene ("serenus"), the humanist alleged, when the face is clouded.²⁵ This was a Stoic interpretation of physiognomy, to which Puteanus regularly returned in his text. 'Nothing is better in a face than laughter', it says in the dedication. In the text of the speech the

²² Puteanus, *Democritvs*, p. 4: "Lacrymas certè nemo reprehendit: cur Risum?"

²³ Puteanus, *Democritvs*, p. 6: "Risus è pectore vultûque si ejicitur, in exilium pariter Lacrymae ibunt, quas amant".

²⁴ M. de Montaigne, *Les Essais*, ed. P. Villey and V.-L. Saulnier (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1965, reprint 1988), p. 674 (book II, chap. 20): "Nature nous descouvre cette confusion: les peintres tiennent que les mouvemens et plis du visage qui servent au pleurer, servent aussi au rire. De vray, avant que l'un ou l'autre soyent achevez d'exprimer, regardez à la conduite de la peinture: vous estes en doute vers lequel c'est qu'on va. Et l'extremité du rire se mesle aux larmes". Compare with L. Joubert, *Traité du ris suivi d'un dialogue sur la cacographie française* (1579), reprint of the edition Paris, 1579 (Genève: Slatkine reprints, 1973), p. 111: "Voyés deus hommes an peinture, desquels l'un rie si fort, qu'il se defassonne tout: l'autre se debate etrangement, se plaigne, & pleure à grosses larmes: pour peu que l'ouvrage soit grossier, vous ne saurés auquel assigner le plaisir, & auquel la tristesse, tant se ressamblet les visages an ces deus passions".

²⁵ Puteanus, *Democritvs*, p. 7.

emphasis is on the aesthetic aspect: a laughing face is an open one and shows no wrinkles.²⁶ Laurent Joubert (1529-1582), a medical doctor and professor at the University of Montpellier, who wrote the most complete treatise on laughter of the sixteenth century, had in his text used the same aesthetic argument about the bright and serene face which displayed laughter.²⁷

This last interpretation made the connection to Puteanus' second argument. That dealt with the opposite of Democritus, Heraclitus, whom the Louvain professor considered arrogant. The juxtaposition of the Greek philosophers Democritus and Heraclitus had been a commonplace in literature and the arts since the Renaissance. Roman authors like Seneca, Juvenal and Lucian transmitted the "dictum" that Heraclitus persistently wept over the human follies, whereas Democritus did not refrain from laughing at them. That "dictum" pervaded the different media of word and image in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.²⁸ However, Puteanus concentrated in his argumentation only on Heraclitus and not on the parallel reactions between the two philosophers. Puteanus' reasoning was quite straightforward. Heraclitus avoided all laughter and therefore also forgot that he was human, the Louvain humanist alleged. In other words, the weeping philosopher was arrogant and not a wise man, because he placed himself on the same level of He who is at the root of his wisdom, God himself. Puteanus moreover called Heraclitus a fool, arguing that the weeping philosopher pretended to know everything and therefore could not be anything but a plain fool. While trying to be the cleverest man, he was himself ridiculed by everybody else.²⁹ In this way, Puteanus extended the classical Stoic argument that the constant weeping of Heraclitus had to be condemned and rejected. By calling Heraclitus in the same breath foolish and arrogant, the opposition between what was wise and what was foolish behaviour was presented in a truly humanist manner.

At this juncture in his oration, Puteanus provided his audience with a series of anecdotes about people who rarely or only once in their lifetime laughed. He refers to Aelian, Pliny, Solinus, Sidonius and Athenaeus in

²⁶ Puteanus, *Democritvs*, pp. 1, 7 and 21.

²⁷ Joubert, *Traité du ris*, pp. a vij v°, 74-76, 84, 115 and 117.

²⁸ Apart from the already named literature, see also A. Blankert, 'Heraclitus en Democritus in het bijzonder in de Nederlandse kunst van de 17de eeuw', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 18 (1967), 31-124.

²⁹ Puteanus, *Democritvs*, pp. 7-8.

what seems to be an overstated argument against the “agelasti”, those who do not laugh.³⁰ The point of it, however, lies in the third argument, which is also one of the most forceful objections against laughter that has existed in Christian Europe. It was recorded of Christ the Saviour, the fountain of wisdom, virtue, joy and redemption, the He had wept, but never that He had laughed.³¹ Puteanus’ answer was that Christ denied himself what after all was natural to man. The reason for that self-denial was that Christ wanted to make clear that his task of bringing salvation to humanity was a serious one, and one of a very different nature from all other things that human beings did.³² Puteanus thus repeated the statement of the late twelfth-century scholastic philosopher Petrus Cantor, who in his *Verbum abbreviatum* (LXVI-II) claimed that Christ had been as capable of laughter as any other human being, otherwise the fact that he had explicitly refused to laugh would not have been a major feat.³³

Puteanus stretched the argument much further, however, and alleged that laughter originated in God. When Christ was born, the voice of an angel or spirit announced the shepherds a great joy for all people. That joy lifted their hearts and spirits and, according to the Louvain humanist, laughter was the specific and true sign of this joy (“cei verissimo typo figurata fuit”).³⁴ A further corroboration for this argument Puteanus found in the likeness between Christ and Isaac. Both had been victims and first-borns sacrificed by their fathers. And since Isaac means ‘laughter’, as Sarah’s words in Genesis, 21: 6 show, the analogy was complete according to Puteanus, quoting Tertullian and Philo the Jew in this respect. Laughter was the expression of the true joy which came from God. The conclusion was a sort of circular reasoning: ‘Christ did not laugh because he wished to be considered the full cause of joy by humanity’.³⁵

³⁰ Puteanus, *Democritvs*, pp. 9-11.

³¹ I. M. Resnick, ‘Ritus monasticus’. Laughter and medieval monastic culture’, *Revue bénédictine*, 97 (1987), 90-100; J. Le Goff, ‘Le rire dans les règles monastiques du haut moyen âge’, in *Haut moyen-âge. Culture, éducation et société. Études offertes à Pierre Riché*, ed. C. Lepelley a.o. (La Garenne-Colombes: Éditions Publidix/Éditions Européennes Érasme, 1990), pp. 93-103.

³² Puteanus, *Democritvs*, pp. 11-12.

³³ The latin text by Petrus Cantor in E. R. Curtius, *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter* (Bern-München: Francke Verlag, 1967), pp. 422-423.

³⁴ Puteanus, *Democritvs*, p. 13.

³⁵ Puteanus, *Democritvs*, pp. 13-15: “Non risit igitur Christus, ut totam gaudii causam Homines acciperent” (p. 15).

Having in this way represented laughter as an emblem of heavenly joy, Puteanus made a direct link with human laughter, exemplified by Democritus. In him the same wise attitude prevailed. Democritus was a wise man, because he laughed, said Puteanus repeating himself.³⁶ Laughter was the instrument of his inquiries into human nature. Perhaps Democritus laughed more than he wrote, Puteanus inferred, and there is also doubt which of the two was of greater benefit to humanity. One aspect of Democritus' laughter is hardly mentioned by Puteanus, and that is the constant nature of it. Like the weeping philosopher Heraclitus, Democritus was reported to have never stopped laughing about the folly or vanity of mankind. Well-known texts in Puteanus' days, like the pseudo-hippocratic letters about Hippocrates' visit to Democritus in his home town Abdera, confirmed this. In some Stoic interpretations the cutting laugh as well as copious tears were equally condemned.³⁷ Yet, the interpretation of the constant nature of both reactions was sometimes differentiated as well, as was obviously also the case with Puteanus. Already in the Roman empire, writers had chosen for one of the two philosophers. Among them was Laërtius and it is his interpretation which Puteanus followed. Whereas Heraclitus' eternal tears were looked upon as a moral defect and a sign of arrogance, Democritus' laughter was in this interpretation the hallmark of the tranquility of his mind, precisely because it was a constant laughter, which affirmed his evenness of temper. Inner peace was found by Democritus in 'good laughter': "qui non ridere non potuit, statuit rerum finem; animique tranquillitatem in Bono Risu invênit".³⁸

Puteanus had begun his speech with the argument that laughter is natural to human beings. He ended it with the argument that laughter was in classical antiquity much more a privilege of the gods. Even the Spartans made temples and statues for the anonymous god of laughter, Puteanus learned from Plutarch. And he quoted the same Greek author when saying that laughter was godly when it strengthened virtue and deterred from vice. Puteanus gave two examples in this respect. Both refer to the widespread stereotype of the soldier who is a coward during

³⁶ Puteanus, *Democritus*, p. 15: "Imò Sapiens ideo Democritus, quia risit".

³⁷ M. A. Sullivan, *Bruegel's Peasants. Art and Audience in the Northern Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 120.

³⁸ Puteanus, *Democritus*, p. 16. M. Van Vaeck, *Adriaen Van de Vennes Tafereel van de Belacchende Werelt* (Den Haag, 1635) (Gent: Koninklijke Academie voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde, 1994), III, pp. 602-612 deals extensively with Democritus and argues convincingly for the Stoic interpretation of his laughter by different authors.

wartime, a comic topos quoted also by, among others, Montaigne.³⁹ In both examples, the soldier in question is ridiculed because he is thought to avoid combat, but in each case he gives a witty reply which shows that he is a courageous man after all. According to Puteanus, jokes like these bring about a strong and warm reaction in the human body, in other words, provoke laughter, and thus help people practice virtue; if their thoughts could not be warmed up, they would remain cold, bad and quiet.⁴⁰

Puteanus wanted to bring joy into the lecture room and did it by forcefully defending laughter as a good case, which suited the great and the wise. Students and colleagues may have been pleased with such a skilful rhetorical exercise. But perhaps Puteanus was also understood. Is it merely a coincidence that the Norbertine monks of Ninove celebrated their new abbot, Jean David, on 15 September 1613 with a poem entitled *Triumphus risus de lacrymis*, published by Ioannes Masius in Louvain? The Norbertines wanted to express their joy at finding an excellent candidate for the job.⁴¹ Puteanus' *Democritus, sive de risu* is at any rate a fine example of Stoic philosophy among early seventeenth-century catholics defending laughter as an important instrument for personal, moral improvement. Peter Paul Rubens painted a Democritus and Heraclitus and represented the laughing philosopher as a bold and old man, holding the globe, in this way suggesting that he was wiser than his weeping counterpart.⁴² In 1615 the French royal preacher Pierre de Besse published *Le Democrite chrestien*, in which he emphatically informed his audience that he considered the laughing attitude as more christian than the eternal tears of Heraclitus, about whom he had published a similar book in 1612.⁴³ It seems as if early seventeenth-century Europe was rediscovering "eutrapelia" and promoting it as a specific form of christian humour. Even though incorporating the patristic criticism against violent laughter, this strategy would not be without its

³⁹ Montaigne, *Les Essais*, p. 426 (II, 11). Cfr. K. Moxey, *Peasants, Warriors and Wives. Popular Imagery in the Reformation* (Chicago-London, 1989).

⁴⁰ Puteanus, *Democritus*, pp. 16-21.

⁴¹ *Triumphus risus de lacrymis* (Lovanii: apud Ioannem Masium, 1613).

⁴² Blankert, 'Heraclitus en Democritus', pp. 43, 51-52 and cat. nr. 20; E. W[ind], 'The Christian Democritus', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 1 (1937/38), 180-182; J. Rowlands, *Rubens. Drawings and Sketches* (London: British Museum, 1977), pp. 28-29.

⁴³ A. N. Vermeulen, *Jan de Leenheer o.e.s.a. moralisator en humanist. Een inleiding tot zijn leven en zijn werken* (Heverlee: Augustijns Historisch Instituut, 1964), p. 93.

opponents in the seventeenth century. By presenting some of the arguments in a public speech in December 1611 and having them printed, Erycius Puteanus contributed to this renewed understanding of old issues. While defending this argument in a carnivalesque university ritual, the last Louvain humanist also proved to be a witty and worthy successor of Erasmus in playful education.⁴⁴

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⁴⁴ Cfr. P. Findlen, 'Jokes of nature and jokes of knowledge: the playfulness of scientific discourse in early modern Europe', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 43 (1990), pp. 292-331.

Werner WATERSCHOOT

ERYCIUS PUTEANUS AND JUSTUS DE HARDUWIJN

On 10 May 1608 Erycius Puteanus wrote to two young literati, David Lindanus and Justus De Harduwijn.¹ He sent them, in two separate letters, the requested appreciation of their first works. Lindanus, the older of the two, was born in Ghent about 1570 from a Catholic family, which was expelled by the Calvinist city-authorities in 1583. The family settled at Dendermonde as soon as the duke of Parma reconquered this city for the king of Spain. Lindanus made a career first as a schoolman: in 1607 he became rector of the local grammar-school. Later on, he excelled as an historian with his work *De Teneraemunda libri III* (1612) and became pensionary of the Land of Dendermonde.²

His friend Justus De Harduwijn had a similar youth.³ He came from a respected Ghent family, serving the nobility and the country authorities. His grandfather Thomas De Harduwijn had been steward to Louis van Praet, one of the chief councillors of the emperor Charles V. Thomas's third son, Franciscus, who was to become the father of Justus, heard Adrianus Turnebus, Joannes Garlandus and Joannes Auratus in Paris.⁴ When back in his own country, he took on the office of process-server to the Council of Flanders, the highest court of appeal in the county. In 1594, he worked for a year as proof-reader in Plantin's officina in Antwerp.⁵ He wrote Latin poetry, the remnants of which are conserved in the *Delitiae poetarum Belgicorum*.⁶ Franciscus De Harduwijn is said

¹ E. Puteanus, *Epistolarum Apophoreta Centuria IV & Recens* (Leuven: Joannes Christophorus Flavius), p. 2, Epistola II (Davidi Lindano suo); p. 28 Epistola XXII (Justo Harduino. S[alutem] D[at]). The texts are published in appendix.

² *Biographie Nationale* (Brussels: Bruylant-Christophe & Cie, 1892-1893), XII, col. 209.

³ O. Dambre, *De dichter Justus de Harduijn* (Ghent: Van Rysselberghe and Rombaut, 1926).

⁴ *Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek* (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1970), IV, col. 398.

⁵ L. Voet, *The Golden Compasses*, 2 vols (Amsterdam: Vangendt & Co, 1972), II, 177.

⁶ *Delitiae poetarum Belgicorum* (Frankfurt: N. Hoffmann, 1614), II, 890-895.

to have made the first Dutch translation of Anacreon. He shared this literary competence with other members of the family. His brother Dionysius, judge-advocate of Flanders and alderman of the village of St. Bavo, became a renowned historian, and his brother-in-law Maxaemilianus De Vriendt (Vrientius), town-clerck of Ghent, enjoyed a good reputation as a Latin poet.⁷

Franciscus's only son Justus was born on 11 April 1582. He received a very good education, first at the grammar-school of Simon Van de Kerckhove, canon of the St. Bavo cathedral, afterwards in the newly established Jesuit college at Ghent. About the year 1600 Justus went to Leuven, where he obtained a bachelor's degree in law. In the same time his oldest known verse was published: it was a short Latin poem, written as an answer to some lines of his father, and both published as preliminaries in Vrientius's *Epigrammatum libri IX* (1603).⁸ Quite naturally, Justus Lipsius, when writing in De Harduwijn's album amicorum on 13 August 1605, pointed out the paternal example of erudition and elegance to the young man.⁹

Meanwhile, Justus was preparing for a clerical profession. Already at the age of sixteen, in 1598, he was made a tonsured cleric of the Ghent diocese.¹⁰ From September 1605 till August 1606 he stayed at Douai.¹¹ There, the chapter of Cambray had installed a faculty of theology for its seminarists in 1590. Next to this, the students had to take courses at the faculty of Arts of the Douai university, once established in 1562 by king Philip II as a bulwark of the Catholic faith. The Cambray seminarists had to accept the parish, for which the chapter designated them after their ordination. The name of Douai had a good sound in the ears of Ghent Catholics. During the time of the Calvinist Republic in their city

⁷ Dambre, *De dichter Justus de Harduijn*, pp. 50-58; *Biographie Nationale* (Brussels: Bruylant-Christophe & Cie, 1884-1885), VIII, col. 714 (Dionysius De Harduwijn); *Biographie Nationale* (Brussels: Bruylant-Christophe & Cie, 1876), V, col. 869 (Maxaemilianus De Vriendt).

⁸ M. Vrientius, *Epigrammatum libri IX* (Antwerp: Joachim Trognaesius, 1603), p. 6.

⁹ J. Lipsius, *Musae errantes. Ex Auctoris schedis partem descripsit, sparsas collegit, ac iunctim posteritati edidit F. Sweertius F.* (Antwerp: Joannes Keerbergius, 1610), pp. 102-103 'Justi Harduyni albo inscriptum'. In this collection, the poem is undated. For another version, with date, see J. De Harduwijn, *Uitgelezen dichtstukken, met aantekeningen door J.M. Schrant* (Zaltbommel: Johannes Noman & Zoon, 1830), p. IV.

¹⁰ O. Dambre, 'Justus De Harduwijn. Rechtzetting en memoriaal', *Spiegel der Letteren*, 14 (1972), 72.

¹¹ O. Dambre, 'Nog aanvullende wetenswaardigheden over Justus De Harduwijn', *Spiegel der Letteren*, 13 (1971), 200.

(1580-1584), many of them had emigrated to Douai, including the Council of Flanders itself. Justus De Harduwijn apparently made acquaintance with the Hellenist scholar Andreas Hojus of the university of Douai. Among his fellow-students there, he met Justus Ryckius and Michael Zachmoorter, both of Ghent origin, and, like De Harduwijn himself, future publicists in the service of the church.

Having obtained the degree of magister artium, De Harduwijn went back to Ghent, where he completed his clerical instruction. During one year, from September 1606 till September 1607, he studied at the Ghent seminary and was eventually ordained a priest by bishop Petrus Damant on 20/21 September 1607.¹² Already on 3 December, the Cambrai chapter appointed him as parish priest in Oudegem and Mespelare, two villages in the neighbourhood of Dendermonde under the jurisdiction of the diocese of Mechlin, where the Cambrai chapter held the right of nomination.

De Harduwijn's way to the priesthood was forwarded by his family background. His father, a zealous Catholic, was kept in prison during the last months of the Ghent Calvinist Republic. All the other members of the De Harduwijn family were equally known as loyal subjects to the church of Rome, as well as to the king of Spain. When Justus took holy orders within the secular clergy in stead of joining the Society of Jesus, where he had studied the humanities, this may have been a matter of precaution for patrimony. Father Franciscus De Harduwijn wished his son to be well-settled in life, according to the status of the family. On 7 March 1607, two days before Justus was ordained a subdeacon, a deed was executed before the Ghent magistrates, wherein Franciscus De Harduwijn endowed his son with an annual alimentation until Justus should be promoted to some ecclesiastical office or prebend. Justus is called on that occasion magister and canon in the chapter of Middelburgh. He is said to have inherited the famous library of his paternal uncle Dionysius, which was valued at least 500 or 600 guilders.¹³ Justus De Harduwijn entered full life as a well-instructed and well-provided man.

After his arrival at Oudegem in the end of 1607, Justus and his friend Lindanus did not wait long to submit their poetry to the judgment of Puteanus. The reasons of the two men to do so may have been different.

¹² *Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek* (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1964), I, col. 599.

¹³ Dambre, *De dichter Justus de Harduijn*, p. 89.

The respective answers reveal that Lindanus was acquainted with Puteanus before: the letter opens with the familiar wording 'Davidi Lindano suo', to which cordial tone the end of the letter corresponds, saying: 'Vale tu jam meus inter paucos, & me tuum ama'. De Harduwijn is simply addressed as 'Justo Harduino. S.D.' and he is left with an official 'Vale'. In Lindanus's eyes, Puteanus clearly represented the supreme literary authority, to whose criticism he submitted his writings in order to hear whether they were pressworthy or not. He sent two works to Puteanus, *Phyllis*, a collection of Latin love-poetry, and an *Oratio*. This *Oratio* turned out to be Lindanus's inaugural speech as rector of the Dendermonde grammar-school, held on 11 February 1607. Puteanus praised both works heartily. *Phyllis* excelled by its 'casta lascivia', whereas the *Oratio* witnessed 'facunda syntagmatis doctrina'. He advised to send both works to the press immediately. Lindanus, however, followed this advice only in part. The *Oratio* was published the next year, in 1609, by Hieronymus Verdussen in Antwerp under the title *De homine et ejus institutione oratio*. *Phyllis*, however, disappeared from the literary scene.¹⁴

De Harduwijn did not consult Puteanus as an authority on Latin matters. Next to his concern about Latin style, the Leuven professor promoted the use of Dutch as an interpreter of the national character. In his inaugural lecture, *Juventutis Belgicae laudatio*, he extolled the vernacular as a pure and honest instrument, which should be appreciated by the intelligent and industrious youth.¹⁵ Under such premises De Harduwijn risked, presumably at the instigation of Lindanus, to submit his juvenile vernacular poetry to the sentence of the Leuven arbiter. The matter presented an extra delicate aspect. The newly ordained parish priest offered the finest love-poetry, written in the Southern Netherlands at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Puteanus's unacquaintance with the author concerned guaranteed an objective appraisal of the poetry to be judged. It gives much credit to Puteanus's discernment, that he immediately recognized the eminence of De Harduwijn's poetic faculties compared with his potential competitors. Puteanus proclaimed him without hesitation to be the head of the poetical

¹⁴ Antonius Sanderus dissuaded him from publishing it. See Dambre, *De dichter Justus De Harduijn*, p. 107 note 5; Antonius Sanderus, *Poemata* (Ghent: Joannes Lapidanus, 1621), fol. X2v.

¹⁵ E. Van Even, 'Eerrik De Putte of Erycius Puteanus, beschouwd als bevorderaar der landstaal en als nederlandsche dichter', *Dietsche Warande*, 1888, p. 374.

chorus in these provinces. This poetry will teach the Dutch speaking people the possibilities of the vernacular. Besides, Puteanus recognized the difficulty of the theme. Certainly, the subject of this poetry is love. However, not a languishing affection, but the vigour of a strong mind is displayed. The torch of passion has been extinguished in favour of the torch of honour.

In spite of these encouraging words, De Harduwijn did not take the risk of immediate publication, although he did complete his collection of verses. An exhortation to depict the exquisite beauty of his mistress was directed to a painter from his new Dendermonde surroundings.¹⁶

In 1612, Puteanus's *Epistolarum Apophoreta Centuria IV & Recens* appeared. In this volume, the letter to De Harduwijn was entered as Epistola XXII. This may have been a last and decisive stimulus to De Harduwijn's more determined companions. Notwithstanding De Harduwijn's own sacerdotal hesitation, his literary friends had got wind of his poetical treasure. Yielding to their pressure, the author finally consented to publish his juvenile love-poetry. But he took his precautions. The collection, entitled *De weerlicke liefden tot Roose-mond* (The worldly love for Rosamunda) appeared anonymously in 1613 in Antwerp.¹⁷ It was published by Verdussen, who was well-known to Lindanus as the printer of two of his works: *De homine* (1609) and *De Teneraemunda* (1612). Guiliam Caudron, the leading poet of the Chamber of rhetoric, dedicated to St. Catherine, provided as editor an introduction. In the mean time De Harduwijn had become a member of this literary society in Aalst, a city half-way between Ghent and Brussels. In his introductory epistle to the governors of the Chamber the editor Caudron reveals himself a true disciple of Puteanus with regard to his appreciation of the vernacular. He blames the scornful attitude of Greek and Latin scholars towards the Dutch language. As an example of its purity he points out the poetry of his fellow-rhetorician De Harduwijn. As a

¹⁶ 'Elegie tot Jan van Swaerveld constigh schilder', in *De weerlicke liefden tot Roose-mond* (Antwerp: Hieronymus Verdussen, 1613), fol. C8r.

¹⁷ Only one copy is known today: Ghent, University Library, G 8342 (acquired at the auction R. della Faille, Antwerp, 1878). Re-editions: Justus de Harduijn, *De weerlicke liefden tot Roose-mond* (1613). Met inleiding en aantekeningen van R. Foncke (Antwerp: De Sikkels, 1922); Justus de Harduijn, *Roose-mond* (1613). Fac-simile-druk bezorgd door O. Dambre (Antwerp: De Sikkels, 1942); Justus de Harduwijn, "*De weerlicke liefden tot Roose-mond*" 1613. Ingeleid en met aantekeningen voorzien door O. Dambre (Zwolle: W.E.J. Tjeenk Willink, 1956); Justus de Harduwijn, "*De weerlicke liefden tot Roose-mond*" 1613. Ingeleid en met aantekeningen voorzien door O. Dambre (Culemborg: Tjeenk Willink-Noorduijn, 1972).

praise of these 'little masterpieces',¹⁸ as he calls them, Caudron quotes fully from Puteanus's letter to De Harduwijn, with explicit reference to the Leuven professor. At the end of the introduction, Caudron states his own share in the constitution of the collection. The author could not be persuaded to publish his poetry for two reasons. First, on account of the place which he occupies at present. And second, because this poetry, written in the earliest blossom of his youth, would not be worth the face of the earth. Nevertheless, he, Caudron, capturing part of these verses, had the work printed.

Having a closer look at this 'Worldly love', one can hardly believe that the poet was totally innocent. The arrangement of fifty sonnets, mingled with some songs, odes and elegies into a cyclical structure, clearly reveals strong auctorial intervention. Moreover, the preliminary verses and the closing laudatory poems give evidence of an ingenious ordering of this ephemeral material, as well as a delicate play with the author's hardly upheld anonymity. After Caudron's introduction, in which the poet is said to be a member of the Chamber of St. Catherine and to hold an office not agreeing with love-poetry, the Latin letter of Puteanus to De Harduwijn follows in full.¹⁹ The addressee remained anonymous, but the inquisitive reader easily could find the unveiled version in Puteanus's *Epistolarum Apophoreta Centuria I V & Recens.* Puteanus's letter is seconded by a Latin laudatory poem of Andreas Hojus 'apud Duacenses Graecarum litterarum Regius Professor', a poem which only De Harduwijn himself could have contributed to this collection.²⁰ Vernacular panegyrics are supplied by a noble-man, Theoderik van Liefvelt, Lord of Opdorp, and by Caudron himself.²¹ At the end of the 'Worldly love', Lindanus produces a long poem dedicated to a friend who is hiding behind the initials 'I. de H.', but shows his native town in full ('from Ghent').²² The climax of this playing at hide-and-seek is to be found in the last contribution, which is a sonnet by F. Vander Beken with the appropriate motto 'Aensiet de diepte'

¹⁸ De Harduwijn, "*De weerlicke liefden*" (ed. Dambre) (Culemborg: Tjeenk Willink-Noorduijn: 1972), p. 68, l. 11: 'cleyne proefstuxkens'. Caudron is Guiliam Caudron Senior.

¹⁹ De Harduwijn, "*De weerlicke liefden*" (ed. Dambre), p. 71.

²⁰ De Harduwijn, "*De weerlicke liefden*" (ed. Dambre), p. 72.

²¹ De Harduwijn, "*De weerlicke liefden*" (ed. Dambre), p. 73 and 76. On Theoderik van Liefvelt see F. A. J. Dambre, 'Theoderik van Liefvelt', *Studia Germanica Gandensia*, 2 (1960), 9.

²² De Harduwijn, "*De weerlicke liefden*" (ed. Dambre), p. 156.

(Look at the depth). The initial letters of this sonnet form the acrostic 'Joost de Harduin'.²³

In his later, purely religious works, De Harduwijn made a hint at his authorship of the 'Worldly love': in his *Goddelicke Lof-Sanghen* (Godly songs) he took over an adapted version of the Latin poem by Hojus, which had served as an introductory piece in 'Worldly love'.²⁴ Later on, he allowed his friends to reveal his identity, and they enthusiastically congratulated him on the first-fruits of his genius.²⁵

As far as is known, De Harduwijn did not contact Puteanus in later years. Indeed, his forthcoming poetical works needed no further recommendation. They were all of a blameless religious character or witnessed extreme political loyalty. De Harduwijn's 'Godly songs' (1620) appeared under the patronage of Jacob Boonen, then bishop of Ghent, later on archbishop of Mechlin. They aimed 'to make forget his former amorous yelping',²⁶ as did *Den val ende op-stand van David, met byvoegh van de seven leed-tuygende psalmen* (The fall and resurrection of David, together with the seven penitential psalms), added as an appendix to these 'Godly songs'.²⁷ In 1629 De Harduwijn published his most voluminous and wide-spread work, *Goddelycke wenschen* (Godly wishes), a translation of Herman Hugo's famous emblem book *Pia desideria*.²⁸ The quality of this translation inspired Cornelius Jansenius,

²³ De Harduwijn, "*De weerlicke liefden*" (ed. Dambre), p. 166; F. J. Couwenbergh, 'Een akrostichon in "*De weerlicke Liefden tot Roose-mond*" van Justus de Harduyn', *De Nieuwe Taalgids*, 53 (1960), 174. F. van der Beke(n) wrote also a preliminary poem for Judocus van Assche, prior of the Carmelites at Aalst, in the latter's work *Den Schat des heiligen Scapuliers* (Antwerp: Martinus Verschuren, 1619).

²⁴ Justus de Harduwijn, *Goddelicke Lof-Sanghen* (Ghent: Jan vanden Kerchove, 1620), fol. 2*3r. Re-edition: Justus de Harduwijn, *Goddelicke Lof-Sanghen* (1620). Uitgegeven en toegelicht door O. Dambre (Antwerp: De Sikkell, 1933).

²⁵ Justus Ryckius, 'Elogia Gandensium poetarum', in M. Vrientius, *Urbes Flandriae et Brabantiae* (Leuven: Gerardus Rivius, 1614), fol. C7v; A. Sanderus, *Poemata*, fol. X1v; W. vander Elst, *Gheestelycke dichten* (Antwerp: Hieronymus Verdussen, 1622), fol. e3v; Jacobus Zevecotius, *Poemata* (Ghent: Judocus Dooms, 1622), p. 37 'Ad elegantiss[imum] poetam Justum Harduinum Gand[avensem]'

²⁶ De Harduwijn, *Goddelicke Lof-Sanghen* (ed. Dambre), p. 16.

²⁷ Re-edition: Justus de Harduwijn, *Den val ende op-stand van den coninck ende prophete David met byvoegh van de seven leed-tuygende psalmen*. Met inleiding, bron en aantekeningen bezorgd door O. Dambre (Antwerp: De Sikkell, 1928).

²⁸ Justus de Harduwijn, *Goddelycke wenschen. Naer-ghevolgt de Latynsche vanden Eerw. P. Hermannus Hugo* (Antwerp: Hendrick Aertssens, 1629); Id., *Goddelycke wenschen na-gevolgt de Latijnsche van den Eerw. P. H. Hugo* (Amsterdam: P.I. Paets, 1645); John Landwehr, *Emblem and fable books printed in the Low Countries 1512-1813. A bibliography* (Utrecht: HES Publishers, 1988), p. 144, nr. 357 and nr. 358.

the later bishop of Ypres, to call on De Harduwijn for collaboration. After the conquest of Bois-le-Duc by the armies of the Dutch Republic, Jansenius wrote *Alexipharmacum*, a Latin pamphlet to keep the population of the city within the fold of the Roman Catholic church. De Harduwijn's translation, *Alexipharmacum Dat is Teghen-gift Voor de Catholijcke Borgherye der Stede s'Hertoghen-bosch* (Alexipharmacum or antidote for the Catholic citizens of Bois-le-Duc) was published in the same year as the Latin original, in 1630.²⁹ Finally, in 1635, together with his old friend Lindanus, he wrote *Pius in Patriam Conatus Triumphalis. Goeden Yever tot het Vader-land* (Ardent zeal for the country), a bilingual publication, for which De Harduwijn composed the Dutch version and Lindanus the Latin part.³⁰ The text describes a planned entry of the new Spanish governor-general Cardinal Infant Ferdinand into the city of Ghent. The authorities had first entrusted both friends with the literary program of the inauguration, but later on the complete organisation was assigned to the still more Spanish-minded Ghent Jesuits.³¹ Thereupon De Harduwijn and Lindanus published their intended marks of honour separately. This humble and immediate retreat in favour of the wishes of powerful people corresponds with De Harduwijn's general attitude in life. In 1615, Henricus Calenus, dean of Asse and De Harduwijn's pastoral visitor, testified that De Harduwijn was loved by his parishioners, that his sermons attested great eloquence and that nobody could rival with him in mastering the Dutch language.³² In spite of this praise, De

²⁹ *Alexipharmacum Dat is Teghen-gift Voor de Catholijcke Borgherye der Stede s'Hertoghen-bosch* (Leuven: Jan Oliviers & Coensteyn, 1630). Re-edition: Justus de Harduwijn, *Alexipharmacum-vertaling 1630*. Ingeleid en van Aantekeningen voorzien door O. Dambre (Dendermonde: A. De Cuyper-Robberecht, 1960). See also O. Dambre, 'Kanttekeningen bij Justus de Harduwijns Alexipharmacum-vertaling (1630)', *Spiegel der Letteren*, 3 (1959), 106: Jansenius was looking for a talented translator: 'On le [the Latin text] veut tourner en toutes langues et particulièrement en flaman, mais il y en a peu qui peuvent venir au bout, ne pouvant exprimer la force et vigueur, qui paroît en latin.'

³⁰ *Pius in Patriam Conatus Triumphalis Pro auspicali Introitu Serenissimi Principis Ferdinandi. Goeden Yever tot het Vader-land, Ter blijder Inkomste van den conincklycken Prince Ferdinand* (Antwerp: Hendrik Aertssens, 1635). See W. Waterschoot, 'Eenheid van kerk en staat bij de intrede van kardinaal-infant Ferdinand', *De zeventiende eeuw*, 5 (1989), 24.

³¹ *Sidronius Hosschius (Merkem 1596 - Tongeren 1653)*, ed. D. Sacré (Kortrijk: Stedelijke Openbare Bibliotheek, 1996), p. 113.

³² O. Dambre, 'Nieuwe biografische Gegevens over Justus de Harduwijn's verblijf te Oudegem-Mespelaar', *Gedenkschriften van de Oudheidkundige Kring van het Land van Dendermonde*, 1956, p. 112: 'Amatur ac commendatur' (1608); p. 113: 'Justus Harduynus, qui magnam in concionibus gratiam habere dicitur, et credo, quia in lingua flandrica forte similem, vix superiorem habere puto' (1615).

Harduwijn remained at Oudegem for the rest of his life, until his death on 21 June 1636.³³

He manifestly nursed no ambition for any further ecclesiastical career. He restricted himself to the literary circuit, in which his reputation was well established. Among others, Franciscus Sweertius, Antonius Sanderus and Cornelius Lummenaeus a Marca spoke highly of him;³⁴ all three of them were well-acquainted with Puteanus. Puteanus himself did not lose sight of De Harduwijn. In the first edition of his *Sedigh leven* (Moral life) (1638) he referred to the following poets, who were his examples for writing in the vernacular: Daniel Heinsius, Constantijn Huygens, Jacob Cats and Pieter Cornelisz. Hooft.³⁵ All of them belonged to the Northern Netherlands. However, in the second edition of 'Moral life' (1639),³⁶ he amplified the illustrious company with the corresponding authorities in the Southern Provinces: Jacques Ymmeloot,³⁷ Justus de Harduwijn, Olivier de Wree and Lambertus de Vos. It was no mean distinction for the simple parish priest, to be associated with the best of his kind.

Erycius Puteanus played a decisive part in De Harduwijn's literary growing process. His appraisal in 1608 explicitly recognized De Harduwijn's exceptional poetic gifts. In 1613 it served as the main justification for publishing the then finest vernacular poetry in the Southern Netherlands. Puteanus could be proud on his correct judgment, as he still was thirty-one years later, in 1639, when enumerating De Harduwijn among the coryphaei of Dutch literature.

³³ O. Dambre, *Justus de Harduwijn's testament en andere oorkonden uit het jaar 1636* (Ghent: Erasmusgenootschap, 1952), p. 46.

³⁴ F. Sweertius called him 'Belgicum Maronem' in *Godelicke Lof-Sanghen* fol. *4r; A. Sanderus, *Poemata*, fol. X1; Idem, *De Gandavensibus eruditionis fama claris Libri Tres* (Antwerp: Gulielmus a Tongris, 1624), p. 82 'amoenissimi ingenii Poëta'; C. a Marca, *Opera omnia* (Leuven: Phil. Dormalius, 1613), p. 221.

³⁵ Honorius Vanden Born [=E. Puteanus], *Sedigh leven* (Leuven: Everaert de Witte, 1638), fol.)(4r.

³⁶ Honorius vanden Born, *Sedigh Leven* (Leuven: Everaert De Witte, 1639), fol.)(5v; Erycius Puteanus, *Sedigh Leven, Dagelycks Broodt*. Ingeleid, uitgegeven en toegelicht door H. Dehennin (Gent: Koninklijke Academie voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde, 1999), p. 58.

³⁷ De Harduwijn and Ymmeloot discussed the nature of the Dutch verse. See J. Ymmeloot, *La France, et la Flandre réformées: ou Traicté, Enseignant la vraye methode d'une nouvelle Poesie Française, & Thioise* (Ieper: Jean Bellet, 1626), p. 51.

APPENDIX

Epistola II. Teneraemondam. Davidi Lindano suo.

Ego te non amem, ô verum Musarum & Apollinis germen? Imò leve Amoris verbum est: observo & suspicio. Ingenii tui floridam amoenitatem Phyllis indicat, divinitatem Oratio. Macte dulcedine illâ stili, macte robore: delectamur, erudimur. Etenim & castam carminis lasciviam, & facundam syntagmatis doctrinam comparatione quadam admiratus sum: alteram ab Apolline ipso, alteram à Minervâ profluxisse. Tu verò Apollo, tu Minerva, id est, homine altior, re ipsâ amoenior, Phyllidem pariter, hominémque nobis describis. Quid amplius dicam? In lucem publicam profer hos flores, hos fructus, & aeternitatis laudem praemiumque admitte. Sic magis etiam amare incipiam, imò observare & suscipere. Vale tu jam meus inter paucos, & me tuum ama. Lovanii, vi. Eid. Maii. M.DC.VIII.

Epistola XXII. Justo Harduino. S.D.

Tu verò tolle hanc prolem, mi Harduine, quam sine nostro, sine Patriae damno non abjicias. Nam profectò, ut liberè iudicium meum promam, quid lingua, quid lyra vernacula nostra possit, tuo unius aut scire indicio Belgae poterunt, aut silentio nescire. Famam ne sperne, quâ ad patrii eloquii cultum plures excitantur. Te ducem facio hujus chori, qui Belgicas ipse facis Gratias & Musas. O te felicem! si esse nos quoque voles; si imbuiere publicè vernantis Genii tui rore. An argumentum te retardet? Fateor; Amor est; non morbus ille languentis animi, sed vigor excitati; non Veneris ille puer amplius, sed Minervae. Hoc agit (liceat dicere,) ut extinctâ libidinis face, honoris accendat; ut abjectis levissimi furoris alis, Famae adsumat. Breviter: sine cupidine hîc Cupido est, sine amore Amor. Habes sententiam meam, mi Harduine, sed publicis suffragiis firmatam; me habes quoque vero affectu tuum. Vale, Lovanii, vi. Eid. Maii, M.DC.VIII.

To his David Lindanus at Dendermonde.

Should I not love you, true son of the Muses and Apollo? On the contrary, the word 'love' is too small. I observe and admire: *Phyllis* reveals the flourishing charm of your spirit; the *Oratio* demonstrates your sense for theology. I congratulate you on the grace and the vigour of your style. It pleases and instructs us. On comparison I admired the chaste sensuality of *Phyllis* and the eloquent doctrine of your demonstration. The former came forth from Apollo, the latter from Minerva. You yourself are Apollo and Minerva, you make Man and Phyllis as more exalted than they are. What else shall I say? Bring out these flowers, these fruits into the public light and accept praise and reward from eternity. So, I shall love, esteem and support you still more. Farewell, you, mine already among the few, and love me as yours.

Leuven, 10 May 1608.

Greetings to Justus De Harduwijn.

My dear De Harduwijn, accept this child as yours, which you could not reject without harm to us as well as to the country. For, to speak frankly, the Dutch people will learn by your demonstration what our language and our vernacular poetry are able to do, or it will remain ignorant by your silence. Do not despise the fame, which excites many people to promote the native tongue. I proclaim you to be the leader of this choir, you, on whose behalf the Graces and the Muses feel at home in our country. How happy you are! If only you want to make us as happy too! If you would imbue us with the dew of your publicly flourishing genius! Does the argument disturb you? I admit that it is love; not the disease of a languishing mind, but the vigour of an excited spirit. It is no longer the child of Venus, but Minerva's. It acts (so to speak) in such a way that the torch of lust is extincted and that of honour is enkindled. The wings of a very transient passion are thrown away, those of fame are buckled on. In a word, here is Cupid without desire, Amor without lust. This is my sentence, dear De Harduwijn, but confirmed by the public opinion. Yours affectionate.

Leuven, 10 May 1608.

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INSTRUMENTUM BIBLIOGRAPHICUM NEOLATINUM

apparaverunt

G. Tournoy, D. Sacré, T. Van Houdt, J. Papy, K. Delcroix

Appellatio ad auctores

Auctores librorum et commentationum de rebus neolatinis enixe rogamus ut nuntium de novis opusculis nobis mittant (in Seminarium Philologiae Humanisticae, Blijde-Inkomststraat 21, B-3000 Leuven, Belgium), quo citius in hoc instrumentum possint referri.

Haec bibliographia absoluta est Kalendis Septembribus anni 2000.

SIGLA:

<i>AHSI</i>	<i>Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu</i> (Roma)
<i>ARG</i>	<i>Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte</i> (Gütersloh)
<i>BHR</i>	<i>Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance</i> (Genève)
<i>CH</i>	<i>Les Cahiers de l'Humanisme</i> (Paris)
<i>CR</i>	<i>Calamus renascens. Revista de humanismo y tradición clásica</i> (Alcañiz - Teruel - Cádiz)
<i>ERSY</i>	<i>Erasmus of Rotterdam Society Yearbook</i> (Madison, Wisconsin)
<i>EXCPHIL</i>	<i>Excerpta Philologica</i> (Cádiz)
<i>GSLI</i>	<i>Giornale storico della letteratura italiana</i> (Torino)
<i>HL</i>	<i>Humanistica Lovaniensia</i> (Leuven)
<i>IJCT</i>	<i>International Journal of the Classical Tradition</i> (Boston, Mass.)
<i>IMU</i>	<i>Italia medioevale e umanistica</i> (Milano)
<i>JMRS</i>	<i>The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies</i> (Durham N.C.)
<i>JWCI</i>	<i>Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes</i> (London)
<i>NJ</i>	<i>Neulateinisches Jahrbuch</i> (Hildesheim - Zürich - New York)
<i>RIN</i>	<i>Rinascimento</i> (Firenze)
<i>RnR</i>	<i>Roma nel Rinascimento</i> (Roma)
<i>RPL</i>	<i>Respublica Litterarum</i> (Lawrence, Kansas)
<i>RQ</i>	<i>Renaissance Quarterly</i> (New York)
<i>RS</i>	<i>Renaissance Studies</i> (Oxford)
<i>SCJ</i>	<i>Sixteenth Century Journal</i> (Missouri, Columbia)
<i>SPV</i>	<i>Studia Philologica Valentina</i> (València)

<i>SUP</i>	<i>Studi Umanistici Piceni</i> (Sassoferrato)
<i>WBN</i>	<i>Wolfenbütteler Barock-Nachrichten</i> (Wiesbaden)
<i>WRM</i>	<i>Wolfenbütteler Renaissance Mitteilungen</i> (Wiesbaden)

ABBREVIATIONES:

<i>ACNLAB</i>	<i>Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Abulensis. Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies, Avila 4-9 August 1997.</i> General editor Rhoda Schnur. Edited by J. Costas - R. Green - A. Iurilli - E. McCutcheon - A. Moreno - M. Mund-Dopchie - H. Wiegand, <i>Medieval & Renaissance Texts and Studies</i> , 207 (Tempe, AZ, 2000).
<i>Akkerman</i>	<i>Limae labor et mora. Opstellen voor Fokke Akkerman ter gelegenheid van zijn zeventigste verjaardag.</i> Onder redactie van Z. von Martels, P. Steenbakkers en A. Vanderjagt (Leende: Damon, 2000).
<i>Arcades ambo</i>	Szörényi L., <i>Arcades ambo. Relazioni letterarie italo-ungharesi e cultura neo-latina</i> (Soveria Mannelli/Catanzaro: Rubbettino, 1999).
<i>Distici elegiaci</i>	<i>Poesia umanistica latina in distici elegiaci. Atti del convegno internazionale Assisi, 15-17 maggio 1998,</i> a cura di G. Catanzaro e F. Santucci (Assisi: Accademia Propertiana del Subasio, Centro studi poesia latina in distici elegiaci, 1999).
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- VAN DAM H.-J.: Schmidt Annie M.G., *Jippus et Iannica*. Vertaald in het Latijn door H.-J. van Dam (Amsterdam: Athenaeum, Polak & Van Genneep, 2000). Libellus intra unum annum pluries in publicum prodiit emendatior; — Van Dam H.J., 'Jippus et Iannica', *Filter*, 6.4 (1999), 32-39.

7. Opera Incepta

- Vinko Hinz (Institut für Altertumskunde der Universität zu Köln) dissertationem suam de Phalaridis epistulis anno 2001 in lucem edet; quo in libro (Monachii-Lipsiae, in Aedibus Saur) nonnulla de harum epistularum renascentium litterarum tempore fati disset.
- Siegmar Döpp (Seminar für Klassische Philologie, Humboldtallee 19, D - 37073 Göttingen) parat elenchum carminum heroicorum neolatinorum. Idem de eiusmodi poematis parum notis nuntios avide exspectat.
- Jean-Frédéric Chevalier (Université de Reims) librum de tragoediis saeculorum XIV et XV Latinis parat.

INSTRUMENTUM LEXICOGRAPHICUM

apparavit D. Sacré

NOVA LEXICA

- *Lexicon Latinitatis medii aevi Hungariae*, V.1: I (Budapest: Argumentum Kiadó, 1999).
- *Lexicon Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis Polonorum*, VII.9: *profundus - protectio* (Kraków, 1999).
- *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, X. 2, fasc. XI: *prodeo - progenies* (Stuttgart - Leipzig: Teubner, 1999).
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Sequuntur verba quae neque in *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (ThLL) neque in *Lexico Totius Latinitatis* Forcelliano (Forc.) reperiuntur. Ea autem quae in lexicis et glossariis mediae et inferioris Latinitatis leguntur stellula (*) notavimus; cruce (+) quae in lexico neolatino Renati Hoven (Hoven) offenduntur. Nomina locorum atque ex eis derivata parcius afferuntur.

- | | |
|--|--|
| *Aatholicus, -a, -um: <i>not catholic</i> : p. 182 | Anagrammatographia, -ae: <i>writing of anagrams</i> : p. 261 |
| +Accommodabilis, -is, -e: <i>accommodative</i> : p. 75 | Anagrammatographus, -i: <i>writer of anagrams</i> : p. 261 |
| *Adiectivatio, -onis: <i>qualification</i> : p. 7 | *Anglicanus, -a, -um: <i>pertaining to England/ Anglican</i> : p. 143 |
| *Aequiparatio = aequiperatio (<i>habet</i> Forc., in ThLL <i>aequiparatio tantum legitur</i>): p. 74 | Arrogantulus, -a, -um: <i>somewhat arrogant</i> : p. 69 |
| *Anagramma, -atis: <i>letter transposition</i> (<i>habet</i> Forc., <i>deest</i> in ThLL): pp. 255, 261 | Bauhusianus, -a, -um: <i>related to Bernardus Bauhusius</i> : p. 271 |
| Anagrammaticus, -a, -um: <i>anagrammatical</i> : pp. 255, 261 | Batavicus, -a, -um = Batavus: p. 55 |
| *Anagrammatismus, -i: <i>play of letter transposition</i> (<i>habet</i> Forc., <i>deest</i> in ThLL): pp. 255, 261-263, 293, 299, 300 | *+Beggina, -ae: <i>beguine</i> : p. 345 |
| | *+Bursa, -ae: <i>purse</i> (<i>alios sensus exhibit</i> ThLL): p. 107 |

- +Calvinisare, -o: *follow Calvin*: p. 141
 *+Cardinalis, -is: *cardinal*: pp. 12, 28, 301
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 *Combinatorius, -a, -um: *combinative*: p. 262
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 +Cordiger, -i: *Franciscan*: p. 135
 *Cryptographia, -ae: *cryptography*: pp. VI, 293-300
 *+Diccionarium, -ii: *dictionary*: p. 97
 *+Diffamatorius, -a, -um: *detractory*: p. 400
 *Doctrinale, -is: *manual*: p. 84
 *+Dominatio, -onis: *lordship*: pp. 8, 22
 *+Elucidatio, -onis: *explanation*: p. 160
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 Epoda, -ae = epodos: p. 149
 +Erasmicus, -a, -um: *Erasmian*: pp. 76, 85
 +Erratum, -i = *erratiuncula: pp. 73, 80
 *+Florenus, -i: *florin*: pp. 74, 236
 *+Funiger, -i: *Franciscan*: p. 135
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 *Hebraice: *in Hebrew*: p. 140
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 *Humanisticus, -a, -um: *humanistic*: p. 32
 *+Infans, -ntis: *infante/infanta*: p. 301
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 *+Lutheranus, -a, -um: *Lutheran*: pp. 90, 141
 *Martyrologium: *martyrology*: p. 342
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 *+Mat(a)eologia, -ae: *idle talk*: pp. 95, 96
 +Mat(a)eologus, -i: *idle talker*: p. 97
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 *+Monachismus, -i: *monasticism*: pp. 56, 76
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 *+Obgrunnire, -io: *murmur against*: p. 78
 +Observatiuncula, -ae: *note*: p. 342
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 *+Pelagianismus, -i: *Pelagian view*: p. 163
 *+Peramabilis, -is, -e: *very lovely*: p. 8
 *+Philautia, -ae: *self-complacency*: p. 95
 Plantinianus, -a, -um: *pertaining to Christophe Plantin*: pp. VI, 267-276, 371
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 +Polygraphia, -ae: *polygraphy*: p. 298
 *+Procancellarius, -ii: *vice-chancellor*: p. 208
 Propapa, -ae: *Papal governor or administrator*: p. 7
 *Prosphoneticus, -a, -um: *concerning a (letter of) dedication*: pp. 204, 206, 279-280, 291
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- *+Quodlibeticus, -a, -um: *quodlibetical*: pp. 399-400
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- *+Scultetus, -i: *local judge*: p. 109
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- Sichemiensis, -is, -e: *from Zichem-Scherpenheuvel (Belgium)*: pp. 271, 363
- *Steganographia, -ae = *cryptographia: p. 293
- *Stichologia: *recitation of verse (?)*: p. 85
- +Stoicari, -or: *adopt a stoic attitude*: pp. 13, 22
- *+stuferus, -i: *penny*: pp. 263, 272-274
- *Succamerarius, -ii: *vice-chamberlain*: p. 205
- +Sycophantice = sycophantiose: p. 95
- Symphalius, -a, -um = rhopalicus: p. 258
- Tassianus, -a, -um: *pertaining to the De Tassis family*: pp. VI, 293-300
- *Thauma, -atis: *miracle*: pp. 255-256, 267, 270-272, 276
- +Thrasonicus, -a, -um = Thrasonianus: p. 95
- Torpalus, -a, -um = rhopalicus: p. 258
- Trudonopolitanus, -a, -um: *from Sint-Truiden (Belgium)*: p. 145
- *+Typographus, -i: *printer*: p. 184
- *+Universitas, -tatis: *university (alios sensus exhibet Forc.)*: p. 67
- Urbanianus, -a, -um: *pertaining to Pope Urban VIII*: p. 346
- *uveus = uvidus (*uvea tunica: *retinal coat of eye*): p. 211
- +Vocabularius, -ii: *glossary*: p. 85

**STATUTES OF THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR
NEO-LATIN STUDIES**

STATUTES OF THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR
NEO-LATIN STUDIES

Article I	Purposes and Title of the Association
Article II	Membership
Article III	Officers
Article IV	Committees
Article V	Elections and the Filling of Vacancies
Article VI	Advisory Board
Article VII	Congresses
Article VIII	Representation and Affiliation
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Article X	Revision of the Statutes

Article I - Purposes and Title of the Association

I.A The aims and purposes of the Association shall be:

1. to promote interest in Neo-Latin and the advancement of Neo-Latin studies;
2. to make accessible to all members, by means of publications to be approved by the Association, information of common interest, especially concerning the teaching of and research in Neo-Latin in colleges and universities, institutes, and other centres of learning;
3. to hold international congresses at regular intervals;
4. to promote, wherever possible, the publication of research and texts in Neo-Latin and related fields;
5. to promote the teaching of Neo-Latin at all appropriate levels of education.

By Neo-Latin is meant writings in Latin since the beginnings of Humanism.

I.B The Association shall be known as the International Association for Neo-Latin Studies (I.A.N.L.S.) (Association internationale d'études néo-latines, Associazione internazionale di studi latini umanistici e moderni, Internationale Gesellschaft für neulateinische Forschungen, Sociedad Internacional de Estudios Neolatinos, Internationale Vereniging voor Neolatijnse Studies).

The official statutes will be in Latin.

Article II - Membership

- II.A 1. Upon application to the Secretary, membership in the Association shall be open to all who teach Neo-Latin in educational institutions, who are engaged upon research in Neo-Latin, or who are members of research institutions or libraries relating to Neo-Latin studies. Others whose work in related fields gives them an interest in Neo-Latin, are invited to apply for membership to the Secretary.
2. In addition, the Executive Committee shall have the power to invite as members scholars whose work relates to Neo-Latin.
- II.B All members in good standing will have the right to cast a vote in the Business Meetings (see Article VII.D) of each Congress.
- II.C 1. A subscription shall be paid annually by every member and shall become due on January 1 of each calendar year. However, this subscription may be paid for a longer period. The subscription rate is to be set by each Congress for the period until the next Congress, at a rate recommended by the Treasurer and approved by the Executive Committee (see Article IV.B) and by the Business Meeting. The Executive Committee may in certain circumstances reduce or waive the subscription.
2. For members who have retired from their institutional appointments, provided that they shall have been members of the Association for a three-year period, the current subscription shall be reduced by half.
3. The Business Meeting in consultation with the Advisory Board shall have the power to determine whether affiliated associations and centres should be asked to pay an annual subscription and, if so, to fix the amount.

Article III - Officers

- III.A For the purpose of directing the activities of the Association, there shall be the following officers, to be nominated and elected in the manner described below in Article V:
1. a President, elected for the term from one Congress to the next (with the possibility of being elected again at a future date, but not to succeed him or herself immediately);
 2. two Vice-Presidents, the first of whom will normally be nominated by the Nominating Committee to succeed to the Presidency, and who during this term as Vice-President will be the chair of the Advisory Board. The second Vice-President will be the chair of the Congress Organizing Committee for the next Congress, and he/she should be from the institution hosting the next Congress. (In the absence or illness of both the President and first Vice-President, the second Vice-President will act as President; normally, the first Vice-President will act for or succeed the President in the event of serious illness or other emergency). Both Vice-Presidents will serve for a term from one Congress to the next;

3. a Treasurer, who will serve for a term of six years (or the period between two Congresses, whichever is greater), and who may be reelected for another term. He/she will make a report to the Business Meeting of each Congress;
4. a Secretary, who will serve for a term of six years (or the period between two Congresses, whichever is greater), and who may be reelected for one or more terms.

III.B In order to insure the international character of the Association, the geographical distribution of those to be elected will be taken into account. Further, the two Vice-Presidents shall not normally come from the same country.

Article IV - Committees

- IV.A There shall be a Nominating Committee to prepare the ballot that is to be presented to each Congress for the election of officers other than the second Vice-President (see Article IV.C for his selection). This committee shall consist of the Past President, who shall act as chair, the First Vice-President, and a third member to be named by the Advisory Board. Except for the office of President, two or more candidates for each office shall be nominated, and nominations from the membership at large will be possible, as provided in Article V below.
- IV.B For conducting the business of the Association between Congresses and for ensuring the planning of the next Congress, there shall be an Executive Committee. This committee shall consist of the President, the Past President, the two Vice-Presidents, the Chair of Publications, the Secretary, and the Treasurer. This committee shall serve from the date of the election of the officers at one Congress until a new Executive Committee is formed by the election of officers at the next Congress. It should normally meet at least once a year, at the discretion of the President. It shall be empowered to act in the name of the Association, as provided by other articles of these statutes, between Congresses. The Executive Committee shall be responsible for selecting the speakers and arranging the programme for the next Congress, following the guidelines given by the Business Meeting held at the preceding Congress.
- IV.C There shall be a Congress Organizing Committee named by the chair of this committee, who will be a member of the host institution for the next Congress and designated by that institution. (As noted in Article III.A above, the chair of this committee is ipso facto the second Vice-President). The Congress Organizing Committee will work according to the guidelines established for each Congress by the Executive Committee.
- IV.D There shall be a Publications Committee, as noted in Article IX below, the chair of which is to be nominated by the Executive Committee and approved at the Business Meeting of the Congress.
- IV.E There shall be a Committee on the teaching of Neo-Latin (see Article I.A.5), the chair of which is to be nominated by the Executive Committee and approved at the Business Meeting of the Congress.

- IV.F Other committees may be established by the Executive Committee, or petitioned at a Business Meeting. They are to be approved at a Business Meeting.
- IV.G All such Committees should submit a written report to the Business Meeting.

Article V - Elections and the Filling of Vacancies

- V.A The election of officers referred to in Article III.A shall be conducted in the following manner. The Nominating Committee is to prepare a ballot with one name for the Presidency and two or more candidates for each of the other officers, except the second Vice-Presidency (see Article IV.C). Nominations from the membership are to be made in writing to the Secretary before the Business Meeting. Nominations by the Nominating Committee will include the consent of the nominees; nominations from the membership must be in writing at least sixty days before the Congress meets, they must be made by a proposer and a seconder, and they must include the consent of the nominees; the retiring President will chair the Business Meeting and conduct the voting. The voting will be by written ballot, with the Secretary recording the numbers voting. Election will be by a simple majority.
- V.B All members of the Association are eligible for election to the Advisory Board (see Article VI below). Representatives of associations and centres affiliated to the I.A.N.L.S. shall be nominated by their association or centre. Representatives of the disciplines (see VI.B) must be members of the I.A.N.L.S. and may be nominated by fellow-members (with proposer and seconder, as indicated in V.A above). Election to the Advisory Board shall take place during the Business Meeting. The procedure will be as in V.A. In order to ensure the international character of the Association, the geographical distribution of those to be elected may be taken into account.

Article VI - Advisory Board

- VI.A There shall be an Advisory Board whose purpose will be to give advice in all matters which can improve the efficiency and the structures of the Association, and its relations with associations and centres affiliated to the I.A.N.L.S. (see Article VIII below), as well as centres and institutions where disciplines represented are pursued.
- VI.B 1. Members of the Advisory Board should represent major language areas and major disciplines (e. g. art, classics, history, law, linguistics, literature, music, philosophy, sciences, theology).
2. The Advisory Board also will include representatives of associations and centres affiliated to the I.A.N.L.S. - each to have one representative on the Advisory Board.
3. Concerning the nomination and election of representatives mentioned in B.1 and B.2, see Article V.B.

- VI.C 1. The number of representatives of major disciplines to be represented on the Advisory Board shall be determined from time to time by the Business Meeting of the I.A.N.L.S.
2. The representatives of disciplines will serve until the following Business Meeting and may be eligible for re-election for a maximum of two further terms of office.
- VI.D 1. Associations and centres wishing to affiliate with the I.A.N.L.S. shall apply to the chair of the Advisory Board, who will forward the application to a Business Meeting for approval or otherwise. The chair of the Advisory Board shall have the power to invite associations and centres to affiliate.
2. On the question of subscription of affiliated associations and centres: see Article II.C.3.
- VI.E The chair of the Advisory Board shall be the first Vice-President; he/she shall be charged with ensuring that advice, recommendations, and requests from the Advisory Board will be forwarded to the Executive Committee. The chair of the Advisory Board shall call a meeting of the Board for the first day of the next Congress, and at this meeting recommendations will be made to be brought before the Executive Committee, and a member-at-large will be named to the Nominating Committee.
- VI.F It will be the responsibility of the chair of the Advisory Board to prepare an agenda for meetings of the Board, to arrange for minutes to be taken, and to report back to the Business Meeting.

Article VII - Congresses

- VII.A An International Congress of the Association shall be held at intervals from three to five years, in countries to be recommended by the Executive Committee to the Business Meeting of the Association at each Congress.
- VII.B With the exception of those who will be invited, only members of the Association shall have the right to propose a paper to the Executive Committee for consideration, and to participate in each Congress, subject to the payment of a registration fee to be determined by the Congress Organizing Committee. At each Congress there may be one or more lectures or other functions open to the public, as determined by the Organizing Committee.
- VII.C The Executive Committee shall have the power to invite non-members to a Congress, whether on payment of a registration fee or by invitation, within the limits of accommodation available and other considerations.
- VII.D There shall be a general meeting at each Congress, in which general topics or themes of the next Congress shall be discussed and approved by the members, and in which elections and other business indicated in other Articles of the statutes is to be conducted. This meeting is referred to as the Business Meeting of the Congress.
- VII.E The agenda for the Business Meeting is to be circulated by the Secretary at least thirty days in advance of the Congress. Any member who wishes business to be put on the agenda must communicate in writing to the President of the Association sixty days before the Congress.

Article VIII - Representation and Affiliation

- VIII.A Upon recommendation of the Executive Committee and the approval of a Business Meeting, the Association may be represented in suitable organizations. The Association shall be represented at meetings of other congresses only with the approval of the Executive Committee.
- VIII.B Associations and centres wishing to affiliate with the I.A.N.L.S. shall do so as provided in Article VI.D.

Article IX - Publications

- IX.A The proceedings of each Congress shall normally be published, in a form to be consistent with the purposes of the Association. The responsibility for planning such publication is that of the Executive Committee. Other publications may from time to time be recommended by the Executive Committee.
- IX.B There shall be a Publications Committee, the chair of which is to be recommended by the Executive Committee. The chair of the Publications Committee shall be an ex officio member of the Executive Committee.
- IX.C Information concerning Neo-Latin matters will be regularly published in one or more publications with the co-operation of the I.A.N.L.S.; official notices will be communicated to members by the Secretary.

Article X - Revision of the Statutes

Motions to revise or add to the statutes must be circulated at least sixty days in advance of the Congress at which they are to be discussed. Any motion to revise the statutes must be passed by a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting at a duly announced Business Meeting of the Congress.

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NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

Humanistica Lovaniensia follows the *MHRA Style Book. Notes for Authors, Editors and Writers of Theses*, ed. by A. S. Maney - R. L. Smallwood, 5th edn (London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 1996), with a few exceptions as noted below. Accepted manuscripts that do not follow these rules can be delayed in publication.

1. bibliographical references

1.1. first reference

1.1.1. references to books

The information should be given in the following order:

- author: forename in full, if not possible his initial(s); family name as it appears on the title page.
 - * sometimes it might be better to include the author's name within the title (e.g. text editions).
 - * the names up to three authors should be given in full; for works by more than three authors the name of only the first should be given, followed by 'et al.' (= et alii).
- comma
- title: title of the work (including the subtitle) as it appears on the title page, in italics.
 - * title and subtitle should always be separated by a colon. For books in English, capitalize the first word after the colon and of all principal words throughout the title. For titles in other languages, follow the capitalization rules for the language in question.
 - * titles of other works occurring within the title should be enclosed in single quotation marks.
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- editor, translator etc.: the names of editors etc. should be treated in the same way as those of authors (as to forename, number); they should be preceded by the accepted abbreviations 'ed. by', 'trans. by', 'rev. by', ...
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- series, edition, number of volumes:
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 - * If the edition used is other than the first, this should be stated by '2nd edn', '3rd rev. edn' (see bibliographical reference above).
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- details of publication: place of publication, publisher's name and date of publication are enclosed in parentheses; a colon separates the place from the publisher's name; a comma separates the latter from the date.

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* A reference to a work in several volumes published over a period of years should state the number of volumes and give inclusive dates of publication, with the date of the volume specifically referred to in parentheses after the volume number, when it is not the first or last in the series. If a work in several volumes is still in the process of publication, the date of the first volume should be stated, followed by a dash; the date of the individual number being cited should be added in parentheses after the volume number (see example 4).

- If the reference is to a book as a whole, a point will conclude it. If further information about volume and/or pages is requested, a comma is added, followed by the number of the volume (in small capital roman numerals and where necessary the year of publication in parentheses), a new comma, concluded by the exact page or pages.

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* The first and the last number of the span should always be stated (instead of 'sq.' or 'ff.')!

Examples:

(1) Mark Morford, *Stoics and Neostoics: Rubens and the Circle of Lipsius* (Princeton: New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1991).

(2) G. Oestreich - N. Mout, *Antiker Geist und moderner Staat bei Justus Lipsius (1547-1606): der Neustoizismus als politische Bewegung*, Schriftenreihe der Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 38 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1989).

(3) Leon Voet, *The Plantin Press, 1559-1589: A Bibliography of the Works printed and published by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp and Leiden*, 6 vols (Amsterdam: Van Hoeve, 1980-1983).

(4) *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, ed. by G. Pignatelli et al. (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1960-).

(5) Marie Delcourt - Jean Hoyoux, *Laevinus Torrentius: correspondance*, 3 vols (Paris: Société d'Édition Les Belles Lettres, 1950-1954), III, 17-22.

1.1.2. references to articles in journals

The information should be given in the following order:

- author (cf. supra)
- comma
- title of the article, in single quotation marks; title and subtitle are separated by a colon.
 - * The title of works of literature occurring within the title of an article should be italicized or placed within quotation marks.
- comma
- title of journal, in italics.
 - * Only the main title should be given; an initial 'The' or 'A' and any subtitle should be omitted.
 - * In case of several references to the same journal, an abbreviated title should be indicated after the first full reference or in a preliminary list of abbreviations.
- comma
- volume number, always in arabic numerals
- year of publication, in parentheses
- comma
- first and last page numbers of article cited, without 'p./pp.'
- page number(s), in parentheses and preceded by 'p./pp.' in case of a particular reference.

Examples:

- (1) Godelieve Tournoy-Thoen, 'Le manuscrit de la *Biblioteca de Catalunya* et l'humanisme italien à la cour de France vers 1500', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 24 (1975), 70-101; 26 (1977), 1-81; 27 (1978), 52-85.
- (2) Michel Oosterbosch - Gilbert Tournoy, 'Two Unknown Autograph Letters by Justus Lipsius (1547-1606)', *Lias*, 23 (1996), 321-326 (pp. 325-326).
- (3) Perrine Hallyn-Galand, 'La "Praelectio in Suetonium" de Nicholas Bérauld (1515)', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 46 (1997), 62-93 (p. 87).

1.1.3. references to articles in books

The information should be given in the following order:

- author (cf. supra)
- comma
- title of the article, in single quotation marks (cf. supra, 1.1.2.)
- comma
- the word 'in' followed by title, editor's name, and publication details of the book 'as in 1.1.1.)
- comma
- first and last page numbers of article cited, preceded by p./pp.

- page number(s), in parentheses and preceded by p./pp. in case of a particular reference.

Example:

- Jozef IJsewijn, 'The Coming of Humanism to the Low Countries', in *Itinerarium Italicum: The Profile of the Italian Renaissance in the Mirror of its European Transformations. Dedicated to P.O. Kristeller ...*, ed. H. A. Oberman - Th. A. Brady, Jr. (Leiden: Brill, 1975), pp. 193-305 (p. 260).

1.1.4. references to theses and dissertations

The titles of unpublished theses and dissertations should be in roman type within single quotation marks, capitalization following the conventions of the language in question. The degree level, university and date should be in parentheses.

Example:

- Robert Ingram, 'Historical Drama in Great Britain from 1935 to the Present' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, 1992), pp. 17-23.

1.1.5. references to manuscripts

Names of repositories and collections should be given in full when first occurring; an abbreviated form should be used for subsequent references.

Examples:

(1) First reference: Leiden, University Library, ms. Lips. 4.

(2) Later reference: Leiden, UL, ms. Lips. 4.

1.1.6. references to classical authors

In references to classical authors and their works the system of abbreviations adopted in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae ... Index librorum scriptorum inscriptionum ex quibus exempla afferuntur*, 2 edn, Leipzig: Teubner, 1990) should be followed.

1.2. later references

In all further references, the shortest, intelligible form should be used. This will normally be the author's name (without initials) followed by (the volume and) the page reference. When more than one work of the same author is referred to, the title should be repeated in a shortened form. Phrases as 'loc. cit.' and 'op. cit.' should not be used.

Examples:

- (1) IJsewijn, 'The Coming of Humanism', p. 195.
- (2) Voet, *The Plantin Press*, II, 234-139.

2. lay-out**2.1. quotations**

- *Short quotations* (not more than about forty words of prose or two complete lines of verse) should be enclosed in single quotation marks and run on with the main text. If, however, there are several such short quotations coming close together and being compared or otherwise set out as examples, it may be appropriate to treat them in the same way as longer quotations.

* If a short quotation is used within a sentence, the final full point should be outside the closing quotation mark; the initial capital may be altered to lower case.

* If two incomplete lines of verse are quoted, the line division should be marked with a spaced upright stroke |.

* A quotation within a quotation is enclosed within double quotation marks.

* When a short quotation is followed by a reference in parentheses, the final punctuation should follow the closing parenthesis.

* The final point should precede the closing quotation mark only when the quotation forms a complete sentence and is separated from the preceding passage by a punctuation mark.

Examples:

- Clusius was generous with his advice and with gifts of plants, including the still rare and valuable tulips, a 'thesaurum hortensem' ('garden treasure'), as Lipsius called one gift in 1585.

- According to Peter Smith 'the seven newly discovered poems by Catullus are absolutely fabulous'.

- Michel Oosterbosch and Gilbert Tournoy inform us 'that in the *index* to that same *Inventaire* (p. 526) the questionable initial was resolved into "Nicolaus"'.
- Soames added: 'Well, I hope you both enjoy yourselves.'

- *Long quotations* (more than about forty words of prose or two complete lines of verse) should be broken off by an increased space from the preceding and following lines of type script. No quotation marks are needed. The quotation should also be distinguished from the main text by using a smaller size and indenting.

* Omissions within prose quotations should be marked by [...] (an ellipsis); omitted lines of verse should be marked by an ellipsis at the end of the line before the omission. An ellipsis at the beginning or the end of a quotation is not necessary.

* A reference in parentheses after a long quotation should always be placed outside the closing full point and without a full point of its own.

Example:

- Harvey does, however, provide several references to the Court of Arches as the locale. For example, he writes:

If we were wearye with walking, and loth to go too farre to seeke sport, into the Arches we might step, and heare him plead; which would bee a merrier Comedie than ever was old Mother *Bomby*. As, for an instance: suppose hee were to sollicite some cause against Martinists, were it not a jest to see him stroke his beard thrice, and begin thus? [...] O, we should have the Proctors and Registers as busie with their Tablebooks as might bee, to gather phrases, and all the boyes in Towne would be his clients to follow him. (*Gabriel Harvey: His Life, Marginalia and Library*, ed. by Virginia F. Stern (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), p. 81)

2.2. footnotes

- Footnotes should be limited to what is strictly necessary, e. g. for documentation and for the citation of sources relevant to the text.
- The number of footnotes can also be kept down by incorporating simple references (such as line numbers or page references to a book already cited in full) in the text, for instance in parentheses after quotations. Adjacent references to several lines of the same text or to several pages of the same publication can be grouped together in the same footnote.
- Neither should footnotes repeat information already clear from the text: if for instance a bibliography is added to a book or an article, the length of the footnotes can be reduced.
- All footnotes should end with a full point, whether or not they form complete sentences.
- Wherever possible a footnote reference should be placed at the end of a sentence so as not to interrupt the flow of the text. In this case the footnote reference number follows the punctuation mark.

2.3. General style requirements

- the author's name should appear at the head of the article (first name in full, surname in small capitals), followed by the title in capitals. His or her affiliation should appear at the end of the body of the text.
- manuscripts should be double-spaced, except footnotes and long quotations. They should be sent one hard copy and one Macintosh compatible high-density 1.44mb diskette using MS Word preferably.
- titles for chapters or paragraphs in the text should be put in bold and should be numbered in Arabic.

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